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The Forum

SEPTEMBER, 1901.

THE COMMERCIAL POSITION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

IN the many discussions which are taking place with regard to the commercial supremacy of Great Britain and the relative progress of her foreign competitors, the view of the disputants is too often confined to the trade of the British Isles alone. But that does not comprise the whole of the trade of Great Britain, whose subjects, residing either at home or abroad, are daily engaged in vast operations the records of which are not preserved in the statistical returns of the United Kingdom. To grasp the limits of British trade we must follow the British flag. This appears to the present writer not to be quite understood by Americans generally, who can pretty accurately gauge the commerce of the United States by the entrances and clearances at American ports, and by the statistics of their internal traffic. As I pointed out in a previous article in this review,¹ the British Empire produces more than it consumes of most things, and it needs an access to all markets for its surplus.

But what is the British Empire? It is not the British Isles alone, but the British Isles *plus* Canada, India, Australia, British South Africa, British West Africa, British East Africa, the West Indies, and countless unconsidered trifles of possessions scattered over the four quarters of the world. The volume of trade carried on between these possessions, and between these possessions and foreign countries, without ever passing through the ports of the United Kingdom at all, is as much British as if it flowed through the custom-houses of these ports. It seems to be overlooked by most commentators that the volume of this British-Im-

¹ "The Development of British Shipping." THE FORUM, for December, 1900.

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perial, as distinguished from British-Insular, trade is constantly increasing, and must in the very nature of things go on increasing, not only numerically, but in a progressive ratio, as the economic development of the colonies and possessions advances. It is impossible, therefore, to estimate properly the commercial position of Great Britain among the nations without bringing into focus the trade of all her outlying parts. Practically the whole of that trade is organized, financed, and controlled in London, Liverpool, or Glasgow. The Australian banks and finance companies finance the pastoral and other industries of Australia, but they do it with capital provided by the mother-country. As Lord Bacon wrote :

"The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure ; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters : and the number and greatness of cities and towns, by cards and maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil affairs, more subject to error, than the right valuation, and true judgment, concerning the power and forces of an estate. . . . Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like ; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people, be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies, importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage ; for (as Virgil saith) ' It never troubles a wolf, how many the sheep be. ' "

Well, "the power and forces" of the British Empire, though supported by numbers, do not depend upon numbers but upon "the breed and disposition of the people" who from two tiny islands control the destiny of nations, and conduct half the commerce of the world.

The British Empire, which is really Greater Britain, covers an area of 11,000,000 square miles, and contains a population five times as large as that of the United States. The French Empire with its colonies covers an area of only 3,500,000 square miles, and contains a population not so large as that of the United States. Germany has added 1,000,000 square miles to her imperial territory in Africa and Polynesia, but only 11,000,000 persons to her imperial population. The external possessions of the United States have added 125,000 square miles to the area and 9,000,000 to the population of the Union. The colonies of Germany and France are the source of a heavy annual expense to the treasuries of the mother-lands. What the new territories may be to the United States remains to be seen. The colonies of Great Britain are no source of expense to the mother-country, but a large source of strength and of profit. They are in point of fact, though not in political organization, provinces of the empire of which they form part and parcel. It is in this sense that they must be regarded when we would measure British commerce.

It was in the times of good — or bad — Queen Bess that England woke up to find that she had a vocation, namely, to the trade and com-

merce of the sea. Then she spread herself abroad, founded the plantations and colonies of North America, and jostled the Spaniards from the Spanish Main. Since then, her empire has not ceased to grow; but it is not an empire in the sense that Rome or France was an empire, or that Russia is an empire. It is not "a congeries of nations held together by force," but one nation with harmonious, though self-managing, parts. There is more community of interest and closeness of sympathy, more sincere attachment and mutuality, between the mother country and her colonies than there is between the Empire State and the States of the Pacific slope of America. When an Australian, a South African, or a Canadian has occasion to go to London on business or pleasure, he is not merely going to the capital, he is "going home."

The soul of the average man abhors figures, and is disposed to regard the officials of the Statistical Department and the members of the Statistical Society as fiends in human form, whose mission in life is to pander to the politician. Therefore he scoffs, and says that anything can be proved by statistics. But it cannot, though a good deal of deception may be practised by the abuse, or ill-use, of statistics. Nor does one need a mathematical capacity to appreciate the value of statistical records. Without the aid of figures it is impossible to bring the magnitude of the British Empire, its finance, and its commerce, before the reader. Therefore, I must ask him both to excuse and to ponder over the figures I am now going to tabulate. In the first table I set forth the superficial area and the public finance of the British Empire in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia; in the second the statistics of its trade:

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

	Area, square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
United Kingdom	120,979	40,909,925	£119,839,905	£133,722,407
India	1,800,258	294,266,000	67,617,800	64,976,920
Europe	119	206,350	414,220	410,870
Asia	27,321	4,359,760	2,599,390	2,478,010
Africa	535,898	6,773,360	9,686,520	10,122,680
America	3,347,336	7,420,640	12,651,710	11,636,180
Australasia	3,175,666	4,984,070	33,463,860	31,915,920
Total, United Kingdom and Colonies	9,007,077	358,922,105	£246,273,405	£255,262,987
Protectorates—				
In Asia	120,400	1,200,000		
" Africa	2,160,000	35,000,000		
" Pacific	800	30,000		
Grand total, British Empire	11,288,277	395,152,105		

EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage entered and cleared.
United Kingdom	£563,146,659	£387,522,633	97,783,000
India.....	64,185,440	78,046,690	8,627,486
Europe			15,219,191
Asia	35,183,610	30,087,920	38,264,712
Africa.....	30,569,170	29,941,270	13,628,373
America.....	43,453,090	42,791,980	24,384,943
Australasia	72,640,240	89,508,870	23,290,355
Total, United Kingdom and Colonies	£809,178,209	£657,899,363	221,196,060
Protectorates (estimated)....	2,500,000	2,500,000	
Grand total, British Empire	£811,678,209	£660,399,363	221,196,060

This gives a total trade of the British Empire, with its own component parts and with foreign countries, of £1,472,077,572, irrespective, of course, of the value of the home trade of the mother-country and of each colony. The above figures are the latest obtainable; but they do not all refer to 1900, and some are of as early a date as 1898. Now the value of the world's commerce in 1898 was, according to the Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, £3,983,000,000; so that the share of it possessed by the British Empire is nearly 40 per cent. I do not, however, know on what Mr. O. P. Austin founds his estimate, or whether in his figures he includes the internal trade of the American continent. The figures I am using relate only to trade which actually passed through the custom-houses. In the following table is shown the extent of the trade of the dependencies of Great Britain, between themselves and with the mother-country:

INTERCHANGES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

	Imports from U. K.	Exports to U. K.
United Kingdom.....		
India	£37,777,900	£23,451,190
Europe.....		
Asia	4,960,950	8,642,660
Africa	20,814,110	24,882,230
America	11,719,780	23,545,570
Australasia.....	26,758,260	35,993,850
Total, United Kingdom and Colonies.	£102,031,000	£116,515,500
Protectorates (estimated).....	2,500,000	2,500,000
Grand total, British Colonies..	£104,531,000	£119,015,500

On an average basis of £10 per ton of cargo, this in-and-out commerce of the empire would require, say, 148,000,000 tons of shipping. The actual clearances of vessels in the years to which the figures relate aggregate, as will be seen above, 221,198,060 tons, which, however, is rather the carrying capacity of the vessels entered and cleared than the actual weight of the cargo loaded and discharged; but it does not include the weight of coal taken on board for the use of ships at the home ports and the coaling stations. Now the tonnage of vessels owned by Great Britain and her colonies is, in round numbers, 15,250,000 tons, the vessels ranging in size from 100 tons to 20,000 tons. With some 21,900 vessels on the registers, this gives an average of 700 tons per vessel; though averages arrived at in this way are apt to be misleading. As a matter of fact, the greater part of the carrying trade of the world is done by steamers of from 1,000 to 4,000 tons each.

Suppose, however, we figure on the average of 700 tons, and estimate that each vessel makes six voyages per annum, not an unreasonable average considering the number of weekly and fortnightly runs between Britain and the Continent. This would mean that vessels under the British flag are able to carry in and out something like 200,000,000 tons of cargo per annum. Of course, ships do not get full cargoes every time, and have often to be laid up long periods for repairs; but there are large numbers of vessels getting full cargoes in and out of ports every week. Assuming Mr. Austin's estimate of the value of the world's commerce, £3,983,000,000, to be approximately correct, we might assess the average value of it at £10 per ton, for it includes bullion and precious ores. This would, then, represent a tonnage weight or capacity of 393,000,000 tons. Therefore, British vessels can carry and do carry more than half the sea-trade of the world.

The following is a bird's-eye summary of

THE TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

	Total imports and exports.
United Kingdom	£950,869,292
India.....	142,232,130
Possessions in Asia.....	65,271,530
Possessions in Africa.....	60,510,440
Possessions in America.....	86,245,070
Possessions in Australasia	162,149,110
Protectorates.....	5,000,000
Grand total	£1,472,077,572

It used to be a common error of those who attempted a statistical survey of the commerce of the world to omit from Britain's proportion

the value of the ships she builds and sells to foreigners. This error has to some extent been rectified within the last two years, because the Board of Trade returns now include the value of new ships sold to foreigners. The value of these last year was £8,608,153. In almost every case such vessels, on leaving the builders' hands, fill up with coal, or other cargo, to take to their port of destination. They may never enter a port of the British Isles again; yet they swell the volume of the year's entries outward of tonnage under foreign flags, and the total so entered alarms those who do not know how the increase occurs. But, besides new ships, we sell a large number of second-hand vessels every year to foreigners, and replace them with new ones for ourselves. These second-hand vessels run at a low working cost, under foreign flags, not American; compete very severely with British vessels in the freight market; and keep down the profits of ship-owning. But they help the development of the world's commerce in a wonderful degree. These sales — whether to our benefit or to our hurt — are trade operations that ought to be reckoned among our exports just as much as the sales of coal to foreigners. Last year these sales amounted to between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000.

But the value of the volume of Britain's share in the world's commerce is augmented in a much larger degree by what her vessels do for foreign countries. The amount of freight so earned by British vessels, which may not enter a British port for years, cannot now be less than £80,000,000 per annum, for it was computed by a reliable authority four years ago at £70,000,000, and large additions have since been made to our tonnage. The cargo carried by these vessels figures in the imports and exports of the countries between which they trade; but the freight earned is as much a British receipt as the money paid for an exported cargo of Manchester cottons. It should be added to the above summation of the value of the external trade of the British Empire. It would be an instructive object-lesson in maritime commerce if some official would compile from the national records a statement of the number, size, and character of all the vessels under the British flag which are engaged in trading all the year round between foreign ports alone.

Perhaps the most striking instance one could indicate for American readers is the case of the Anchor Line of Glasgow, which has a service of large and costly steamers regularly employed in carrying cargo and peasant-laborers from Italy to the United States and back again. These Italian laborers leave the Mediterranean in the spring and earn enough money to pay their passage back in the fall — to sunshine and idleness

at home in the winter. It is a large trade, and the steamers engaged in it do not touch at a British port at all, and never return to the United Kingdom until they need overhauling or repairs. Again, there are large numbers of British vessels in the Pacific which never come home, and which rarely enter a British port. The second largest, if not now the largest, merchant fleet in the world in point of tonnage — that of the British India Steam Navigation Company — has most of its vessels constantly engaged in Eastern waters, many of them never seeing Great Britain from the time of their birth until they are brought home to die.

Mr. Brooks Adams has recorded his opinion that between 1760 and 1870 Great Britain reached the plenitude of her prosperity. She did so, he thinks, chiefly because of the American trade:

“As late as 1840 a disparity existed between England and the United States which to-day seems almost incredible. While England's exports of manufactures then reached \$613,000,000, those of the Union only slightly exceeded \$40,000,000; and while in 1840 Great Britain had substantially completed her railroad system, that of the United States lay in embryo. Thirty thousand miles of road were then in operation; nearly 200,000 are now in use, and even in 1900, 4,500 more were added. The United Kingdom, in 1898, possessed altogether 22,000 miles, and building has long gone on at the rate of a hundred miles a year. The burden of construction on the two communities can be easily compared. In 1860, with the facilities then existing, neither iron, nor coal, nor grain, nor any meat, could be exported from America in competition with the products of British mines or farms, while, on her side, Great Britain could sell her manufactures in the United States almost at her own price. The reason for this is obvious. A generation ago land rates of transportation could not be made even to approximate sea rates, therefore iron, for instance, could not be brought from the interior to the ports. England had substantially no land carriage. Her resources lay on the coast.”

Yes, but they were not confined there. And, if the United States has ten times the mileage of Great Britain, Great Britain has seven times the tonnage of the United States. But in comparing railway mileage we ought not to confine our view to the British Isles. In the United Kingdom there are 21,700 miles of railway, but in India there are 23,403 miles, in British Africa 4,457 miles, in British North America 18,233 miles, in Australasia 15,248 miles, and in all the British Empire 83,348 miles. This is a good third of the mileage owned by the United States, whose area is essentially self-contained. And when the railway systems of India and Africa are complete — they are being steadily advanced year by year — our total will stand closer comparison with that of the United States. But Mr. Brooks Adams is a pessimist. He says elsewhere:

“As early as 1882, the iron mines of the United Kingdom yielded their maximum at 18,000,000 tons of ore; in 1898 the yield had fallen to 14,000,000. In 1868, 9,817

tons of copper were produced, in 1898 640 tons. Two years later the turn came in lead, the output in 1870 having reached 73,400 tons as against 25,355 in 1898; while tin, which stood at 10,900 tons in 1871, had dwindled to 4,013 according to the last returns. The quantity of coal raised, indeed, increases, but prices have advanced from 50 to 70 per cent during the year, and though now they tend to fall, it is only through a shrinkage of the industrial demand, caused by inability to compete on such a basis. The end seems only a question of time. Europe is doomed not only to buy her raw material abroad, but to pay the cost of transport."

The decrease in the yield of the iron mines of the United Kingdom is due to the fact that the run is now on steel, and that the deposits of hematite ore in the British Isles are limited. Britain has to import hematite ores, as, perhaps, the United States may have to do ere many years. As to copper, lead, and tin, less of these is produced in the British Isles, but more is produced in the British Empire. In Australia and the Straits Settlements we have as much copper, lead, and tin as we want—and a good deal more. And in Australia, Africa, and India we have the largest gold supply in the world. Yet Mr. Brooks Adams writes as if a decline in the output of more expensively worked ores in the United Kingdom were an evidence of British decay. We have found something better than mining in Cornwall and Cumberland. As to coal, the decline in price is a thing to welcome not to lament. It is in the nature of the article to fluctuate with the industrial demand; but it may be noted, incidentally, that the present slide-down in British coal is primarily due to the relaxation in the pressure of the foreign demand, not to a slump in the home consumption.

In the March number of this review Mr. Jacob Schoenhof shrewdly observed that the chief error in discussing the question of trade arises from the fact that few are acquainted with the fundamental conditions producing results. "Hence the fact that a few isolated items in which deficiency has been discovered are taken as illustrative of general decline, and the question is treated as a whole without any attempt at specialization or analysis." This remark had reference to the ever-prevalent discussion about Britain's decline in commerce. But it seems to me that a greater mistake still is made in measuring the commercial position of Britain by the statistics of the United Kingdom alone. As a political entity in all public discussion, Britain is regarded as a world-wide empire, with obligations and responsibilities, and also with rights to be respected, in all quarters of the globe. But as a commercial entity, when the relative progress of other nations is being discussed, Britain is too often regarded merely in the light of the Board of Trade returns, which record merely the imports and exports of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Does it matter much, from an imperial point of view, whether we get copper from our mines in Canada instead of from our mines in Cornwall, or tin from Tasmania instead of from Truro? It is all produced, and most of it is used, under one flag, and it is all financed in London. Again, is it a national loss or an imperial gain that Great Britain should draw grain, fruit, flesh meat, and dairy produce from Canada and Australia? She cannot produce in the British Isles all the food she needs; but what she draws from these distant members of the empire is British produce all the same. The time may come when the United States will have no grain or beef to spare for export, whilst Britain will still have her sources of supply in the vast continental areas of Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Last year £178,513,847 of the imports into the United Kingdom were duty-free articles of food and drink; £27,242,421 were dutiable articles of food and drink; £9,614,637 were living animals for food; and £142,549,334 were food for our factories — raw material.

The following table is not meant to be exhaustive, but only illustrative of a few little facts ignored by Mr. Brooks Adams:

TABLE OF EXPORTS.

From	1885.	1900.	From	1885.	1900.
India			Queensland		
Metals..... Rx. 183,859		451,348	Copper cwt. 1,132		19,300
Ceylon			Tin "		20,000
Plumbago.... cwt. 196,399		635,224	Cape Colony		
New South Wales			Copper... " 400,000		550,000
Copper cwt.		108,902	Canada		
Silver lead.. " 3,808		8,514,179	Copper..... " 25,140		85,700
South Australia			Lead..... " 80		340,580
Copper..... cwt. 70,354		110,162	Nickel..... "		14,280
Lead..... tons, 9		35,077	Newfoundland		
Silver lead.. " 194		20,957	Copper £21,337		£60,051
Tasmania					
Copper cwt.		166,860			
Tin "		45,920			

In a review of the world's commerce recently issued by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Washington, it is stated that during the last year the inundation of foreign markets by American goods proceeded with a constantly growing volume and force, surmounting many difficult obstacles and offering a strong temptation to over-confidence in the capabilities of the United States as an exporting nation. At the present time the United States is said to be nearing the top wave of industrial eminence, and there is ample reason for the belief that the next few years will witness a great expansion in the sale of her more highly de-

veloped manufactures. But in the annual reports of the consular officers for the year 1900, there runs, along with a common note of satisfaction, a warning, here and there, of a more strenuous competition, which in the end may counterbalance the superior advantages of America to a considerable extent, and check her progress in the world's markets, unless she equips herself for the ultimate phases of the struggle. It is a bigger task than most Americans are aware of, when they rejoice over the growth of their exports, without quite realizing how big a thing international trade has become since the Stars and Stripes covered most of the cargo on the transatlantic routes.

To compare with the foregoing I submit the following tables, which show the imports and exports of the United States, by grand divisions, in the calendar years 1890 and 1900. In the figures showing the distribution by continents in 1900 the December distribution is estimated, though the grand total of imports and exports for 1900 is based upon the complete figures of the Bureau of Statistics:

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

To	1890.	1900.
Europe	\$682,585,856	\$1,111,456,000
North America.....	95,517,863	202,486,000
South America.....	34,722,122	41,384,000
Asia	22,854,028	60,596,000
Oceanica.....	17,375,745	39,956,000
Africa	4,446,934	22,170,000

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

From	1890.	1900.
Europe	\$474,656,257	\$439,500,000
North America.....	151,490,330	131,200,000
South America.....	100,959,799	102,000,000
Asia	68,340,309	122,800,000
Oceanica.....	23,781,018	23,400,000
Africa.....	3,169,086	9,900,000

Nothing is more marvellous, as Mr. O. P. Austin says, than the development of commerce in the nineteenth century — an increase he computes at 1,000 per cent while the increase in population was less than 150 per cent. How large a proportion of that increase is due to the wonderful growth of the United States of America is pretty well known to every schoolboy in the American Union. But it does not appear to the present writer to be so well known as it ought to be in America how much of the world's commerce has developed and is growing under the British flag. When Arthur Young said, about the beginning of the last century, that the American Revolution had proved a blessing to the world, but more so to England than to America, he was

laughed to scorn. But it was, as he said, one of the most remarkable and singular experiments in politics that the world has ever seen, "for a people to lose an empire of thirteen provinces, and to gain by that loss an increase of wealth, felicity, and power." What the end of another century may show it is well not to attempt to predict; but the world has never seen anything like the past hundred years' growth of both Britain and America.

As Mr. Austin has eloquently put it:

"All the great developments of this wonderful century have combined to aid commerce, and articles which at its beginning were luxuries enjoyed only by the rich are now considered necessities by the masses. The natural products of the tropics have become the necessities of the temperate zone, and the manufactures of the temperate zone are demanded for daily life in the tropics. The grain-producing areas of the newer countries contribute to the food supply of the Old World, and take in exchange the products of its workshops; and the Orient yields its silks, teas, and spices in exchange for food-stuffs, machinery, and manufactures. Meantime, Finance, with its consummate art of balancing commodity against commodity and exchange against exchange, sits aloft, and with golden reins skilfully guides the transactions which steam and electricity thus make possible, balancing the sales of one country against the purchases of another, weighing the value of this and measuring the usefulness of that, bringing order out of what appears endless confusion and hopeless disorder, and by its skilful, complex, and silent machinery making possible this enormous exchange of commodities with the transfer of the smallest possible proportion of circulating medium."

But, perhaps, the average American does not sufficiently acknowledge how the development of the Tropics and of the Southern Hemisphere has been essentially the work of Britain, and how necessities caused by that development have made markets for American natural products, the wealth drawn from which has enabled the United States to become, in turn, a great industrial nation.

Let us now compare the external trade of the whole British Empire with that of its three greatest competitors:

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
British Empire	£811,678,209	£660,399,363	£1,472,077,572
United States.....	194,905,000	332,980,000	527,885,000
Germany	277,823,350	220,716,650	498,540,000
France	176,341,200	163,121,280	339,462,480

If these figures are added up and compared it will be seen that the external trade of the British Empire is £106,190,092 *more* than the whole external trade of the United States, the German Empire, and France put together!

Commerce, says Emerson, is a game of skill, which everyone cannot play, and which few men can play well. For "men" read "nations,"

and apply the apophthegm to the international position. I do not find, in spite of the alarmists, any evidence that the British nation has lost its inherited ability to "play well." The fact that other nations have improved does not imply that we have deteriorated in skill. We may keep up the best total score without winning every rubber. "Trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay" may do very well as a quotation for the platform address of a Socialistic tub-thumper, but it is not consistent with fact. The Roman Empire fell to pieces because it had no commercial basis. The French Empire collapsed because it was supported not by trade, but by militarism. All the empires of the past that have vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision were founded upon conquest. But the British Empire survives, and will survive, because it is founded upon commerce and is sustained by humanity.

I read in this review some time ago an article by Mr. Charles A. Conant, in the course of which he said:

"Whether trade invariably follows the flag or not, the real question of the benefits of Australia, India, Canada, and Egypt to Great Britain, and of Algeria, Tunis, and Madagascar to France, relates to the fields which have been and will be opened there for the profitable investment of capital, and not merely to the quantity of finished goods laid down annually in the export trade. The development of a new country by means of railways, roads, and docks, is the forerunner of higher civilization, better wages, enlarged wants, and increased consumption. The benefits of this large market for goods usually fall to the country which provides the capital for the primary development, especially if it is that country also which, by its political control, affords the guarantees of security and order."¹

Trade *does* follow the flag, if not always in the sense generally intended by the expression. The flag is a sort of national endorsement — the banker's guarantee that gives confidence, and encourages investment. Capital flows to British colonies, British dependencies, and British protectorates, just because the British flag flies there as a symbol of freedom, of truth, and of justice — as a guarantee that life and property are safe, and that the rights of all men, whether rich or poor, will be respected and conserved. Trade does follow the flag, because the flag means confidence, and confidence is the basis of commerce.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

¹"The Struggle for Commercial Empire." THE FORUM, for June, 1899.

ENGLAND, PORTUGAL, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS.

FROM a moral point of view the twentieth century has begun in a very sad way. In South Africa a spectacle is being shown which is a disgrace to Christianity. A cruel war is being waged in which two small peaceful, religious, Protestant Republics are being destroyed with fire and sword by mighty Protestant England, who has always thought herself at the summit of civilization. A great many enlightened Englishmen already agree with us in thinking not only that this war, provoked by the triumvirate, Cecil Rhodes, Milner, and Chamberlain, might have been avoided by more ability and greater knowledge of the conditions of the case, but also that it ought to have been avoided.

Many years ago Trollope acknowledged, in his work on South Africa, that the way in which the English treated the Transvaalers was unjustifiable. Froude openly confesses in his "Diary" that the seizure of the diamond fields by the English was a great wrong, in which the British Government was shamefully imposed upon by a gang of exploiters. Yet Great Britain still continues to choose the path of injustice. Driven on by fortune-hunters, her aim is now the gold mines. All else is but a pretext, a means to an end. Gold and imperialism hold sway. The proclamation given out by President Steyn and by General de Wet on January 14, 1901, shows in what a cruel way this war is carried on.

This document declares that neither the customs of civilized warfare nor the articles of the Geneva Convention have been observed by the English. It cites the seizure of hospital ambulances, the capture of doctors, the deportation of non-combatants, the intentional pillage and destruction of the Boers' private property, the employment of Kaffirs in the war, and the wrongs done to women and to children. The official figures published by the British confirm the fact that the war is waged in a ruthless manner. This is shown not only by the British official "Return of Buildings Burned," but also by the official reports from the camps where the captive wives and children of the Boers are herded together like cattle. According to these returns, from April 15 to May

15, 1901, out of 3,125 women and children thus confined there were 80 deaths, being at the rate of 435 per thousand a year. In England the average mortality is at the rate of 22 per thousand a year.

Some of the proclamations given over the signatures of British commanding officers constitute a reversion to the practices of the seventeenth century. Among them may be mentioned the proclamations of Lord Roberts on June 16, 1900, and the instructions of Lord Kitchener, dated October 15, 1900. Against these methods General Louis Botha, Commander in Chief of the Boer forces, entered a solemn protest in a letter to Lord Roberts on September 6, 1900. He said:

"It is known to me that barbarous actions of this kind have been committed by the troops under your command, and not only near the railway but also in places far removed from railways. Wheresoever your troops move, not only are houses burned down or blown up by dynamite, but defenceless women and children are ejected, and deprived of food and shelter, and all this without any just cause for such proceedings."

Bearing all these things in mind, it is sad to find that this Goliath is not content with sending all his own military forces to crush this small nation of heroes, but he must needs implore other nations to help him. England has not only endeavored to secure the good-will of Germany by flattering the Emperor and by giving the Crown Prince a riband, but she has even found it necessary to secure the aid of Portugal, a neutral state whose possessions border on the Transvaal.

It is worth while to examine the relations existing between the Governments of Great Britain and Portugal. Under pressure from England, Portugal allowed the British forces, in March, 1900, to use the port of Beira, in Portuguese territory, in order to reach the northern part of the Transvaal. To grant such permission was not in accordance with the duty of a neutral state, for a neutral should scrupulously abstain from giving any help whatever to either of the belligerents, and should never allow her territory to be made a base for warlike operations. But the British Government insisted upon this concession; claiming that this right of way had been given it by a certain treaty. In fact, this treaty stipulation referred to quite different circumstances, namely, military expeditions against natives, and had no connection with the question at issue. The Portuguese Government yielded.

It must be acknowledged that, except in this instance, Portugal held closely to the duties of a neutral during the early part of the war. This neutral attitude caused great annoyance to the English authorities, as goods and supplies not contraband of war continued to pass through Lourenço Marquez to the Transvaal. England already controlled the

ports of Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth. Wishing to isolate her adversaries, she did her utmost to induce Portugal to forbid the transportation through her territories even of those goods which are not prohibited by the law of nations. England was unwilling to bind herself to any list of forbidden goods, and contraband, according to British ideas, became a very comprehensive expression which, finally, was made to include everything — clothes for men, women, or children, ordinary food, etc.

At Lourenço Marquez there lived a man, able, energetic, and zealous, who greatly disapproved of this arbitrary behavior of the British. This was Mr. Pott, consul of the Netherlands and also consul-general of the two South African Republics at the Portuguese port of Lourenço Marquez. He succeeded in securing the transportation of all kinds of innocent goods which would never have reached their destination without his aid. He thus caused great annoyance to the British. As soon as the Republics were declared "annexed" — although such a declaration was of no value, seeing that it was issued by a merely temporary occupant of the country, and that it was followed not by peaceful rule and authority, but by continued warfare — Great Britain succeeded in persuading Portugal to withdraw from Mr. Pott his *exequatur* as consul-general of the Republics. Accordingly, that office ceased to exist, but Mr. Pott still remained consul for the Netherlands.

On November 17, 1900, the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. de Beaufort, was informed by the Dutch Minister resident at Lisbon that the Portuguese Government wished also to withdraw from Mr. Pott his *exequatur* as consul of the Netherlands. However, before proceeding to such an extreme measure, Portugal suggested that Mr. Pott should be recalled by his own Government. The complaint made against him was in connection with the importation of certain heliographic instruments labelled as photographic apparatus. The Dutch Ministry had heard nothing of this affair except through newspaper reports. There had been no official report or complaint in regard to it. Afterward Mr. Pott declared that he had had nothing whatever to do, as consul, with this business. In reply to the complaints of Portugal, Mr. de Beaufort said that as this incident had occurred so long before, and as Portugal had not called attention to it at the time, he thought it best to have the affair accurately examined before deciding upon a course of action; and that, therefore, there could be no question of recalling Mr. Pott until the matter had been investigated. The Dutch Minister at Lisbon was also instructed to cable to Mr. Pott for information in regard to the affair.

At this juncture Mr. Pott requested leave of absence on account of his health; and the Dutch Government proposed to Portugal that the affair should be held in suspense pending Mr. Pott's return to Holland, when the matter could be thoroughly investigated.

At the beginning of December the Portuguese Government, apparently urged on by some mighty influence, insisted upon the immediate withdrawal of Mr. Pott's *exequatur*. It could not wait more than a few days. Why not? Was there *periculum in mora*? Did England long so urgently that this troublesome Pott should be removed from Lourenço Marquez? We are not sure about this. The Dutch Government answered that a revocation of the *exequatur* at that moment would appear not to be in accordance with those friendly relations which had always existed between Portugal and the Netherlands. Notwithstanding this protest Portugal withdrew the *exequatur*, whereupon the Dutch Minister at Lisbon was recalled, and the Portuguese Government recalled its Minister from the Hague. The incident was concluded in February, 1901, when the Count of Celir, Minister of the King of Portugal at the Court of the Hague, returned to Holland to present to the Queen the congratulations of his royal master upon the occasion of Her Majesty's wedding. Portugal having taken this first step toward the renewal of friendly relations, the Jonkheer van Weede, Minister of the Queen of Holland at the Court of Lisbon, was instructed to resume his post in Portugal.

What was the real cause of all this? Although Great Britain had proclaimed the annexation of the Republics, she was far from being mistress of the country. She saw more and more clearly the great difficulties which would have to be overcome. Mighty England had to find allies, especially an ally who could control Lourenço Marquez, in order to suppress those much-despised Boers. So this Anglo-Portuguese alliance was concluded—it is not yet known at what price. England, delighted at this achievement, and anxious to please her new friend, announced that on December 5, 1900, a great squadron should pay Lisbon a visit of courtesy, which should at the same time make known to all the world that Portugal could reckon in future on the support of the mightiest navy of the globe. The Portuguese Ministry, urged on, according to some, by the English and their sympathizers, held a meeting on December 4, and resolved to withdraw from Mr. Pott his *exequatur* as consul of the Netherlands. The next day Jonkheer van Weede left Lisbon by order of his Government. The "Seculo," a newspaper which published its version of the incident on that very morning, was awkward enough to acknowledge that all this had been done at the instigation of England.

But to remove the bad impression which this article had made in all circles, the "Novidades" — an organ inspired by the Government — endeavored, in its evening edition, to diminish the importance of the incident, and to remove the impression as to British influence.

That same day an English squadron anchored in the roads of Lisbon. After official visits had been exchanged, the King and his Ministers went aboard the *Majestic*, on which Admiral Rawson had hoisted his flag. Even Queen Amélie did the same, welcoming the other vessels by Marconi telegrams. One festivity followed another. At a banquet in honor of the English, given at the palace on December 6, the King, in proposing the health of Queen Victoria, said that for centuries the relations between England and Portugal had been most intimate, and that he hoped the inviolable ties which bound the small but brave nation to its great ally would in future be the more strengthened. The word "ally" was then for the first time pronounced officially. The existence of such an alliance had previously been suspected; now it was declared openly. In a cablegram which the King sent to Queen Victoria that evening after dinner, he said that he was exceedingly pleased with the firm alliance which united Portugal and England.

The strangest thing of all is the short memory of the King of Portugal. Had he quite forgotten the humiliations which these so-called friends had for centuries inflicted upon his people? If one must *faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu*, at least one need not fall into exaggerations. Dignity should not be forgotten. It is worth while to study a few historical facts, which are of such importance that they should be remembered by those who have the honor to govern a proud people.

One of these facts is connected with the year 1759. Since the Treaty of Methuen, Portugal had been kept in subjection by England. France and Great Britain were at war. A small French squadron under De la Clue had bravely fought for a whole day against a superior British force under Admiral Boscawen. To escape pursuit De la Clue ran his vessels aground upon the neutral coast of Portugal, between Sagres and Lagos. But the British Admiral cared little about the laws of nations, or about the laws of neutrality. With his sixteen vessels he attacked the French squadron; and, in spite of the fire from the Portuguese forts, he captured two French ships and burnt the rest. This was a distinct insult to Portugal, which was then, as it is now, a small, weak, and impoverished state. Only four years before it had been overwhelmed by a great calamity — the earthquake which destroyed Lisbon and several other towns. But at that period the King of Portugal had for Prime Minister a superior

and eminent man, the Marquess of Pombal, whom the people called *o gran marquez* (the great marquess). He could not tolerate such an insult to the proud people which he governed in the King's name. He protested vigorously, and wrote as follows to the British Government:

"I know that your Cabinet has assumed dominion over ours, but I also know that it is time this should cease. My predecessors may have been weak enough to grant you everything you wanted, but I shall never grant you anything but what I owe you. This is my last word; take your measures in accordance with it.

"I bid your Excellency not to remind me of the indulgence which my Government has shown toward yours. It is such as no kingdom ever showed toward another. It is only just that your ascendancy should cease, and that we should show to Europe that we have shaken off the yoke of a foreign domination. We cannot show this more plainly than by requiring from your Government a satisfaction which you have no right to refuse. France would consider us impotent if we showed ourselves unable to demand satisfaction for the offence you have committed in burning vessels upon our very coasts. The satisfaction which I ask is in accordance with the law of nations. It happens every day that, through zeal or through want of consideration, officers of the navy or army do what they ought not to do. It is the duty of their Government to punish them, and to give satisfaction to the state which they have offended."

This language impressed the English Court. Lord Knowles was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Portugal to apologize for the violation of territory, and to add the assurance that the British officers had received orders to act with more circumspection in the future. But nothing was done beyond this. Although the two French vessels, the *Téméraire* and *Modeste*, had been unjustly seized by the British, they were never restored.

Let us now take another instance of more recent date. Between 1885 and 1887 the Portuguese, masters of the coast of Mozambique, had succeeded without the aid of a single rifle-bullet in gaining the submission of the native chiefs of Zambesia, in the valleys of the Pan-yame, the Sanyati, and the Umfuli, as well as of the chiefs of Mashona and of the neighborhood of Nyassa Lake. It is unnecessary to say that England did not like this, as she intended to make herself mistress of these regions. On August 13, 1887, the Court of St. James announced its intentions to the Portuguese Government, and declared that it did not acknowledge Portugal's claims to Mashonaland and Nyassa. The Cabinet of Lisbon replied that these countries had been at all times dependencies of the Crown of Portugal, that the Portuguese Government had formerly kept troops and maintained fortresses there, and that, if effective occupation had ceased temporarily, the native chiefs had never ceased to acknowledge the suzerainty of Portugal.

Without waiting for further discussion England sent troops to the disputed regions, under Mr. Selous and Mr. Colquhoun, who manœuvred in such a way as to win over Lobengula, King of the Matabeles and so-called suzerain of Mashona. He accepted the protectorate of the British and gave them the monopoly of nine concessions in his dominions. Portugal protested vigorously, but England did not mind this in the least. She continued on her way, and on October 29, 1889, she granted to the British South African Company all rights over the country north of Bechuanaland, that is to say, over Khama's country, Matabeleland, and Mashonaland. Cecil Rhodes, the director of this company, immediately instructed Mr. Selous to occupy these annexed territories by military forces.

All these proceedings constituted a most exasperating affront to Portugal from her pretended friend, but she endeavored to preserve her dignity. On November 9, 1889, the Portuguese Government published in the official newspaper of Lisbon a decree organizing the administration of Mozambique, and constituting a new province, called Zumbo, which included Mashonaland and Nyassa.

England laughed in her sleeve. The British Cabinet informed the Portuguese Ministry, on November 21, that it would not pay any heed to the protest of Portugal. As usual, the imperialistic press, headed by the "Times," raised a storm of invective against these poor Portuguese, who had dared to place themselves across the path which England, or rather Mr. Rhodes' Chartered Company, had reserved for its own occupation. While diplomatic negotiations were becoming more and more entangled, Major Serpa-Pinto, who, at the head of a large body of Portuguese troops, had been operating in Middle Zambesi and in the valley of the Shiré for more than a year, received notice, in November, 1889, from a British consul named Johnston, that England had extended her protectorate to the region which his (Major Serpa-Pinto's) troops then occupied. The Portuguese commander, thinking there could be no foundation for this claim, continued his advance; and having been told that a rebellious tribe had attacked a steamer of the English Lake Company on the Shiré, he directed his way toward this tribe to chastise them. Strong in his right and in his duty Serpa-Pinto attacked the Makololos, and scattered them. The Portuguese claim that these bands of savages were armed with English guns, were provided with English gunpowder, and bore English flags, some of which were picked up on the field of battle.

At the news of this Portuguese victory over the savages the English press committed great excesses. The newspapers declared that Portugal

had excommunicated herself from the society of nations; that she was a nation of deceivers and of pirates; that an end should be put to her existence; that England had been generous and forbearing too long, and should not become the dupe of Portugal, etc., etc. This was the same refrain which they sang later when Major Marchand of France took the liberty of occupying Fashoda before John Bull. The Cabinet of Lisbon offered, as did the South African Republic a few years ago, to submit the matter to arbitration. England haughtily refused, considering herself the sole arbitrator in everything.

On January 12, 1900, Lord Salisbury sent the Portuguese Government a most humiliating ultimatum; dictating word for word the order which he required the Portuguese Government to issue. He wrote:

"The British Government desires and insists that the following instructions should be sent at once by cable to the Governor of Mozambique: Recall immediately all Portuguese troops at present on the Shiré, as well as those in the country of the Makololos and of the Mashonas. The British Government is of the opinion that without this action the assurances given by the Government of Portugal are insufficient. Mr. Petre [the British Minister at Lisbon] will find himself obliged, according to his instructions, to leave Lisbon immediately, with all the members of the Legation, unless he receives a satisfactory answer this afternoon."

What a stinging blow for a proud people — a people whose intrepid sailor sons, such as Alphonso d'Albuquerque and Vasco da Gama, had once discovered and conquered half the world. What was Portugal to do? It was "might against right," the iron pot against the earthen pot. There was nothing left for her but to submit and obey. That same day Mr. Petre received the following reply from the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"Foreseeing the danger of a rupture with Great Britain and the consequences incident thereto, the Government of Portugal resigns itself to the conditions formulated in the last note of the British Government. While reserving the rights of the Portuguese Crown in the above-mentioned territories of Africa, as well as the right under article 12 of the Convention of Berlin, to have recourse to arbitration for the solution of differences, the Government of the King has despatched to the Governor of Mozambique the orders demanded by Great Britain."¹

In Portugal this insult provoked a violent emotion which almost developed into a revolution. A crowd gathered in front of the British Legation, tore down the escutcheon, and dragged the flag in the mud. The effigy of Serpa-Pinto was crowned with flowers and carried in triumph through the streets of Lisbon. A public subscription was opened to buy or build war-vessels, and within a couple of days a large sum was sub-

¹ The British ultimatum and the Portuguese reply are both taken from a French translation.

scribed. At first Parliament refused to ratify what it called the capitulation of the Government, and the Ministry was overthrown. The King himself sent back to Queen Victoria the insignia of the Bath and of the Garter.

Enough of this! Are these the friendly relations in which the King of Portugal takes such pride? Or is the King's memory so short?

The English press, with its usual facility for inventing things which have not happened, reported that the Boers had invaded Portuguese territory and destroyed the railway. This was only a *ballon d'essai* to find out whether the Portuguese Government and people could be induced to meddle in the war by giving England the military assistance which she needed. But the Portuguese did not bite at the apple, and the English Jingo papers were obliged to confess that the attack had not taken place on Portuguese territory, but only near it.

Another effort to keep the favor and help of Portugal was made after Queen Victoria's funeral. The King of Portugal was invited by his ally and friend to remain in England a long time, and received the high compliment of an honorary colonelcy of a British regiment.

In the "Fortnightly Review" for June, 1901, Mr. E. B. Iwan-Müller says:

"For many years to come the Transvaal will necessarily be the chief source of the wealth of the Dominion. The Transvaal, however, is an *enclave*. Of the three lines of communication with the sea, the most direct lies through Portuguese territory to Delagoa Bay, which sooner or later must come under the sole and immediate sovereignty of Great Britain."

Must come? By right or by might? Why ask the question? We live in the twentieth century. By might, of course — the only English right.

DEN BEER POORTUGAEL.

THE IDEAL SCHOOL AS BASED ON CHILD STUDY.

I SHALL try in this paper to break away from all current practices, traditions, methods, and philosophies, for a brief moment, and ask what education would be if based solely upon a fresh and comprehensive view of the nature and needs of childhood. Hitherto the data for such a construction of the ideal school have been insufficient, and soon they will be too manifold for any one mind to make the attempt; so the moment is opportune. What follows is based almost solely, point by point, upon the study of the stages of child development, and might, perhaps, without presumption be called a first attempt to formulate a practical programme of this great movement. In my limited space I can do little more than barely state the conclusions that affect the practical work of teachers.

The school I shall describe exists nowhere, but its methods, unless I err, are valid everywhere. Although many of its features exist already, and could be pieced together in a mosaic from many lands and ages, it is essentially the school invisible, not made with hands. But, as there is nothing so practical as the truly ideal, although my school to-day exists nowhere, it might be organized anywhere to-morrow; and I hope that the most and the least conservative will agree that it is the true goal of all endeavor, and will not differ except as to whether it may be realized at once or only at the end of a long period of labor. I confess that something like this has from the first animated all my own feeble educational endeavors, and that without it I should be without hope and without goal in the world of pedagogy.

Beginning with the deep philosophy often embedded in words, "school," or "schole," means leisure, exemption from work, the perpetuation of the primeval paradise created before the struggle for existence began. It stands for the prolongation of human infancy, and the no whit less important prolongation of adolescence. It is sacred to health, growth, and heredity, a pound of which is worth a ton of instruction. The guardians of the young should strive first of all to keep out of nature's way, and to prevent harm, and should merit the proud title of de-

fenders of the happiness and rights of children. They should feel profoundly that childhood, as it comes fresh from the hand of God, is not corrupt, but illustrates the survival of the most consummate thing in the world; they should be convinced that there is nothing else so worthy of love, reverence, and service as the body and soul of the growing child.

Practically, this means that every invasion of this leisure, the provision of a right measure of which is our first duty to youth, has a certain presumption against it, and must justify itself by conclusive reasons. Before we let the pedagogue loose upon childhood, not only must each topic in his curriculum give an account of itself, but his inroads must be justified in the case of each child. We must overcome the fetichism of the alphabet, of the multiplication table, of grammars, of scales, and of bibliolatry, and must reflect that but a few generations ago the ancestors of all of us were illiterate; that the invention of Cadmus seemed the sowing of veritable dragon's teeth in the brain; that Charlemagne and many other great men of the world could not read or write; that scholars have argued that Cornelia, Ophelia, Beatrice, and even the blessed mother of our Lord knew nothing of letters. The knights, the élite leaders of the Middle Ages, deemed writing a mere clerk's trick beneath the attention of all those who scorned to muddle their wits with others' ideas, feeling that their own were good enough for them.

Nay more: there are many who ought not to be educated, and who would be better in mind, body, and morals if they knew no school. What shall it profit a child to gain the world of knowledge and lose his own health? Cramming and over-schooling have impaired many a feeble mind, for which, as the proverb says, nothing is so dangerous as ideas too large for it. We are coming to understand the vanity of mere scholarship and erudition, and to know that even ignorance may be a wholesome poultice for weakly souls; while scribes, sophists, scholastics, and pedants suggest how much of the learning of the past is now seen to be vanity, and how incompetent pedagogues have been as guardians of the sacred things of culture. Thus, while I would abate no whit from the praise of learning and education for all who are fit for them, I would bring discrimination down to the very basis of our educational pyramid.

I. The kindergarten age is from two or three to six or seven. Here, before the ideal school can be inaugurated, we need some work of rescue from the symbolists. Now the body needs most attention, and the soul least. The child needs more mother, and less teacher; more of the educated nurse, and less of the metaphysician. We must largely eliminate, and partly reconstruct, the mother-plays, while transforming and vastly

enlarging the repertory of the gifts and occupations. We must develop the ideal nursery, playgrounds, and rooms, where light, air, and water are at their best. The influences of the new hygiene have been felt least here, where they are needed most. The neglect of these basal principles suggests that we have still among us those whose practice implies a belief that any old place is good enough to hatch out beautiful souls, provided only Froebelian orthodoxy of doctrine and method is steadfastly maintained. In place of a magic mongering with them, the cubes, spheres, cylinder, and also the top, soap-bubble, doll, dances, marches, circus, and scores of other free plays and games; and in place of two or three fish, insects, animals, plants, several score must be provided, and a museum and *catalogue raisonné* of toys must be at hand. Eating bread, milk, fruit, with some simple table manners, and using paper napkins, sometimes do wonders for these human larvæ. Feeding brightens the mind and saves the disposition; a full stomach opens the mouth, and good courses of lessons could be derived from the viands themselves.

The kindergarten should fill more of the day, and should strive to kill time. In the Berlin Institute children sleep at noon in a darkened room, with music, crackers, or even bottles, and thus resist man's enemy, fatigue, and restore paradise for themselves. Part of the cult here should be idleness and the intermediate state of reverie. We should have a good excuse to break into these, and at this age children should be carefully shielded from all suspicion of any symbolic sense. Thus in play and in play only, life is made to seem real. Imitation should have a far larger scope. Children should hear far more English and better, and in the later years the ear should be trained for French or German. Color should never be taught as such. The children of the rich, generally prematurely individualized or over-individualized, especially when they are only children, must be disciplined and subordinated; while the children of the poor, usually under-individualized, should be indulged. We should lose no syllable of the precious positive philosophy of Froebel, the deepest of all modern educational thinkers; but we must profoundly reconstruct every practical expression that he attempted of his ideas, and must strive to induce at least a few college-trained men and women to turn their attention to the kindergarten, thus making the training schools feel, what they have hitherto known so little of, the real spirit and influence of modern science. Teachers should study every child, not necessarily by any of the current technical methods. They should learn far more than they can teach, and in place of the shallow mannikin child of books they should see, know, and love only the real thing. After this metempsy-

chosis, the kindergarten should be, and should become, an integral part of every school system.

II. The age of about seven or eight is a transition period of the greatest interest for science. Then most children have less chewing surface by three or four teeth; there is a year or more of increased danger to the heart; the breath is shorter and fatigue easier; lassitude, nervousness, visual disorders, and cough are somewhat more imminent; and the blood is more often impoverished. The brain has practically finished for life its growth in weight and size; and all work and strain must be reduced. Some important corner in its time of development, not yet fully understood, is turned.

III. At eight or nine there begins a new period, which, for nearly four years, to the dawn of puberty, constitutes a unique stage of life, marked off by many important differences from the period which precedes and that which follows it. During these years there is a decreased rate of growth, so that the body relatively rests; but there is a striking increase of vitality, activity, and power to resist disease. Fatigue, too, is now best resisted, and it is amazing to see how much can be endured. The average child now plays more games and has more daily activity, in proportion to size and weight, than at any other stage. It would seem, as I have proposed elsewhere with ground for the theory, as though these four years represented, on the recapitulation theory, a long period in some remote age, well above the simian, but mainly before the historic period, when our early forebears were well adjusted to their environment. Before a higher and much more modern story was added to human nature the young in warm climates, where most human traits were evolved, became independent of their parents, and broke away to subsist for themselves at an early age. In this age, which we will call the juvenile, the individual boy to-day is a precious key for the reconstruction of a stage in the history of the race otherwise very obscure.

However this may be, child nature suggests very plainly that this period should be mainly devoted to drill, habituation, and mechanism. The age of reason is only dawning, and is not yet much in order; but discipline should be the watchword here. Writing, and even reading, for instance, should be neglected in our system before eight, and previous school work should focus on stories, the study of nature, and education by play and other activities. Now writing and reading should be first taught with stress. Their nascent period is now beginning. If we teach them before, we are apt to make the average child a bad writer for life by precocious over-emphasis on the finer muscles. Modern studies show that

the zigzag of the eye back and forth along the printed line is as dangerous as is the too early wigwag of the pen. At best the strain laid upon these tiny muscles is dangerous. Too early drill in read-writing is also enormously wasteful, because intensive effort gives facility now in an amazingly short time. Now first the smaller muscles in the average child, so important for mind and will training, can bear hard work and much strain. Accuracy, which when out of its season is fraught with so many dangers for mind and body, is now in order.

Verbal memory is now at its very best, and should be trained far more than it is. We are now educating the automatic bases of both mind and morals, and habits are never so easily formed or made stable. Manual training and games should be extremely diverse, manifold, and thorough. It is the time to break in the human colt, which is by nature in some sense the wildest of all wild animals. If the piano or any other musical instrument is to be learned, this is the time for drill, especially on scales and exercises. An instrumentalist's technique is rarely good if its foundations are not laid in this age. Names, even technical ones, come now. Drawing, too, should now come into prominence, beginning in its large and perfectly free form before writing, and only near the end of the period becoming severely methodic and accurate. Art training should not result in intimidation, but first everything should be drawn — battles, fires, shipwrecks, and railroad accidents, with plenty of human figures and action, and no angles, straight lines, or regular curves, which have come very late in the history of the race. This would make drawing, as it should be, a real expression of the child's soul, and the child would copy what he, and not what the adult, sees.

The mother tongue will be the vehicle of nearly all the work of this period; but it will be on the short circuit from ear to mouth, which existed for unknown eons before writing or reading, and not chiefly on the long circuit and biologically very recent brain-path from eye to hand. Teachers praise written work in home and at school — compositions, essays, class work; but all these appeal to new and undeveloped powers of nerve and muscle. It is because we try to establish good English upon these foundations, so precarious at this stage, that we have so much and so just complaint of bad English. We ruin both handwriting and idiomatic speech by precocity. The child should live in a world of sonorous speech. He should hear and talk for hours each day; and then he would lay foundations for terse and correct English, and would keep read-writing, as it should forever be, subordinate to hearing and speaking. He would write as he speaks, and we should escape the abomination of

bookish talk. At this stage written work should be required far less than at present.

Further, to secure these ends, we must first lay less stress upon correct spelling — which is, after all, of far less importance than we think — and also upon correct, adult Addisonian syntax. Good grammar is too much to expect yet. We must strive first for utterance and expression, which may be homely if only vigorous and adequate. Hence, much that we call slang has its place, and is really a revival of English in its most formative stage. The prim proprieties we idolize are not yet, but it is the hour of delight in cogency of expression. We do not yet know what slang to teach or how to teach it, but we ought to give the best of it an important place. The boy is not totally depraved because he loves the speech of Chimmie Fadden, of Mr. Ade, or of "The Charwoman," because such language is fresh from the mint where all words were made. Our end is the cultivation of expression, which must bring out clearly and strongly what is in the boy's soul. This expression must be of a kind at least no less effective for other boys than for us. A training that gives the power of writing or even talking upon any subject or upon none in particular is bad and vicious. Children have no right to write unless it is upon some subject that they know and upon which they feel strongly. Theme and composition should be strictly confined to the fields of interest, and then expression will find or make a vent for itself. Moreover, we should not teach language, as such, or apart from objects, acts, and concrete reality-truth. We must burn most of our language books.

At this stage, arithmetic, so greatly overdone in American schools, should be mechanized with plenty of mental exercises, and later with rules and processes for written work, with only little attempt at explanation. The elements of geometry, especially on the constructive side, and the metric system should come early, and the rudiments of algebra later. This is the stage, too, for beginning one or two foreign languages. These should always first be taught by ear and mouth. The child has a natural desire to express himself in many other vocal forms than the vernacular, for it is the age when all kinds of gibberish, dog Latin, and inventive words culminate. It represents the stage when human speech evolved fastest. If these languages are taught earlier, they jeopardize idiomatic English; if later, they are never pronounced or used with precision, and are not immediate vehicles of thought. Psychology has shown that speech is greatly reinforced by appeals to the eye, not in the form of the written or printed word, but through pictures, and that even color intensifies the linguistic effect. Many a

French or German word that could not otherwise be recalled is reproduced or first taught more permanently if the object or picture is shown or the appropriate action is performed at the same instant. Books should be by no means discarded, but the chief stress should be laid on the oral work and thought. The object should be brought into immediate action without the intervention of the English word.

As to the dead languages, if they are to be taught, Latin should be begun not later than ten or eleven, and Greek never later than twelve or thirteen. Here both object and method are very different. These languages are taught through English, and the eye-hand circuit should have much more prominence. Word matching and translation are the goal. The chief reason why the German boy of fifteen or sixteen in *Unter Secunda* does so easily here what seems to us prodigious is because he is taught to study; and the teacher's chief business in class is not to hear recitations, but to study with the boys. One of the best of these teachers told me that the boy should never see a dictionary or even a vocabulary, but the teacher must be a "pony." The pupil should never be brought face to face with an unknown sentence, but everything must be carefully translated for him; he must note all the unknown words from the teacher's lips and all the special grammatical points, so that home study and the first part of the next lesson will be merely repetitions of what the teacher had told and done.

The modern school geography should be reduced to about one-fourth or even one-eighth of its present volume. It is too often a mosaic of geology, topography, physical geography, botany, zoology, anthropology, meteorology, and astronomy. The facts of each of these sciences, however, are not taught in their natural or logical order; but the associations are mainly those of place and contiguity, not of similarity and cause. Even in these days of correlation of studies the facts of these sciences are separated from their logical connection with each other; and by the use of a more fortuitous local association the reason is injured. Our geographies do not respect the unity of the child's mind. Their facts are connected neither with each other nor with the nascent stages of growth. The interest in primitive man and animals culminates from nine to ten; that in trade and governmental parts of geography comes from sixteen to twenty. The geographies of the last two or three years have mitigated, but by no means healed, these evils; and, as we speak of Turkey as the sick man of Europe, we may still speak of geography as the sick subject of our curriculum.

Instead of reverencing this relic of mediævalism, as its history shows

it to be, we should greatly reduce the time given to it, and should first teach *Heimatskunde*; make maps more abundant, but more incidental to every topic, especially history; develop and teach elementary and illustrated anthropology and zoology, broadening to elementary astronomy, geology, meteorology, and botany, taught by and for themselves to bring out their disciplinary value, and so on in ways I have here no space to dwell upon. When we have reduced the enormous time now given to geography, the elements of each of these sciences will be taught in primers — some of which are now begun before the end of this period — which will continue the nature work of the period before seven or eight.

The hand is in a sense never so near the brain as now; knowledge never so strongly tends to become practical; muscular development never so conditions mental. Muscle training of every kind, from play up to manual work, must now begin. Instead of the Swedish or other curricularized and exactly finished objects made, we should have a curriculum of toys at first and of rude scientific apparatus later, where everything will focus more upon the ulterior use of the object than upon the process of making it. All these things will be chosen from the field of the child's interests.

Singing will be prominent in the ideal school at this age; but far more time will be given to rote singing than to singing from notes, especially at first. The chief aim will be not to develop the power to read music, important as the place of this is, but to educate the sentiments, and especially to attune them to love of home, nature, fatherland, and religion — the four chief themes of song in all ages, past and present. Music is the language of the feelings just as speech is of the intellect. It is as absurd to teach notes to children before they can sing well as it would be to teach them reading before they can speak. The object of musical education in the public school is to express and train the emotions, and, through these, the will and character, to preform joys and conduct, and not to make musicians.

Reason is still very undeveloped. The child's mind is at a stage when there is little in it that has not been brought in by way of sense. We must open wide the eye-gate and the ear-gate. "Show," "demonstrate," and "envisage" should be our watchwords, not "explain." We can easily make casuists and prigs, but we jeopardize thereby the ultimate vigor of reason. Hence we should explain very little. Even with respect to morals and conduct the chief duty of the child at this age is to obey. In most cases to try to explain brings self-consciousness and conceit.

This method is the resource of teachers and parents whose personality is deficient in authoritativeness. Obedience should still be a law, if not a passion. If it is lacking, this is due to imperfect character or perverted methods in adults.

In fine, this is the age for training, with plenty of space and time, however, for spontaneity and voluntary action. The good teacher is a true *pedotribe*, or boy driver. He needs some method, but much more matter. He or she finds relatively little sentiment but much selfishness bound up in the hearts of children at this age. One of the chronic errors of too fond mothers and of modern teachers is to overestimate the capacities of children, especially boys, at this age for sympathy with adult feelings or interests. The world we live in is not theirs. We are "Olympians," and can enforce our will because we are stronger. We must be tolerated and respected, and must be treated with all the forms of respect and obedience that we require; but the interest of children at this age is almost exclusively in each other, and in each other's ways, not in adults. This breaks out suddenly, but just later.

Just before this period ends, boys and girls in the ideal school will be chiefly, though not exclusively, placed under the care of teachers of their own sex. At the close of this period the ideal child, ideally trained, will be first of all helpful and active in body and mind; will read and write well; will know a great deal about the different aspects of nature in his home environment; will not be bookish, but will already know a few dozen well-chosen books; will understand and read simple French and German; and will perhaps have had a good start in Latin and Greek. Some buds of specialization will have begun to burgeon. This child will be able to play several dozen games; will know something of a number of industries; and will be able to make several dozen things that he is interested in. He will be respectful, though not particularly affectionate, and will take pleasure in obeying those he likes, and perhaps, more in disobeying those he dislikes. He will have attempted a number of organizations for teams, and will have formed a few societies, but all will have been transient. He will have some acquaintance with most of the story roots and literary monuments of the world, perhaps two or three score in number. He will sing, and will draw almost anything, not well, but intelligibly and without affectation.

Lastly, the ideal teacher at this age will be the captain of the child's soul; will be able to do some things with his or her body that the child cannot; will be able to answer most of the questions suggested by the field, the forest, the beach, the street, and their denizens; will suggest

plays and umpire games; will perhaps know a little of coaching, but will be a stern disciplinarian, genial withal, but rigorous and relentless in his exactions, and intolerant of all scamped work; will love occasional excursions and expeditions; will perhaps sing, play, and draw a little; will be able to do something expertly well; and, as perhaps the culminating quality, will have a repertory of the greatest stories the human race has ever told or heard.

The ideal story-teller will prefer twilight or evening, with at least the dim light that gives the imagination a chance over sense, perhaps with flickering flames to objectify his scenes. He will then weave the almost hypnotic charm of "Once upon a time." Thus he will repeat the tales of Ulysses, Orestes, Siegfried, Thor, King Arthur and his Knights, the wanderings of Æneas and Telemachus, perhaps some tales from one or other of the great ethnic Bibles, perhaps Dante, some of the soul-transforming myths of Plato — such as Atlantis, the cave, the two steeds — Hercules at the cross-roads, perhaps some legends from ancient India, Reynard the Fox, something from Grimm and Simrock. It is a grievous wrong to permit any child to satisfy the legal requirements of school attendance without some knowledge of these things. I believe in the ethical virtue of these things almost as I believe in the Bible, for they sink deep and transform. They are the Bible of childhood, and we must not withhold them. A story brings a vast body of related facts and persons to a sharp focus. This is what most modern methods of correlation fail to attain. Such stories discipline the heart and the attention at the same time, and implant a taste for good reading and a distaste for bad. Finally, the teacher should have good manners, a uniform disposition, much joy of life, and sympathy with just this age. Some persons are made to love children in this stage most of all; some, to love adolescents; the interest of most and their service to the young are almost always specialized; and none can be equally good teachers or parents for all ages.

IV. Adolescence is a term now applied to a pretty well-marked stage, beginning at about thirteen with girls and a year later with boys, and lasting about ten years, to the period of complete sexual maturity. It is subdivided into pubescence, the first two years; youth proper, from sixteen to twenty in boys and perhaps fifteen to nineteen in girls; and a finishing stage through the early twenties. The first stage is marked by a great increase in the rate of growth in both height and weight. It is a period of greater susceptibility to sickness for both sexes; but this vulnerability is due to the great changes, and the death rate is lower in the

early teens than at any other age. It is the time when there is the most rapid development of the heart and all the feelings and emotions. Fear, anger, love, pity, jealousy, emulation, ambition, and sympathy are either now born or springing into their most intense life. Now young people are interested in adults, and one of their strong passions is to be treated as if they were mature. They desire to know, do, and be all that becomes a man or woman. Childhood is ending, and plans for future vocations now spring into existence, and slowly grow definite and controlling.

There is often a new and exquisite sensitiveness to every breath of criticism, praise, or blame. All are anxious to know whether they are inferior or superior to others. There may be observed both a new diffidence and a new self-assertion. The largest percentage of criminals is found in the later teens, and at this time most conversions occur also. Both pleasure and pain are vastly intensified. Pugnacity becomes very strong, as does the instinct for showing off. The large muscles and then the small develop rapidly, but are at first unenduring and clumsy. The heart and arteries are suddenly enlarged, and the blood pressure is increased. Blushing is greatly developed. Nature puts body and soul on their mettle. Heredity chiefly and environment next determine whether the individual can cross this *pons* successfully; whether he can moult into maturity completely without loss or arrest. New friendships and new secrets are formed; the imagination blossoms; the soul is never so sensitive to all the aspects of nature; music, which may have been studied before, is now felt; the excelsior motive or the developmental push upward makes this the very best and richest season of life. New curiosities, amounting to intellectual hungers, are felt.

Thus again a few years or even months give us a new kind of being, which demands a new environment, new methods, and new matter. Instinct, now so much wiser than reason, feels this break of continuity. It is the age when the majority leave school forever and begin life for themselves. The apex of the runaway and truancy curve is here. It is the age of spring fever, when previous life seems dead, and the soul would moult it and be done with it. It is the most vulnerable and difficult of all periods after infancy, the severest test of parent, teacher, and pedagogical methods. It is the point where, in the sequential history of the race, education has begun in every indigenous race, and from which it widens up toward the university and down toward the kindergarten, just in proportion as civilization advances and the mass of culture material grows. What we shall do with the hobbledehoys, *Backfische*, *larrikins*, is the oldest problem of education, and one answer is

plain. We must first study them. This process has been begun, and has yielded a few results, some very clear and some still uncertain.

First of all, the drill and mechanism of the previous period must be gradually relaxed, and an appeal must be made to freedom and interest. Individuality must have a far longer tether. We must and can really teach nothing that does not appeal to interests deep enough to make it seem of almost supreme value in the world. We can no longer coerce and break, but must lead and inspire. To drill merely is now to arrest. Each individual must be studied and made a special problem, if his personality is to come to full maturity. Hence, there must be a wide range of elective study for those who continue at school. Boys can hereafter rarely do their best work under female teachers, however well equipped these may be mentally. They feel their manhood, and need the dominance of male influences.

In the ideal school system, the sexes will now, for a time at least, pretty much part company. They are beginning to differ in every cell and tissue, and girls for a time need some exemption from competition. They have more power than boys to draw upon their capital of physical energy and to take out of their system more than it can afford to lose, for the individuals of one generation can consume more than their share of vigor at the expense of posterity. In soul and body girls are more conservative; males vary, differentiate, and are more radical. Reproduction requires a far larger proportion of body and function in females. Now the leaders of the new education for girls recommend training them for self-support, assuming that if wifehood and motherhood come those who have received such a training can best take care of themselves. This assumption is radically wrong and vicious, and should be reversed. Every girl should be educated primarily to become a wife and mother, and, if this is done wisely and broadly, the small minority who remain single will with this training be best able to care for themselves.

A third conclusive and far-reaching principle is that at no stage of life is the power to appreciate and apprehend so very far ahead of the power to express. Hence we should let up on examinations; we should cast our bread upon the waters, knowing that it will be found after many days, because so sensitized is the soul now that nothing is lost. Mental and moral teaching and influences sink at once too deep to be reproduced in examinations of the present type without injury to both mind and will. There is nothing in the whole environment to which the adolescent nature does not keenly respond. Neither you nor I, however specialized our knowledge, know anything really worth knowing the sub-

stance of which cannot be taught now if we have pedagogical tact; but, if we wait for its reproduction in the pupil, we starve and retard his soul. Hence facts, ideas, laws, and principles should be in the very atmosphere, for they are now the ingenuous youth's native breath, his vital air. He is all insight and receptivity; he has just entered the stage of apprenticeship to life; he has awakened to it as at a second birth, and has found all things new and glorious.

Yet another change is well defined. Whereas previously the pupil could work with some skill and accuracy, now body and mind are both again so plastic and unformed that they are clumsy, and precision and finish cannot be bought except at too great a price. The teacher's cue is now to graft the soul all over with buds and scions, and not to try to gather a harvest. The mind has laid aside its power to finish and elaborate. It can rudely assimilate everything by turns, but nothing well. The fundamental system of the body, which consists of the large muscles and not the small, and which therefore makes coarse massive movements and not exact ones, has now its innings; and the fundamentals of the soul, which are instinct and intuition, and not pure intellect, are now in season. We must lay new and larger foundations.

But, more specifically, what do these changes involve in the ideal school of the future? The transition from the grammar to the high school in this country corresponds far better than the European system to the need of changed environment at the age of fourteen; and this constitutes a rare opportunity which has, however, been thrown away. Although education, as we have seen, begins here, and many races have no other than a brief training at the dawn of the ephebic period, by a strange irony of fate secondary education has more or less lapsed to a mere link. Its functions are partly those of preparation for college, and are partly shaped by the mere momentum of the lower grades. The high school has lost its independence, and of all stages and grades has least interest in the large problems of education, namely, what to teach and how, in order to develop the nascent periods during the teens and to save powers now new-born in most profusion, but sure to be atrophied or perverted if not studied with tact and federated with individual adaptation.

For all these problems as a class, high-school teachers care less than those of any other grade, if indeed they suspect their existence. For them adolescence is just a stage when children are so much farther along than in the grammar school, and know so much less than they must to enter college. For such teachers the task is simply to convert their pupils into freshmen, and they await with hope or fear the assignment of their stint

in the form of college requirements. They have abandoned all initiative; have renounced their birthright of interpreting, and ministering to, the needs of one stage of life; have had little professional training; have little interest in education in the large meaning of that term; and care little for work of the lower grades. Their motto almost seems to be *Non vitæ sed scholæ discimus*. The result is that boys, who insist more on their own individuality, leave the high school: in the country at large about sixty per cent of its pupils are now girls. Noble ideals are gone; the independent function of the secondary stage of education is almost abandoned; and the pupil and teacher devote themselves to a routine of tasks in an artificial programme imposed by the will of others, and fitting not for the world but for college. The pupils do not regard their work as set on a basis which gives it a value and a meaning in itself to which each day contributes. Nothing can be done then until the high school takes a stronger hold on the interests and affections of the pupil.

At the sessions of the representatives of New England high schools and colleges, all the discussions and interests centre more and more in the details of how to fit in this and that study, and whether a little more or less should be required or methods tinkered. College requirements, and suggestions how they may be best met, have ceased to be educational themes in any large sense. It is high time to reverse this relation. The college depends on the high school, and not *vice versa*. The latter should declare its independence, and proceed to solve its own problems in its own way; it should strive to fit for life those whose education stops here, and should bring the college to meet its own demands. It should ask again how best to feed the interests and capacities peculiar to this age; how to fill and develop mind, heart, will, and body, rather than how to distil a budget of prepared knowledge decreed by professors who know no more of the needs of this age than teachers of other grades. The current "link" theory and practice interfere, moreover, with the natural selective functions; favor uniformity and inflexibility; and ignore the needs of the majority of high-school pupils who go no farther.

Under this condition it is idle to study adolescence or to plan for it, because nothing worth while can be done; although the inverse relation I plead for would be vastly to the interests of the colleges, and would in a few years greatly increase their classes and the efficacy of the whole system. Few institutions of modern civilization so distrust human nature as does the modern, American high school, when under college domination. For lower grades the law of compulsory attendance is analogous to a high protective tariff, which removes the stimulus to bet-

ter methods of manufacture, and interferes with the law of competition which is the mainspring of evolution. The high school is no less effectively protected against the currents of new ideas, and is left to be a victim of tradition, routine, the iron law of mechanism. It takes the easiest way by working under the shelter and dictation of the college above and on the momentum of the grammar school below. This, I believe, accounts for the rapidly decreasing numbers as we go up the high-school classes; for the decreasing proportion of high-school boys who go to college; for the preponderance of girls in the high school; and for the educational apathy of the high-school teacher, who is prone to all the narrowness and affectation of the specialist, without his redeeming virtue of productiveness in research.

The teacher must teach more, and know more; he must be a living fountain, not a stagnant pool. He should not be a dealer in desiccated, second-hand knowledge, a mere giver-out and hearer of lessons. That is the chief and humiliating difference between our secondary teachers and those abroad, who are mostly Doctors of Philosophy, as they should be. If we could move many university professors to the college, many college professors to the high school, many high-school teachers to the grammar school, and some grammar-school teachers, with at least a sprinkling of college graduates, into the kindergarten, it would do much. In the German and French schools, the teacher is one who knows a great deal about his subject and is nearer to original sources; who tells the great truths of the sciences almost like stories; and who does not affect the airs and methods of the university professor. Very many secondary teachers are masters and authorities. Here, most of our university pedagogy is a mere device for so influencing high-school principals and teachers as to correlate curricula, in order to corral in students, and little interest is taken in the grammar grades, and none in the kindergarten.

I have spoken frankly, and have dealt only with general principles over a vast field, far too large to be adequately discussed here. I have carefully avoided all details, although I have fully worked them out on paper at great length, for each topic to the close of the high-school period or the age of nineteen, when physical growth is essentially completed. This material will soon appear in a volume. The chief petition in my daily prayer now is for a millionaire. With the means at hand, I have no shadow of doubt or fear but that in five years from the date of any adequate gift, we shall be able to invite all interested to a system of education, covering this ground, which will be a practical realization of much present prophecy, and which will commend itself even to the most

conservative defenders of things as they are and have been, because the best things established will be in it. But it will be essentially pedocentric rather than scholiocentric; it may be a little like the Reformation which insisted that the Sabbath, the Bible, and the Church were made for man and not he for them; it will fit both the practices and the results of modern science and psychological study; it will make religion and morals more effective; and, perhaps, above all, it will give individuality in the school its full rights as befits a republican form of government, and will contribute something to bring the race to the higher maturity of the superman that is to be, effectiveness in developing which is the highest and final test of art, science, religion, home, state, literature, and every human institution.

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ROYAL VISITS TO CANADA: A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

THE present year, memorable in itself as the beginning of a new century, will be especially notable in Canadian history for the occurrence of two events, deeply interesting to the Canadian people as devoted subjects of the British Sovereign and citizens of the British Empire. In January there came the sad tidings of the death of the great Queen who had reigned for over sixty years, and had indelibly impressed her name and virtues on the hearts of her people throughout her wide imperial domains. Many memorials are being raised in Canada, as in other parts of the Empire, to commemorate her beneficent rule and her character as Queen, wife, and mother; but perhaps the most significant tribute the Canadians will pay to her memory will be given on the occasion of the visit of her grandson, this month and the next, on his return from the countries which owe allegiance to England in Australasia, Asia, and Africa. This tribute will be not a mere evanescent ebullition of loyalty, but a very significant illustration of that sincere sentiment of devotion to Crown and Empire which has been a distinctive feature of the Canadian provinces for more than a century, and has found its strongest expression during the reign of the Queen whom we so lately mourned, and whose grandson we are about to welcome with so many demonstrations of affection.

This visit of a royal prince, the heir-apparent to the throne, naturally recalls similar events in the past history of Canada. Though these visits have been but rare during more than a century, and, like those of angels, generally "short and bright," they yet form so many milestones from which we can measure the social, political, and material development of the provinces which now form the Dominion. We observe, as we look back, that these royal visitors came to our country at the beginning of new epochs in our history, when the conditions of the population were on the point of undergoing radical changes, destined to have most momentous influence on the national character, especially in the way of strengthening and perpetuating British institutions, and of giving the people larger opportunities of showing their capacity for work.

ing out the principles of representative and parliamentary government in that portion of North America still loyal to England.

When Prince William Henry, afterward William IV, first visited Halifax, in 1786, as commander of the frigate *Pegasus*, the Acadian and Canadian provinces were just in the formative stage of their development as dominions of the British King. Nova Scotia had been a possession of England since the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and had enjoyed representative government since 1758. Canada had been formally ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, and her "new subjects," the French Canadians, received in 1774, in the passage of the Quebec Act, an evidence of the spirit of justice and kindness which their rulers were prepared to show them. This measure established a Legislative Council in which French Canadians were represented, and gave full protection to their language, religion, and civil law.

Then came to pass, at this critical period in the development of isolated, struggling provinces, a notable event which has had a most remarkable influence on their future as portions of the British Empire. During 1783 and 1784, there came to the shores of Nova Scotia, to the valley of the St. John, and to the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Niagara, upward of 40,000 men, women, and children who had retained their allegiance to the Crown and Empire during the sad days of the American Revolution. When these people arrived in the provinces still faithful to England, the total British population of British North America did not exceed 12,000 souls, of whom the greater number were in Nova Scotia. On the banks of the St. Lawrence there was a French population of nearly 100,000 persons, living chiefly between Quebec and Montreal. No British people were found west of Lake St. Louis, and what is now the rich and prosperous province of Ontario was an entire wilderness, except where loyal refugees had sought protection near the English fort at Niagara, or a few French settlers had made homes on the banks of the Detroit. Many of the British inhabitants of Canada and Nova Scotia, who had come originally from New England, were of doubtful loyalty to the Crown; and one district in the Acadian province, on account of its avowed sympathy with the revolutionists, was not allowed to send representatives to the Assembly.

The coming of many thousand people who had proved so clearly their attachment to Great Britain by their self-sacrifice was one of the happiest events, in a national sense, that could have occurred in the case of a country where the proportion of English-speaking colonists was until then so insignificant. This migration of people of proved loyalty de-

cided the future of the country that was left to England in North America. The independence of the Thirteen Colonies — the first step, according to some European statesmen, in the ruin of the British colonial empire — was actually the making of a new Dominion far overshadowing the old Dominion of the Virgin Queen.

The arrival of the bluff sailor prince naturally afforded these loyal subjects an opportunity to give expression once more to their feeling of devotion to a sovereign for whose sake they had suffered so deeply. He visited Halifax, then a small, ill-kept town of 4,000 or 5,000 people, and also the Loyalist city of Shelburne, on the western coast of the province. The latter was then the most populous place in British North America. It had been established in the hope of becoming a great commercial emporium — a hope shown to be most illusory in the course of a few years, when its people gradually disappeared and it dwindled to a mere village. The Prince also paid a visit to the valley of the St. Lawrence, where Montreal and Quebec had a population of probably 9,000 or 10,000 each. At this time the name of William Henry was given to the pretty, and now prosperous, town of Sorel, which is situated at the confluence of the Richelieu River with the St. Lawrence, and received its first designation from a captain of engineers who built a fort in 1665 for the protection of the French against the raids of the relentless Iroquois. William Henry as a king does not hold a high place in English history; but he had that ready, free manner which is characteristic of the English sailor, and made many friends wherever he went. While the Loyalists were ready to welcome him as a representative of the Crown for which they had fought and suffered, the leading men of the French Canadian race received him with the respect due to the prince of a nation which showed every desire to treat them generously.

In 1791, three years after the departure of the sailor prince from American waters, there came to Quebec, as commander of a royal regiment, Prince Edward, afterward Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, and great-grandfather of the prince who is soon expected in the new Dominion. Canada was now on the eve of another great change in her political conditions. The Quebec Act had in many respects proved inadequate to the development of those districts, where a great body of Loyalists had settled beyond the confines of the French province, and were demanding political institutions more suited to their aspirations as British subjects accustomed to representative assemblies. Before the coming of the prince, the Parliament of Great Britain had

passed the Constitutional Act. This established two provinces — one known as Lower Canada, now Quebec, in which the French Canadians formed the vast majority, and the other known as Upper Canada, now Ontario, in which the United Empire Loyalists were supreme. Whether it was wise practically to isolate the English and French races in separate provinces, and to prevent the gradual absorption of all nationalities into one great English-speaking people, is a political problem on which there was, and always will be, a difference of opinion. Be that as it may, no doubt can exist as to the sincerity and honesty of purpose which influenced Pitt and other English statesmen in passing this important measure.

At this time the total population of the British-American provinces was probably 225,000 souls, of whom 100,000 were French Canadians. In the two Houses of the Legislature of Lower Canada there were representatives of the most distinguished families of the French régime, whilst the same bodies in New Brunswick and Upper Canada were composed almost exclusively of Loyalists of 1783 and 1784. The first Legislature of Lower Canada met in an old stone building, long known as the Bishop's Palace, in the ancient capital, full of memories of soldiers and sailors, explorers and missionaries; while that of the western province assembled in the humble village of Newark, on the banks of the Niagara, where the best accommodation was a rude frame building, or at times a large tent which had once belonged to the famous navigator, Captain Cook, and was then the property of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, who had taken a prominent part in the American war. At this period the trade of the provinces was very insignificant, and the public revenue was so small that the expenditures of government had to be largely met by the imperial treasury. The schools for the masses were wretched in the extreme, though adequate provision was made in French Canada for the education of priests and for the teaching of some liberal branches of learning.

The Duke remained in Quebec for three years, and won the respect and even affection of the people with whom he had most social intercourse. He entered into the various pleasures of the community with a genuine interest, and especially cultivated the friendship of the De Salaberrys, one of whom afterward became the hero of Chateauguay and the savior of French Canada in the war of 1812-15. The innate courtesy of the French race seems to have had a great attraction for him, and he neglected no opportunity of rebuking the jealousy and ill-feeling which were already beginning to show themselves between the French

majority and the small British official class. The members of this class were not always chosen with discretion by the imperial government, and continually acted as if they alone had a right to rule "in a conquered country." "I urge you," he said on one occasion, "to unanimity and concord. Let me hear no more of the odious distinctions of French and English. You are all His Britannic Majesty's beloved subjects." Much misery and suffering would have been saved to French Canada forty years later had his wise counsel always been followed. Happily for Canada's peace and unity, the spirit he strove to promote prevails at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Prince spent several years in Halifax — from 1794 until 1800 — in command of the imperial troops. The tourist of our own times is still shown an old round house, once covered with a dome, which stands on a beautiful natural mound overlooking spacious Bedford Basin. This was used by the military band when it played for the amusement of the visitors to the "Prince's Lodge," which was lent him by the Loyalist Governor, Sir John Wentworth, formerly of New Hampshire, but has long since yielded to that great destroyer, Time. As an officer the Prince was a too rigid disciplinarian, educated in Germany during a miserable youth by a harsh military martinet; but his own officers admitted that, despite his severity, he was always actuated by a most conscientious desire to do his duty. In the ordinary relations of life he was generous, hospitable, and kind; and one who knew him well has written that "a tale of woe always interested him deeply, and nothing but gross misconduct could ever induce him to abandon any whom he had once been induced to befriend." His habits were temperate, and his influence was exerted successfully to stop the excessive drinking and gambling too apt to prevail in those days in a garrison town.

The life of the Duke appears to have been more or less tinged with sadness. He was obviously not a favorite of George III, who cast a blight over his youth by placing him under a stern, penurious German who even robbed him of his pocket-money. Through his whole career he was never given such an allowance as befitted his position; in fact, he was not fairly treated, like his royal brothers, by either king or state. He seems to have enjoyed much happiness in the society of Madame de St. Laurent, Baronne de Fortisson, who lived with him for many years, and won many friends in British North America, notably the De Salaberrys, to one of whom she was a godmother. His published letters breathe affection and respect for this amiable lady. The time came when the succession to the throne was in danger, and the

Duke was compelled to yield to the stern necessities of state. Then it was that Madame de St. Laurent retired to a convent; and history tells us no more of the gentle woman who cheered the life of a Prince in his too often sorrowful hours.

In 1818 the Duke of Kent married the widow of the Prince of Leiningen, and the sole issue was the Princess who became Victoria of England. She was only eight months old when her father died. She was present at his funeral. A spectator says:

"She was placed by her nurse against the carriage window to please the spectators; she looked upon them with her open, cheerful countenance, while playing with her little hand on the glass, quite unconscious of her loss — an incident which caused many a tear to flow."

Toward the latter part of his life the Duke had become popular in England, and his death was greatly regretted for a time. But he had never had an opportunity of making a deep impression on the national life, and he was soon forgotten. Indeed, there is not a mention of him in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." But he was the father of a great Queen, who must have inherited the noblest of his qualities. The memory of his visit still lingers by the side of Bedford Basin; and his name still clings to a beautiful, fertile island which nestles in the bosom of the gulf that washes the portals of Canada.

Six decades of years now passed before another prince of the English reigning dynasty came to Canada. During that long interval the provinces had suffered many vicissitudes. An irrepressible conflict grew up between the English and French Canadian nationalities in the province where the latter were dominant. The French Canadians eventually obtained full control of the popular Assembly, while the small official or governing class was in a majority in the Upper House appointed by the Crown. In some of the provinces this official class was generally called "a family compact," a derisive allusion to the selfish ties which united it against the popular party. The British Government gradually gave up the control of the provincial taxes to the Assemblies; but the concessions made did not satisfy the French Canadian majority, led by one Papineau, a brilliant, but unsafe, leader, whose aspiration it was to control both Council and Assembly by making the former elective, and to build up a *nation Canadienne* on the banks of the St. Lawrence. In the other provinces the popular cry was for responsible government which would give the people full control of their local affairs. In Upper Canada a petty insurrection occurred simultaneously with an equally rash uprising in Lower Canada. The rebellious element was easily re-

pressed, and the leaders ignominiously fled to the United States. The disaffection was limited to a small class: the mass of the Canadian people were loyal and believed in constitutional agitation.

The British Government now recognized that they must deal quickly and wisely with the political grievances of the provinces. Consequently, the accession of Queen Victoria was soon followed by the reunion of the Canadas and the concession of a more liberal system of colonial government. The influence of this wise policy was soon seen in the rapid development of the industrial resources of the country. A large population flowed into Upper Canada and made it the most prosperous and populous section of British North America. Commerce flourished; education was widely diffused; and the two races were taught the necessity of compromise, conciliation, and unity in national crises, when demagogues were ever striving to undermine the political structure for party ends or at the dictates of racial passion.

While Canada was thus enjoying commercial freedom and responsible government, the happy thought came to her statesmen to invite the Queen to visit the country, which had made such remarkable progress during her happy reign. Canada was not destined to see the face of her gracious Majesty, who expressed, however, in the reply which came from the royal palace,

"her sincere desire that the young Prince, on whom the Crown of this Empire will devolve, may have the opportunity of visiting that portion of her dominions from which this address has come, and may become acquainted with a people in whose rapid progress toward greatness Her Majesty, in common with her subjects in Great Britain, feels a lively and enduring sympathy."

The tour of the Prince of Wales, then a winsome youth of nineteen, lasted for nearly two months, during which he visited all important parts of British North America, from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Windsor, on the Detroit River, across which he passed into the United States, where he met a gratifying reception, though he travelled presumably incognito. Among other eminent persons he saw President Buchanan at Washington. His progress through Canada was a perfect ovation — a memorable tribute of affection and respect to his mother, during whose beneficent reign Canada had risen from the depression and adversity of the unhappy years of the rebellion to a condition of the most encouraging prosperity. The Prince had to suffer a terrible ordeal of addresses, whose prolixity would often have been unbearable had he not felt that there was not a mere lip-service, but a genuine touch of loyalty, in them all. The Parliament of Canada was not in session; but

a large number of members assembled in the two Houses at Quebec, and the Speakers — one of them a French Canadian — presented him with fervid addresses and received the honor of knighthood. The Prince, created a viceroy for such purposes, conferred no more such regal distinctions; and several mayors and other officials were disappointed at the decision of the Duke of Newcastle, his chief adviser, not to make honors cheap.

During his visit he laid the foundation of the present Parliament House at Ottawa, as well as that of the Victoria Bridge at Montreal. During the present month his son will see the Ottawa edifice in all the perfection of its architectural beauty; but the once famous bridge has recently given place to a superstructure more commensurate with the commercial necessities of the great railway which here crosses the St. Lawrence, and soon afterward forms a connection with lines in the United States. When the efforts of the Orangemen of Upper Canada to make a special demonstration in honor of the royal visitor were unsuccessful on account of the imperial advisers of the Prince refusing to countenance such party displays, some unpleasant feeling was created. Apart from this the visit of the Prince was distinguished by exhibitions of the most loyal and imperial sentiment, and did much to cement the connection between the dependency and the parent state. The affability of the handsome Prince, who showed in many ways that he was still a frank boy, won many hearts; and there are still some ladies, then young and charming, now white-haired and stout, who cherish not merely memories of the dance they had with the Prince who is now King, but even the glove of the hand which he held in the quadrille or waltz, and perhaps — as some thought, no doubt — faintly pressed when his partner had more than ordinary charm of form and manner. But though "the lights are fled" and "the garlands dead" of those gala days so glorious to many women, their daughters or grand-daughters may have an equally sweet experience, and renew the dances of forty-one years ago.

During the year that followed the tour of Albert Edward, Canada enjoyed the honor of a flying visit from his brother Prince Alfred, later the Duke of Edinburgh,¹ then a midshipman on board Her Majesty's ship *St. George*. From this time until 1869, when Prince Arthur, now the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, came to Canada as an officer of an imperial regiment, most important changes took place in the political development of the British American provinces. Their political

¹ When he died, in 1900, he was reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

necessities forced them into a federal union which had long been advocated by eminent colonists — notably by Chief Justice Sewell, a Loyalist, in a letter to the Duke of Kent, who gave it his hearty approval. When Prince Arthur passed through Canada, the Confederation was only two years old, and the Canadian Government was taking steps to occupy great territories just purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. A half-breed, or *métis*, Louis Riel, brought about a rising among his easily deluded countrymen on the ground that their rights were in jeopardy; but the imperial and Canadian authorities acted with decision. Riel fled, but was executed at Regina, in the Northwest, at a later time, for a similar attempt to defy law and authority. The new province of Manitoba was born in that vast western land. Prince Arthur gave his name to a port at the head of Lake Superior, whence for many years immigrants and merchandise found their way by a chain of lakes, rivers, and portages to the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

Nine years passed by, and the Canadian people were delighted with the announcement that a royal Princess would come to live in Canada, for several years, as the wife of the new Governor-General, the Marquess of Lorne, now Duke of Argyll. The reception which the Princess Louise and her husband met on their arrival in the cities and towns of Canada was another testimony to the popularity of the royal family. At Halifax the popular enthusiasm was excited to the highest pitch by the arrival at the same time of the ironclad *Black Prince*, commanded by the Duke of Edinburgh, who since his visit, seventeen years before, had followed his profession in every part of the globe.

By this time Canada had made much progress in her onward march as a nation. British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, and Prince Edward Island, in the Atlantic waters, gave completeness to a Dominion extending across the continent for over 3,000 miles. The Princess and her agreeable husband identified themselves during their residence in Canada with literary, artistic, and scientific movements; and it is to their efforts that the Academy of Art and the Royal Society, both flourishing and useful national institutions, owe their existence. An accident to the Princess through the upsetting of a sleigh unfortunately affected her nervous system most seriously for many months, and prevented her from seeing as much of the Canadian people as she would have done under favorable conditions; but, so far as she was brought into contact with Canadians, all were charmed by her conversation and manner. Neither the Duke nor the Duchess of Argyll has forgotten this sojourn in Canada. Indeed, the former left it with the deepest regret, and has

ever since made it his pleasure to give the most kindly welcome to all those Canadians who visit the genial nobleman whose highest delight is the pursuit of letters.

Eight years after the departure of the Marquess of Lorne from Canada, the Duke of Connaught, Prince Arthur, landed at Vancouver, on the Pacific coast, on his way to England from the East, where he had been commander-in-chief at Bombay. When he visited the young Dominion in 1869, the western limits of railway communication did not extend beyond Sarnia, in the province of Ontario; but in 1890 he and the Duchess were swiftly carried to the Atlantic over continuous rails in a special train of cars, described by the journalists of the day as "epicurean palaces," drawn by a noble engine expressly decorated. Vancouver, then only three years old, already gave promise of great expansion; and on the journey eastward the royal party saw villages and towns springing up from the Rockies to Winnipeg, even then a city of over 25,000 people.

Now Canadians, French and English alike, men of all classes, races and creeds, are eagerly awaiting the visit of Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert, the only surviving son of the King, Edward VII, known as the Duke of Cornwall and York, heir-apparent to the English Crown, who will be soon created Prince of Wales—a title which becomes merged in the Crown at every vacancy, and is only renewed at the Sovereign's pleasure. He is now thirty-six years of age, and is the possessor of many royal titles and academic honors, which come to a Prince as a matter of course. He followed the sea for some years, and became a captain in 1893, when he married the only daughter of the Duke of Teck, Her Serene Highness Princess Victoria Mary Augusta Louisa Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes, who accompanies him on this visit to the Canadian Dominion. His itinerary brings him in the royal yacht *Ophir* to Quebec on September 16, and after visiting Montreal and Ottawa he proceeds immediately West as far as the Pacific coast. Then he returns to the East, and pays extended visits to Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, whence he leaves for England toward the end of October.

All the preparations which have been made for his reception by the governments and municipalities of the Dominion, from Halifax to Victoria, are most elaborate and will eclipse those of 1860, since the opportunities for display are now so much greater in a rich and prosperous Dominion stretching from sea to sea. One of the most interesting functions that the Prince will be called upon to perform on the after-

noon of the day he first lands in the Dominion will be the formal dedication to public uses of the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe won the famous victory which ended the French régime in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and made the Anglo-Saxon race dominant in North America.

A hundred and fifteen years have passed since the visit of Prince William, who, first of the royal family, saw the provinces in their formative stage. Then the future of the country was doubtful in the extreme. England's empire in America had been broken by the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and not a few European statesmen believed that she was not able to maintain her dominion for many years in the valley of the St. Lawrence. The coming of the Loyalists saved her in North America, whilst the energy and enterprise of her sons eventually surmounted what was only a temporary check, and restored her to imperial greatness.

Now, in the beginning of the twentieth century, another royal prince is about to come to British North America, which has developed in a hundred years into a federation with a territorial domain almost equal to that of the powerful republican nation which sprang into existence in 1783. During this period the population of Canada has increased from 220,000 souls to upward of 6,000,000; the trade from \$10,000,000 to \$380,000,000; the revenue, which was practically nothing, to over \$50,000,000, apart from the revenues of the respective provinces, which must largely increase the aggregate of the public resources. Education of every grade is diffused far and wide; railways span the country in every direction; canals connect the great West with the Atlantic seaboard; an elegant order of architecture illustrates the growing taste and wealth of the people; culture is being more widely spread; and the public legislation shows the capacity of the public men for self-government. The people of every nationality within the Dominion of Canada stand on the same platform of equal rights. It is this happy condition which has made it possible for Sir Wilfred Laurier — a brilliant man of the race which occupied a position of inferiority in the days of the Duke of Kent and evoked his deep interest and sympathy — to attain, with the approval of all classes, creeds, and nationalities, the highest office in the gift of the people, and to give emphatic expression, in the case of the South African war, to the determination of Canadians to maintain the interests of the Empire at all hazards.

Such questions of taxation and such ignorance of colonial conditions as precipitated an American revolution; such blunders as aggravated the

political difficulties of Canada previously to the concession of responsible government — these can never again occur under the wise colonial system which was adopted during the Victorian era, and which gives full expansion to the political aspirations of a self-governing people. The relations between Great Britain and her dependencies are now governed by just such principles as were first suggested by the sagacious Loyalist, Governor Hutchinson, more than a century ago, but which it took English statesmen many years to understand and carry out. As a natural sequence of a correct understanding of the relations that should exist between an imperial state and its dependencies, Canada is now ready, like the colonies of Australasia, in the hour of imperial necessities, to contribute from taxes raised by her own legislature adequate means for the defence of that connection which was rudely broken in the case of the old Thirteen Colonies through the failure of statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic to understand the basis on which colonial self-government should securely rest.

Canada's position in the Empire is one of which her people may be justly proud. But as they now review the past with its many evidences of devotion to England, of capacity for self-government, and of statesmanlike conception and action in the administration of public affairs, they must not forget how much they owe to the Loyalists and all the other makers of their national structure. French Catholics and Huguenots, Puritans and Cavaliers of the days of the Stuarts, Scots from the Highlands, the Hebrides, and the Lowlands, Scotch-Irish Protestants from the North and Catholic Celts from the South of Ireland, Englishmen from the hop-gardens of Kent, from the meadows of Devon, and from all parts of that ancient kingdom where the Saxon and Norman have so happily blended in the course of centuries — all these have united to form a Canadian people who have planted themselves successfully and firmly over the vast territory which stretches from east to west, to the north of the Federal Republic. The heir-apparent to the Crown of the British Empire will, consequently, see a prosperous, progressive, and contented people, animated by an earnest desire to place, if possible, the relations between the Canadian Dominion and Great Britain on an even more permanent and equable basis, which will, to all time, give unity and strength to the whole Empire, and secure for the dependency more direct influence in the councils of the imperial nation.

More than this, the Prince will find that the Canadian people have a sincere desire to maintain the most friendly relations with their great neighbors, whose enterprise has built up in the course of a century a

most powerful nation, of which the real strength lies in British law and British institutions adapted to their special conditions. He will not hear a whisper of that spirit of annexation which the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, with a remarkable ignorance of Canadian sentiment since 1783, very recently declared had some existence at the commencement of confederation in parts of the Canadian provinces; though he will find Canadians ever ready to welcome American capital and enterprise for the development of their unbounded resources. He will find that the closest and kindest intercourse exists between New England and the Maritime Provinces, and that many thousands of the descendants of the Loyalist makers of those provinces, having returned to the homes from which their fathers were ruthlessly forced, now help to strengthen friendly ties between kindred communities.

Canadians and citizens of the Republic now forget the past, with all its bitterness, and take an equal pride in the achievements of peoples allied to each other by so many bonds of a common origin, language, and interest. Champlain and Winthrop, Washington and the Adamses, Hutchinson and Galloway, Brock and De Salaberry, Williams of Kars and Inglis of Lucknow, Lincoln and Gladstone, Disraeli and John Alexander Macdonald, Longfellow and Tennyson, Parkman and Macaulay, Grant and Sherman, Dewey and Roberts, are names which are worthy of respect and honor, whether we live near Hawarden Castle across the Atlantic, on the banks of the Ottawa or of the St. Lawrence, under the elms of Cambridge, at Mount Vernon by the side of the Potomac, or beneath the shadow of Table Mountain in South Africa.

JOHN G. BOURINOT.

ENGLISH NEGLECT OF OLD INDIAN POETRY.

THE way in which India is treated — India on whose possession the standing of England as a world-power reposes — is well calculated to give rise to utter astonishment. During the recent terrible famine, extending over an area which contains 60,000,000 people, when hundreds of thousands were dying month after month, and the roads were full of the corpses of men and the carcases of beasts, so rich a country as the United Kingdom gave not a penny from its State Exchequer for the relief of suffering. All was left to private benevolence; and small enough were the contributions, owing to the war in South Africa. There, again, since the fall of 1899, the most terrible misery has been brought upon once free and flourishing lands.

For nearly forty years I have been making the acquaintance, in London, of a great many Indians who have been coming here: Hindoos, Mohammedans, Buddhists; students, men of letters, Rajahs, and ministers or agents of native Indian princes. How often have I heard them complain of the want of both knowledge and interest in their country's history, condition, and welfare, which, to their amazement, they had found among so many otherwise highly educated and intelligent Englishmen, including notable politicians and public writers! I could not contradict these complaints; for I had had too much experience of the same kind whenever in English society the conversation had turned on Indian affairs.

Once I had such an experience with a friend of mine, a Liberal Cabinet Minister, and a man of considerable culture. I spoke to him of the Russian danger, looming at no great distance, as a menace to England's great Asiatic Empire. He was rather disinclined to accept this view; and, as a reason for his own opinion, mentioned the large number of the English population in India. His remark, I confess, took me aback. I asked what proportion he thought the number of the English inhabitants bore to that of the natives. He evaded the question, saying that it was difficult, on the spur of the moment, to go into statistics. Seeing how shakily matters stood with my friend, who, as a Cabinet Minister, was one of those responsible for the rule of India, I pressed him good-

humoredly to give me, at least, some general idea of what he imagined to be the proportion. After much hesitation, and with evident signs of mental confusion, he said: "Well, I think there are about 3,000,000 Englishmen in India." "And how many natives?" This question, he thought, it would be too difficult for him to answer, unprepared as he was. I then told him — it was some years ago, before the more recent census — that there were in India about 280,000,000 natives, as against 140,000, not Englishmen, but Europeans of various nationalities. These 140,000 included the white English troops, which numbered, at that time, about 64,000. My friend now became quite distressed. He would scarcely believe that things stood so. I promised to send him next day the official statistics, which, through the kindness of the India Office, I had received in manuscript copy before they had been printed.

In private intercourse I have often found similar incredible ignorance in quarters where it was scarcely to be expected. With the exception of the small class of military men and officials who have been in India, very few persons, even among prominent politicians, take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with Indian affairs. The budget of that colossal empire is always discussed, or, rather, hurriedly disposed of, at the end of the parliamentary session. A glance at the House of Commons on such an occasion shows that there are frequently not more than a dozen members present — some awake, others in a comatose state, lying about on the seats. Indians of distinction, who listen as strangers in the gallery, are always amazed at the extraordinary spectacle thus presented to them. They scarcely trusted their own eyes, some of them said to me afterward.

This political preface was perhaps necessary for the better understanding of another extraordinary phenomenon. The rich and remarkable poetical literature of ancient India is wholly unknown in England to the large mass of educated people, so much so that the very name of the most famous Indian drama, "Sakuntala," and that of its author, Kalidasa, have, in my experience, often been unknown to ladies and gentlemen who might have been supposed to possess at least a smattering, or a vague knowledge, of such things.

To speak frankly: Is it not a great shame that a renowned drama which has held its place on the Indian stage for nearly fourteen hundred years should never have been acted in England until about two years ago, when it was given, for the first time, by amateurs, not in a theatre, but — oh, ye insulted gods of the Hindoo Olympus! — in the Conservatory of the London Botanic Society in Regent's Park.

Yet Kalidasa, the author of "Sakuntala, or the Ring of Recognition," has been called the Shakspeare of India by no less a writer than Sir William Jones, the distinguished English Sanskrit scholar, and first translator of the play. It was a hundred and twelve years ago — in 1789, the year of the great French Revolution — that his translation was first brought out. Strange to say, no other English version was published later, until Sir Monier Williams put his hand to a kind of emendation.

I had occasion recently to discuss the subject with an English author of considerable merit. He had lived in India, was conversant with its literature, and had frequently written on that subject. To my surprise I found that he was not aware of the existence of two different versions of "Sakuntala," which essentially vary in many parts. Yet the second version had been made known in Europe so long ago as 1842. His own surprise at what I stated to him was no less great than mine.

When that famed drama was acted in the London Botanical Gardens I had occasion to speak to a good many people belonging to the highly cultured and socially upper classes. Among them, again, I met with but little knowledge, and even that among a very few indeed. It is different in Germany, among both men and women. There "Sakuntala" is truly a word to charm with. Handy little editions are to be met with everywhere; and the appreciation of the drama may be said to be universal among all who can lay claim to a higher education.

In the programme of the Elizabethan Stage Society of London, which has done meritorious work, and through whose agency Kalidasa's play was at last brought before a small audience in the Conservatory aforesaid, the following passages occurred:

"It may be stated without exaggeration that modern German scholarship has done more to elucidate the ancient history and literature of India than the scholarship of all other nations of Europe. Indian poetry is better appreciated in Germany than in England or in France. Indian dramas are often acted on the German stage."

Six years ago, the writer of that programme continued, he found a cheap and elegant edition also of "Vasantasena," a German rendering of the Indian "Mrichchakati," in all the shop-windows of Wiesbaden and Frankfort. The play, he said, had been often on the stage, and was pretty well known to the German public. I may add that other works of Kalidasa are also published at Leipzig in handy and cheap little editions. Even "Seventy Songs of the Rig-Veda," translated by Karl Geldner and Adolf Kaegi, and published in 1875, had at that time and for years afterward a good circulation.

The praise of "Sakuntala" was sung long ago by Goethe, Schlegel, Humboldt, and other eminent men in Germany and France. Goethe thought that if we wanted to know all that is beautiful and tender, the name of Sakuntala needed only to be pronounced, and then everything was said:

"Willst Du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willst Du, was reizt und entzückt, willst Du, was sättigt und nährt,
Willst Du den Himmel, die Erde, mit *einem* Namen begreifen,
Nenn ich, Sakuntala, Dich; und so ist Alles gesagt!"

English scholars were the first to open up the treasures of old Indian poetry. Yet, after a hundred and twelve years how many English people have read that play? How many have even heard its name and that of its author? Yes, the statement of the writer of the Elizabethan Stage Society's programme is but too true. Whilst in England there is a painful blank of general knowledge, in Germany both Kalidasa's play and that of King Cudraka — "Vasantasena, or the Earthen Waggonette" — are largely read. Of "Sakuntala" there are but two English translations, founded on the same first text. Of German translations there are not less than eight.

The first was made by Georg Forster, the distinguished scientist and sympathizer with the principles of the French Revolution, who had devoted himself also to the study of Oriental languages. His version, however, was based on the work of Sir William Jones. It appeared as early as 1791, in the midst of the storm and stress of revolutionary events. A second edition of it was brought out in 1803, after Forster's death at Calcutta, by the German poet Herder, whose own works testify to the wide interest he felt in the literature, the history, and the archæology of all nations.

Then, some thirty years later, there followed, in rapid succession, a number of new German translations, several of them by eminent scholars. Their authors are: Bernhard Hirzel, Otto Boehtlingk, Ernst Meier, Edmund Lobedanz, Friedrich Rückert (the poet and Orientalist), Ludwig Fritze, and Hermann Camillo Kellner. Irrespective of these versions, adaptations for the stage have been repeatedly made in Germany.

But how stands England in that respect? The translation by Sir William Jones was made from the so-called Bengali text. The other text, which varies to some extent from the one he used, and which has beauties of its own, was discovered nearly fifty years ago. It became first known by Boehtlingk's translation, and is called the Devanagari text. They harmonize, no doubt, in the main; but in several scenes

each of these texts has passages which are lacking in the other. And if I can draw a conclusion from the personal experience mentioned, it seems that even men who have occupied themselves to a considerable extent with Indian literature, and who have lived for years in England's vast South Asiatic Empire, are still unaware of a discovery made so early as 1842!

It was in the sixth century of our era that a brilliant revival of literature and learning, of science and art, took place in India. It was the age of a distinguished ruler, Vikrama-aditya, whose name — as the note of the Elizabethan Stage Society observed — is to this day more universally known to the Hindoo world than the name of the Frankish Kaiser, Karl the Great, is in Europe. The note says, very truly:

"The great poet Kalidasa is more widely and popularly known in modern India than Dante is in Italy, or Shakspeare in England. Kalidasa's 'Sakuntala' is the most beautiful creation of the imagination which the Hindoos have produced, if we leave out their ancient epics. It depicts Hindoo court and camp, Hindoo life and manners, Hindoo faith and traditions, Hindoo saints, warriors, and courtiers, and Hindoo men and women in the humbler walks of life, as they lived and acted thirteen centuries ago. The drama has never ceased to be popular with Hindoos during this long period. It has been acted, century after century, before Hindoo kings and chiefs, on great and festive occasions. Rendered into the vernaculars of modern India, it is still on the stage, and is acted from time to time in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in the great towns of Northern India. Of few dramas that the world has produced can it be said, as it can be said of 'Sakuntala,' that it has been before the public during thirteen centuries. When this drama was first translated into English toward the latter end of the last century, it took the literary world of Europe by surprise. The greatest literary men of Europe were most eloquent in its praise."

Very true! But how are we to account for the neglect in England? Again, compared with at least some of the German translations, the English ones do not read so well, though — as the note before-mentioned remarks — both that by Sir William Jones and that by Sir Monier Williams have beauties as well as drawbacks. The former has "many long-tailed words scarcely appropriate for the use of the stage; and in his rendering of Sanskrit verses into English prose much of the beauty, as well as the music and rhythm, of the original is lost."

I would add that all the tender love passages, in which Kalidasa's drama is so rich, suffer greatly in the two English versions. In this respect, Sir William Jones's style is too much that of the classically formalist period in which he wrote. It often fails in appealing to the heart of the modern man and woman, who have a simpler, more natural way of expressing themselves when the great passion comes over them. Of Sir Monier Williams, the writer of the Elizabethan Stage Society observes that he has "acted wisely in translating Sanskrit verses into English

LITTLE more than twenty years have passed since the South Atlantic and Gulf States of the Union were regarded by the world at large as wholly agricultural; and the world at large was, as usual, approximately correct. Yet to-day a million beings derive their support, directly or indirectly, from labor in Southern cotton mills — no inconsiderable army, indeed, and one that increases with every passing month. It will be scarcely denied that this lately organized class of labor is already sufficiently important to demand attention when the problems and possibilities of the working world are being weighed.

Many factory communities in the new industrial South might be named as typifying, each in some valuable particular, the present wide-reaching movement toward the betterment of the working-man's conditions. The Courtenay Mills, of Newry, South Carolina, furnish their operatives with cottage homes that are patterns of comfort, neatness, and sanitation. The manager of the Atherton Factory, at Charlotte, North Carolina, has for several years offered a set of prizes for the best flower and vegetable gardens, and the handsomest pot-plants; thus easily securing his aim of adding to the resources and attractiveness of his employees' homes. This mill is in itself very pleasant to look upon. A luxuriant growth of English ivy lends grace to the substantial walls and tall tower; and the grounds, bordered by a fine green hedge, are converted into an attractive lawn of wide extent, with well-kept grass, shade trees, and shrubs. Just beyond the hedge-row, among the white cottages, stands the "Hall," a donation from the company to the people. The hall is occupied by the settlement school during week-days. At night it is lit up, and there are parties, sociable gatherings, club meetings, prayer meetings, and often lectures and concerts, free to the operatives.

At the Peedee Mills, Rockingham, North Carolina, the employees are not merely encouraged but urged to save their money and buy homes, inducements of many kinds being offered to this end. Quite a number of neat cottages outside of the factory premises are now owned and occupied by the operatives.

At the Erwin and the Caraleigh Mills, North Carolina, not only are there very excellent free schools, carefully graded, with night classes for all who choose to attend, but also Sunday schools possessing unusually attractive features; and, better still, there are coöperation and close personal acquaintance, confidence, and sympathy between mill managers and mill people.

The Piedmont Manufacturing Company, of South Carolina, maintains for its employees and their families a library of several thousand well-selected volumes, and a graded school of superior advantages, now showing an enrolment of nearly 600 pupils, all living on the mill premises. Huntsville, Alabama, has its day nursery, kindergartens, night schools, and gymnasia, open to all operatives. The Eagle and Phenix Mill Company, of Columbus, Georgia, conducts an ideal working-people's club, with recreative and literary features, baths, athletics, a lyceum course, and classes for instruction in business and science.

The list might be greatly extended; but it is my present aim to invite attention to a mill settlement which is generally conceded to have united in itself more points of advantage for the working-people than any other single factory community in the section which has so lately come into its manufacturing privileges. The model factory town of the South to-day is Pelzer, South Carolina. The Pelzer mills, in Anderson county, on the line of the Columbia and Greenville railroad, are very picturesquely situated on the Piedmont escarpment, along the Saluda River, a stream which has been harnessed to furnish electric power for running this quartette of great factories, housing upwards of 110,000 spindles and a full complement of looms. The latest of the mills, Number 4, is an especially imposing building, with its 508 feet of length, 450 gleaming windows, and four tall towers. It is built of brick, handsomely trimmed with granite, and crowns an eminence commanding a magnificent outlook over the varied landscape of river, valley, woodland, and the blue mountains to the north and west.

The men whose capital and brains have brought this enterprise to the present point of development have recognized from first to last that upon them rests a responsibility beyond that of merely sowing dollars so as to reap more dollars. President Smyth and his brother officers have held in common with other advanced men of the day the conviction that only through the improvement of the conditions surrounding the producing classes can labor problems find their solution; that the elevation of the working-man must be achieved first for the sake of the working-man, then for the sake of capital.

The chief measures now in successful operation for the betterment of conditions among the toilers of our Republic may be hastily summarized, for our purposes, as follows: Club organizations, in which working people are banded together for social, recreative, educational, and kindred ends; the encouragement of physical culture through gymnasias, outdoor sports, and similar means; the promotion of improved social conditions by informal gatherings, outings, assembly places, game rooms, dances, and festival occasions of various sorts; the elevation of domestic life by means of improved dwellings, and the systematic teaching of cooking and other housewifely arts; the improvement of intellectual conditions by means of free educational facilities of every sort, including libraries and lectures, as well as industrial schools and manual training classes; the cultivation of musical and artistic tastes by means of concerts, the organization of music and art clubs among employees, harmonious surroundings, landscape gardening, and tasteful architecture; the uplifting of the spiritual side of life through Sunday schools, churches, and general religious work; the consideration of the health and comfort of employees, evinced in improved sanitary construction and similar measures; the care of disabled employees and their families, free medical attendance, and the rendering of judicious financial aid; the promotion of thrift and providence through savings banks and like facilities; and, lastly, the sharing of profits with employees, either by allowing them to purchase shares in the business at special rates, or by the more liberal method of adding yearly or quarterly dividends to wages, in proportion to length of service, etc.

How many of these measures are carried out, and to what degree, in the Pelzer community, the reader will be able to judge for himself when I have set down the main points in regard to this model Southern factory town.

About the four mills hitherto mentioned clusters a pretty little city of something over 6,000 inhabitants, all of whom derive their sustenance, mediately or immediately, from the factories. The town is not incorporated, but is held as private property and governed entirely by the rules and regulations of the mill corporation. Hence, no municipality imposes taxes, and no mayoralty elections, aldermanic squabbles, or ward politics keep the people in a ferment. Order and peace uniformly prevail; for liquor, the fruitful source of strife, cannot be sold in the town, and any disorderly element that may creep into the population is quickly detected by the watchful management, and is banished with small ceremony.

There are in the town about 1,000 dwellings — tasteful and well constructed cottages—averaging four rooms each, and rented at the rate of fifty cents a room per month. Each little home has its allotted garden space for flowers and vegetables, besides the use of the common meadow land for pasturing cows free of charge. Water is supplied to every dwelling, and all sanitary as well as street work is carried on at the company's expense. Consequently, the entire town, from end to end, is as tidy and tasteful as a good housewife's guest-chamber.

The pride of Pölzer, as of most other worthy communities, is its graded schools, maintained for ten months in the year entirely at the company's expense, and free to all residents. Two well-equipped buildings afford ample space for all the youth of the community. Every teacher is chosen with special reference to his or her capacity for this distinctive work. Last year about 800 pupils were enrolled, and the examination papers showed an excellent average of scholarship. Night classes are always open to such operatives as must devote their days to earning a livelihood and yet are desirous of acquiring an education. Some children, whose families need their help, work in the mills at stated hours of the day, at the expiration of which time certain portions of the machinery are shut down, and the children, having earned from twenty-five to fifty cents apiece for their half-day's labor, hie away to the school, where special provision is made for them, the hours being short and the teaching largely individualized. Education may be said to be compulsory here, for the corporation demands of the heads of families that their children shall be sent to school at least up to a certain point. Religious privileges are also freely supplied to the community, as there are five churches and numerous religious organizations.

Another gift of the corporation to its employees is the "Lyceum," a really handsome building, housing many benefactions. Here is a circulating library comprising nearly 5,000 volumes of approved standard literature, to which additions are being made month by month. The books are contained in a commodious apartment called "the ladies' reading room," but open to all. Its tables are liberally supplied with newspapers and other periodical literature, both popular and scientific. The next apartment is furnished with facilities for carrying on social games, while still another is set apart as the "gentlemen's reading and smoking room." All the privileges of the lyceum are absolutely free to residents of the town, as the company assumes every expense in connection with it. The building is open each evening from 6:30 to 10:30.

Regular courses of free lectures on history, travel, and popular sci-

ence are also provided ; there are occasional concerts ; and other entertainments of a kindred nature are not uncommon. In all of these the citizens evince a lively interest, and the benefits received through such channels of teaching have been very marked in the last dozen years. Over all the amusements of the people, indeed, the management exercises a sympathetic supervision — never an irritating interference, but a gentle leading toward that which is elevating, to the exclusion of low tastes. Special encouragement is given to athletics and outdoor sports. The company has uniformed several base-ball teams, and continues to appropriate something each season toward their current expenses. A fine bicycle race track is kept up. In short, the authorities are constantly on the watch to make provision for the entertainment of the people, particularly on public holidays ; and out-door festivals, including sports, are given the preference. The Smyth Wheel Club, a regularly organized bicycle club of the employees, gives frequent exhibitions of rapid and fancy riding ; a contest for prizes offered by the mill company being an important feature of such occasions. A military company, organized among the young men operatives, and known as the Smyth Rifles, is a part of the State militia ; while a brass band numbering thirty-six members, equipped with fine instruments, adds greatly to the pleasure of this and neighboring communities. Each of these organizations has been fostered and aided in all necessary ways by Mr. Smyth and his associates.

The mercantile affairs of the town are carried on by several establishments with which the mill company has no connection beyond owning the buildings occupied by them. The largest business in the place is done by a corporation with a paid-in capital of \$25,000 ; the shares, of \$25 each, being nearly all owned by the factory operatives, who conduct the business through a manager elected by themselves. This store is quite popular with all classes of the citizens ; and so greatly have its affairs prospered that several substantial dividends have already found their way into the pockets of its shareholders.

Thrift is induced in other ways, also. For instance, the officers of the Pelzer Company conduct a savings bank in which employees are encouraged to deposit all surplus earnings. Upon such deposits they receive interest at the rate of one per cent per quarter. A year ago the deposits in this bank amounted to \$90,000.

Much more that is worth relating might be told of Pelzer and its people, but the main points have been given. Perhaps some one now stands ready to declare that while all these things are well enough, yet the corporation, advanced as it is, still fails to live up to the most vital

principle in the new conception of a proper adjustment of relations between capital and productive industry, that is, profit-sharing with employees. Such a critic is in error. All the institutions of Pelzer proclaim that profits are very generously shared with employees, and that each man gets his share in such a shape that he cannot be robbed of it.

But another objector of a different mind may laughingly declare that this is a little Utopia, a pleasant vagary in the workaday world, impracticable, even impossible, and perhaps he adds undesirable, except in one case out of thousands. He, too, is wrong. Any homogeneous manufacturing community may approximate the happy conditions of Pelzer — not only may, but should do so. The indispensable requisites are breadth of purpose, sound judgment, and generosity, on the part of the managers. It may be added, however, that the Pelzer Company has been fortunate in the class of people it has had to deal with. This native Southern population, driven by desperate conditions from the tenant farm and the hill-top patch or pasture into the newly built cotton factories, is good material with which to fill such towns as Pelzer. Saxon to the core, and endowed, despite the prevailing illiteracy, with a strong natural intelligence, clean morality, and invincible independence, these people are capable of developing into the sturdiest, most useful, and enlightened citizens.

"Has the experiment paid?" some one asks. If the happiness of giver and receiver could be coined into acceptable currency, and the benefaction to posterity measured, weighed, and set forth in figures, my reply would overwhelm the questioner. But intangible things scarcely count with a man who would ask if such an experiment as Pelzer pays. The officers of the company had best answer him in simple, practical language, to the effect that the money they expend on the health and welfare of their employees, on recreations, schools, and other facilities, pays as handsome a dividend as any investment they could make; that they have, through such means, drawn about them the best class of labor in their part of the country; and that during the entire period of twenty years since their organization, the labor difficulties which have so grievously beset and burdened other sections have been an unknown evil in their great plant, with its working corps of 3,000 operatives.

LEONORA BECK ELLIS.

CAN CUBANS GOVERN CUBA?

A JOINT resolution passed by the United States Congress declaring that "the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," is responsible for what will prove to be an opera bouffe government in that island, unless Cubans have learned from the mistakes of other Spanish-Americans, and are able to develop character and capacity never yet displayed by any nation of Spanish descent.

No one can detract from the bravery and daring of Spanish character as demonstrated by the deeds and discoveries of the new world pioneers in their explorations and conquests. Unsailed oceans, unmapped coasts, mighty mountains, tangled forests, and the hostility of native tribes could not stay their venturesome progress. Early in the sixteenth century they had overrun America from the Arkansas to Cape Horn, and had added an empire larger than all Europe to the dominions of their royal master. This was accomplished by a ridiculously small force. A little group of men, no more in number than the police of a second-class city, conquered for Spain her territories in North and Central America, and an even smaller number planted her banner on the ruins of the Inca Empire. No braver or more daring men ever girded sword on thigh or followed a leader to battle.

During both the ten years' war and the later one in Cuba, which resulted in the overthrow of Spanish sovereignty, as well as during the Philippine insurrections, many deeds of daring were performed, and much suffering was patiently endured, worthy of being enshrined in song and story. Admiral Cervera's dash out of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba in the face of the loaded muzzles of the American fleet, in obedience to superior authority, and to save the honor of Spain, when his judgment told him that the effort would meet with certain defeat, was as brave a deed as any recorded in the annals of naval heroism.

But the architects of states need more than bravery in order to build for generations yet to come. Neither Spanish colonists nor their descendants, whether of pure or mixed blood, have ever developed the constructive faculty and executive capacity that are necessary in order

to establish a stable government. The evolution of constitutional liberty, the sanctity of the ballot, the purity of courts of justice, and the ability to administer national finances are matters of slow growth and development. They cannot be secured by imitation, and they have never been successfully exercised by people of Spanish origin or training. With the exception of Benito Juarez, a pure Indian, by the way, it is difficult to recall the name of a single person in Spanish-American history eminent for those qualities of mind which can plan with careful forethought institutions fit to endure the test of time.

Spain destroyed in America two civilizations, those of Mexico and Peru, each superior in some respects to that planted by the conquerors. The vice-regal domination of the mother country in both America and the Philippines has a history of centuries of misrule, violence, injustice, and oppression. The gentle natives of the West Indies, who had received the first comers as guests, were utterly destroyed in less than fifty years after the discovery; and it has been estimated that during this period not less than 12,000,000 native Americans perished under the mailed hand of the soldiers of Spain. When one of the last native ca-siques of Cuba, the heroic Hatuey, was urged to embrace Christianity in order to be saved, he frankly said that if there were Spaniards in heaven he did not want to go there. Aztecs and Incas were slaughtered or enslaved. The rich treasures of America corrupted rather than strengthened the Peninsular government, and the provinces of Ultra Mar became the spoil of those who had friends at court. Weyler was a legitimate descendant of such men as Cortés, Pizarro, Tacón, and Balmaceda, and followed the historical examples established by a long list of predecessors. It is a sad story from beginning to end, with here and there a ray of light from noble churchmen like Bartolomé de Las Casas and Junípero Serra, who struggled in vain against the abuses of the secular arm of the government.

Columbus was a victim of Spanish injustice, and fretted out his last years in futile attempts to secure a small portion of the honors and emoluments which the Throne had solemnly covenanted to bestow upon him. Cortés murdered Montezuma, and his followers tortured Guatemozin. Then, in turn, the conqueror became the victim of conspiracies, and was discredited at court; and a little later his son Martín was put to the torture by avaricious rascals, devoid alike of mercy, fear, and shame. In Peru, Pizarro slaughtered with scant ceremony both the natives and those of his own race who conspired against him. He, too, met with a violent death, as did his brother Gonzalo, who succeeded him as a leader

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of the Spanish troops in Peru. It is a painful record, conceived in avarice, born of blood, and cradled in gross injustice — growing a little better, perhaps, after the conquest, but so full of wrong that in the early years of the nineteenth century it gave rise to the revolutions by which Spain lost all her colonial possessions except Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

It was thought that independence would be the panacea for all the ills of the body politic. The wrongs under which the colonies labored had been charged to the representatives of the Crown; and with the achievement of independence it was fondly hoped and believed that the reign of justice had begun. The condition of things, however, instead of improving became worse. The injustice of Spanish government was succeeded by other evils of domestic origin.

As a rule the Constitution of the United States was taken by the blood-born republics of Spanish America as the model by which to shape and fashion their forms of government. The application of its provisions became, however, a travesty on justice. Force, intrigue, and violence were in effect substituted for the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government. In Mexico, Iturbide was proclaimed emperor, was then deposed and banished, and upon his return to the country was shot with but little attention to the forms of law. Then was inaugurated a series of revolutions which continued almost without interruption until Porfirio Diaz, raised in an atmosphere of revolution, seized by means of a revolution the reins of power, which he has held for more than twenty years, to the material benefit of his country rather than to the evolution of true democratic ideals. The history of Mexico is but a replica of the history of Peru, Venezuela, and most of the other Latin republics of America. The wars which have so retarded the development of these fertile lands grew, in almost every instance, out of personal ambition, and were not occasioned by the advocacy of great principles of government or in defence of human rights. The interpretation of a constitution never reddened a Spanish battle-field or changed the course of history. These conflicts were the mad struggles of ambitious and strong men for supreme power. One of their own poets has described the condition which usually obtained by saying of his land:

“Cada año un gobernante,
Cada mes un motín.”

This may be freely rendered:

“Each year a constitution,
Each month a revolution.”

All these republics, owing to their Spanish training, have been of one mind as to customs tariffs, and have made commerce bear all the burdens it could possibly carry, both for the purpose of producing revenue and for the advantages this system gave to those who had an opportunity to evade the exactions of the customs collector. An honest and efficient customs administration cannot be found in any Spanish country on earth. "Entre los amigos no hay ley" — among friends there is no law — is one of the proverbs of the Spanish people, and it would not be a bad inscription to place over the portals of their custom houses.

Not only are customs assessed upon goods entering the country, but there are also state or provincial tariffs, as well as municipal tariffs; so that a shipment of merchandise to an interior city must pay a federal tariff, a state tariff, and a municipal tariff. This, of course, calls for a large civil force, and the expense of collection is by no means small. The new Cuban constitution has no provision for the free interchange of commerce between the provinces of the island; and should they follow the lead of other countries of like origin, an effort will be made to secure funds for provincial and municipal expenses by means of local tariffs, which will operate against the development of the island, and add enormously to the cost of the administration of government.

Unlettered people have never been successful in guarding their liberties, but have become the prey of ambitious leaders who have ruled by passion or force. The masses of the Spanish-speaking people of America are not educated, and their high percentage of illiteracy is a sad comment on the lack of interest taken by the respective governments in the education of the people. This was originally an inheritance from Spain, where illiterates are in the majority. Cuba, having been so long under the rule of Spain, has about the same record, which is not very different from the condition of other Spanish-American countries. In the republics already established the difficulty was originally chargeable to the mother country; but now, after they have been independent for almost a century, with no marked advance in the direction of general education, the conclusion is that a true conception of the importance of education has not been grasped by the rulers of these lands. The truth is that these countries are making a ghastly play at government. General education is not necessary in a despotism, whether royal or military. By these people any general scheme of public instruction is looked upon as an ornamental adjunct of government, rather than a necessary part of it.

While prolific of constitutions the Latin republics of America allow none of them to endure long enough to acquire a respectable age. In the adoption of the fundamental laws of other lands they are inclined to seize upon what is superficial and spectacular rather than upon those principles which lie at the basis of liberty, security, and order. The desire to rule makes the brave Latin-American follow many a Don Quixote, as did Sancho Panza, upon the promise of an island to govern. The very bravery and daring of the Spanish character, prone to act without counting the cost or foreseeing results, are breeders of revolutions.

If the natural wealth of a country were a measure of its stability there would be hope for Cuba; but Cuba was rich before the revolution. The exports per capita in 1897 were \$63.10, far larger than the exports of any Spanish-American republic. Uruguay exported \$41.00 per capita, Costa Rica \$25.00, the Argentine \$24.20. The per capita exports of Cuba outranked those of Great Britain, and Great Britain outranked all other civilized countries of the world. Cuba under Spanish control had a greater wealth per capita than the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, or Arkansas; but this very wealth, actual and potential, is an element of danger rather than security for the stability of the future republic, for it has been productive of prodigality rather than prudence.

According to the census of 1899, taken under the direction of the United States, the rural property of Cuba was valued at \$184,724,836, on which rested a mortgage indebtedness of \$106,897,249. In other words, it is mortgaged to about 60 per cent of its full value. The town property makes even a worse showing. It is valued at \$138,917,059, and is mortgaged for \$100,729,943, almost 80 per cent of its full value. With the relinquishment of United States control in Cuba, one of the first problems the new government will have to face will be to make some arrangement for paying, scaling, refunding, or repudiating this enormous indebtedness. Owing to the distress and disturbances caused by the war, mortgage foreclosures and even interest payments thereon have been stayed by military orders. This cannot be continued any longer; but foreclosure proceedings now entered upon can be continued under some of the many *recursos* provided by Spanish legal procedure until Cuban legislators, Cuban courts, and Cuban executives dispose of the question of mortgage indebtedness. As the money was loaned chiefly by foreigners and borrowed by Cubans, it is the creditor rather than the debtor who is walking the floor and wondering where the money is to come from to repay the legal and just debt.

Spanish people, as has been remarked, have always been inclined to place the burden of government on commerce. No just or equitable system of land tax has ever been enacted or enforced by them. Their tendencies have been to tax necessities, and bear lightly upon luxuries. The customs tariff, as made and collected by the United States authorities in Cuba, is producing a revenue of about \$15,000,000 per annum, from which provision is promptly and easily made for the expenses of government, the public school system, sanitary measures, and public improvements. With the change that will follow complete independence many additions to the annual budget will have to be made.

It will be necessary to pay salaries to a President, a Vice-President, Cabinet officers, collectors of customs, a diplomatic corps — for Cuba will want a minister at every important capital — and a consular service. Cuba will have to provide also for a Senate and a House of Representatives, as it has been arranged by the new constitution to have four senators from each province of the island and a representative for every 25,000 of the population. The school system ought to be extended; and as there is almost a dearth of school-houses, the bulwarks of a republic, large expenditures should be made for such buildings. The "Army of Liberation" will clamor at the doors of the Cuban Congress for back pay, bounties, and pensions, calling for an amount which no man can estimate. The bonds issued by the Cuban Junta during the revolution, the amount of which has never been made public, will demand recognition, together with their unpaid interest coupons. With the general government, the provinces, and the municipalities free to grant concessions, to make loans, and to contract debts, and with a very natural desire to have some ready cash, it is to be feared that obligations will be assumed the total amount of which will reach a startling sum.

The first steps of a new government are of supreme importance to the future welfare of the country. A man brave and successful in the field is not necessarily a wise statesman; and there is nothing in the recent history of Cuba that leads her thoughtful friends to indulge the hope that the successors of such men as Felix Varela, Escobedo, Domingo Delmonte, Pozos Dulce, José M. Heredia, José de la Luz Caballero, José Antonio Saco, Morales Lemus, Echeverria, and J. M. Mestre either live in Cuba to-day, or that, if there be such, they will have part in the councils of the new republic.

As already stated, the tariff produces about \$15,000,000 annually; but this large income reaches the treasury of the island through American administration of the customs. When the new republic takes hold, it

is to be feared that even under the same tariff rates nothing like such a sum will reach the treasury. Spanish training militates against spotless integrity in the administration of the customs. The new constitution fails to make any provision forbidding the establishment of customs duties between the different provinces of the island, or even between the cities of the same province; in fact, the constitution rather invites and anticipates the establishment of provincial and municipal custom houses as a means of raising revenue for the expenses of those political divisions of the country. This is the practice of nearly all Spanish countries; and the result in Cuba will be to make the cost of imported merchandise so great that consumption will be reduced to a minimum, to the serious detriment of the federal or insular revenues. In this manner the fiscal conditions attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty by the new republic will be further complicated.

It is to be feared that Cuba is not in hearty accord with general education to the extent of devoting the necessary sum for its support. The sanitary measures which have been enforced, and which, according to Article V of the Platt amendment, Cuba promises to continue and to extend, do not receive the conscientious support of the Cuban authorities. A perfunctory compliance with sanitary and quarantine regulations will invite *ante bellum* conditions, and may give rise to differences between Cuba and the United States.

The rock on which it is most likely that Cuban independence will be wrecked is the solemn promise not to contract or recognize any debt beyond the ability of the resources of the island to meet. It is a well-known fact that a borrower is optimistic as to his ability when seeking a loan, and pessimistic when interest accrues and notes fall due. Cuba lives, moves, and has her being in sugar and tobacco. Without a market these products are worthless. The rapid development of the beet-sugar industry is making it more and more difficult to find a market for the tropical cane product. Cuba can no longer look to Europe for a market for her sugar. She therefore turns to the United States. A prenatal cry of the Cuban republic is for reciprocity arrangements between the two countries which will insure for her sugar an American market on terms more favorable than are granted by the tariff at present existing. For any such arrangement to be genuinely reciprocal — and this is a matter of business, not charity — Cuba would have to admit on very favorable terms a volume of American goods sufficient to offset the advantages secured by the admission of her sugar and tobacco. This would make a serious cut into the customs revenues of

the island, and would tend to widen the gap between the budget and the receipts.

There is grave danger that the experiment of the independent government of Cuba by Cubans will have the following results: The revenues will decrease and expenses will increase; projected improvements, absolutely necessary for the development of the country, will languish; schools will be neglected; sanitary measures will not be intelligently prosecuted; and the country will retrograde. These things may now be predicted with some degree of confidence without assuming that rival parties will raise the standard of revolution, as has so often happened in every Spanish country in America. The latter possibility has been scarcely mentioned in treating of the Cuban question, as it is a matter which time alone can develop; but as every one of the fifteen Latin-American republics has had many domestic revolutions, the conclusion is reasonable that Cuba is not free from the same tendency, and may in the near future appeal to the bayonet rather than the ballot to decide presidential contests. The President, under the Cuban constitution, will have almost supreme power in the distribution of patronage, even in the provinces. The government will be a central one, and the provinces for governmental purposes will have a nominal rather than a real existence. Conservative Cubans, with large interests in the island, urge the speedy establishment of independence, not because they have confidence in its permanency, but because they see that the trial must be made; and they look upon it simply as a necessary step to final annexation or control by the United States.

The joint resolution of Congress will withdraw the American forces from Cuba, but the Platt amendment will sooner or later send them back with more serious problems to solve and a large debt to provide for. It is the custom among nations for the conqueror to impose an indemnity upon the conquered, as was done recently by the Western Powers in the case of China; but the United States, the conqueror in the late war, paid an indemnity to Spain, returned her soldiers to their native land, clothed the naked, nursed the sick, and assumed the payment of the losses of her own citizens which arose from the war, asking no money indemnity from either Spain or Cuba for the enormous cost of the Cuban campaign. Neither has Cuba expressed any sense of financial indebtedness to the United States for the expense incurred in driving the saffron flag of Spain from American soil and American waters. The end is not yet.

EDMOND WOOD.

THE UTILIZATION OF WASTE.

LIEBIG relates that when he was a young man, a manufacturer of Prussian blue, who was showing him through the works, drew his attention to the great noise made by certain comminuting and mixing machines. These machines consisted of large iron mortars in which iron pestles were actuated by machinery. The pestles pounded the materials to a fine condition and mixed them. On Liebig's suggesting that some means ought to be devised to prevent the terrible din made by the machines, the manufacturer told him that it was a singular fact that the more noise the pestles made the better was the blue produced. It happens that in making Prussian blue iron is a necessary constituent of the mixture, a fact which did not seem to be thoroughly appreciated by this manufacturer. He was, therefore, much surprised when Liebig told him that the iron which was necessary to produce the color was being rubbed off his machinery — a most extravagant way to supply it. He understood for the first time, however, why it was that the greater the noise from the friction of the pestles in the mortars, the better was the blue produced. He thus learned in an expensive way that it was better manufacturing to put iron into the mixture than to grind it off high-priced machinery.

In an experience with manufacturers extending over twenty-five years I have seen a good deal of this kind of blue manufacturing. In fact, I have seen manufacturers carrying large stocks of various kinds of blue; but in the majority of instances a dose of chemistry properly applied has removed their difficulties and turned losses into profits.

It is evident that if a certain raw product yields 1,000 pounds of a finished product and 100 pounds of a substance that is not salable and has no use, this valueless product, or waste, has still to be handled, dumped, or conveyed away, as the case may be, and that all this means expense. It may accumulate in unsightly piles, may pollute the air, may choke up or contaminate streams, or may occupy valuable ground. The cost of handling it is charged to the main product. If this 100 pounds of valueless waste can be converted into something which has a commercial value, then the returns from the sale of this article reduce

the price of the main product by distributing the cost of production. It is also evident that if two manufacturers are making the same article, and one can get a price for a substance which in the other man's process must be reckoned as a valueless waste, the competition between them may be fierce, but it will be brief.

As soon as chemists were permitted to study manufacturing processes they began to invent methods of recovering substances of commercial value from the immense quantities of waste products daily produced; of increasing the yield of products; of increasing the purity of products; and of decreasing the cost of manufacture. A mere mention of the work done on these lines would fill volumes, but a reference to some of the cases may prove interesting reading. I will outline particularly some of those connected with the utilization of waste; drawing attention to applications which have been suggested as well as to those which have been technically introduced, and not omitting such inferences and relationships as may appear worth being recorded.

It is customary for writers on this topic to dilate on the truly marvellous instance of the utilization of coal tar. This fact has been emphasized so often that I shall take it for granted that my readers know that this offensive tar, which was once a waste and a nuisance, now yields on distillation a series of products each of which serves as a starting-point for a long series of valuable substances, including the beautiful aniline dyes, perfumes, medicaments, antiseptics, and what not. From the former waste product has grown up an industry in which many thousands of persons are employed, and many millions of dollars invested. It is, however, a matter of regret that although this country is an immense producer of coal-tar, and exports large quantities of tar distillates, and although the processes for making coal-tar derivatives are almost all patented here, the manufacture of them has yet been but little developed in the United States. It is a question if it is good business policy to protect by a United States patent a product which is not manufactured in this country, and on the importation of which a duty must be paid.

Garbage represents a waste which is usually very much in evidence. In civilized communities it is separated from the ashes, and hence is in a condition for utilization. Instead of being a waste and an unmitigated nuisance, garbage may now be converted into several valuable products. The most successful treatment consists in heating the garbage with water and chemicals until it is converted into "soup," removing the grease by means of raising and centrifugal apparatus, evaporating the "soup" to

solid form, and grinding it. All the gases given off during the evaporation of the "soup" and the treatment of the garbage are burnt, and are thus utilized as fuel. The grease is of good quality, and finds a ready market. When purified, it can be used in making soap. The dried substance is sold as "tankage;" and as it is rich in ammonium salts, nitrogen, and phosphates, it commands a good price from the manufacturers of fertilizers.

City refuse is burnt in especially constructed furnaces. The heat produced is utilized to make steam for power or heating. Electric light and power plants are run by heat derived from the burning of garbage, and certain electrolytic chemical processes could also be run, if desired, and used to purify the drinking-water, as well as for other purposes. From the ashes a cement is made. In fact, a well-managed community ought to make its garbage and refuse pay for its removal and for some other things as well. A successful process for separating fine coal from city ashes would find a profitable opportunity in large cities. The amount of fine coal which at present is lost in the ashes of New York is estimated at from 600 to 1,000 tons a day.

The utilization of cesspool matter has been successfully worked out in the city of Augsburg. The material is treated with acid, and dried to a powder, which forms a valuable fertilizer. The value of the available nitrogen contained in this material annually lost in the city of Munich alone has been estimated at \$500,000. This waste might well be worked up to replace some of the millions of dollars' worth of Peruvian guano imported yearly into Germany to manure the soil. The city of Antwerp once paid \$5,000 a year to get rid of its refuse. Later on it received \$200,000 a year from the same refuse; scientific men having found ways to utilize it. It was calculated in 1872 that the annual loss of valuable material through the sewers of the United States equalled a sum sufficient to pay half the interest on the national debt. This matter, however, is not altogether lost, for it is to some extent assimilated by marine life.

Waste soapsuds constitute another immense amount of material which flows from the textile factories in great streams, polluting rivers and making no end of trouble. As an instance of how this can be worked up, the yarn mills at Mülhausen may be cited. The soapsuds are precipitated with lime, and the coagulum is collected, pressed into bricks, dried, and heated in gas retorts. A gas is obtained which has three times the illuminating power of coal gas. Nearly twice as much gas can be produced as is required to light the factory. Other utiliza-

tions have also been made of waste soap liquors, such as the production of lubricating oils, fat acids, and soaps. A vexatious waste was formerly that of the liquors from making soap, which contain, among other substances, glycerine. Although the extraction of the glycerine from these waste liquors was beset with technical difficulties the problem was finally solved.

The extraction of grease and fat from dead animals and offal has also been brought to a high state of perfection. The carcasses are placed in large receptacles and treated with benzine. On the evaporation of the solvent the crude fatty matters are obtained, and on purification these yield excellent materials, which appear later in the form of soap, lubricants, oils, etc.

The methods of working up some of the apparently waste objects are full of interest. Few people think of what becomes of the hundreds of horses which die every day in the streets of a large city. Practically no part of them goes to waste. I quote the following disposition of a dead horse from Simmonds:¹

Hair: used for hair-cloth, mattresses, bags for crushing oil seeds, plumes, etc.
Hide: used for tanning and covering tables, etc.
Tendons: made into glue and gelatine.
Flesh: boiled for food for cats, dogs, and poultry.
Blood: used in manufacture of prussiate of potash, and manure.
Intestines: used for covering sausages.
Grease: used in manufacture of candles and soap.
Bones: used in making knife-handles, manure, phosphorus, and superphosphates.
Hoofs: made into pincushions and snuff-boxes when polished, or used for making glue, gelatine, and prussiate of potash.
Shoes: sold for old iron.

Some of the bones are also converted into bone charcoal, which is largely used in bleaching sugar and in medicinal substances.

Bones are used for a great variety of purposes, including the manufacture of bone char for bleaching, empyreumatic oils, tallow, black pigment for painting, shoe-blackening, and filling sheet rubber for overshoes, bone dust for manure, sulphate of ammonia, cupels, vitrified bone for use in opal glass, aside from the manufacture of knife-handles, combs, fans, buttons, etc. Bones also furnish gelatine and glue, and are the starting-point for the manufacture of phosphorus.

Rats offer a great opportunity to some one who has the knowledge and business ability to raise them. They breed easily and rapidly, and will live on garbage and offal. Their skins make a leather tougher than kid, and grace the hand of many a woman who would scream at the

¹ "Waste Products and Unapplied Substances," p. 56.

thought of a rat about her. Their fur is used by hatters, and is said to be more delicate than the beaver's.

Mastiffs furnish a good leather for boots, shoes, and riding-gloves, while the skins of small dogs and cats make a good white glove leather. Dogs, when rendered, yield a fat which is used in dressing certain kinds of glove leather. Cat's fur figures under various fancy names for women's garments.

Waste human hair occurs in larger quantities than one would suppose. In 1872 human hair to the extent of 100,000 pounds was imported from China into Marseilles. Waste hair is largely used as a manure. Heavy cloth and shawls have also been made from it. It can also be used in the manufacture of prussiate of potash, and indirectly in the production of Prussian blue. Eventually more or less of the hair finds its way into fertilizers.

There are many instances of published experiments in the utilization of waste which read as if they were intended to be facetious, although the investigators are wholly in earnest. One chemist made a wine jelly out of old boots, and was enthusiastic about it — more so, probably, than those who partook of it and did not learn the fact until later. Another converts old shirts into glucose, ferments it, distils off the alcohol, colors and flavors it, and produces a fine grade of whiskey. Another scientific experimenter feeds his whole family with cakes containing a large amount of powdered sawdust, and is pleased to find that the diet is relished and digested.

Speaking of sawdust, it is a singular fact that in the United States this waste has been allowed to accumulate in various places until it has become a nuisance, especially when it has been allowed to run into rivers and choke up the channels, disfigure the shores, and in other ways make trouble. Although there are not a few methods of utilizing sawdust, but little attempt seems to have been made in this country. The amount of sawdust produced has been reduced by the displacement of the circular saw by the band saw, which makes much less dust. There is, however, plenty of sawdust produced, and as a rule it does not find any application. In view of this state of affairs, a brief mention of some of the utilizations of sawdust will be of interest.

The first use, as would naturally occur to any one, is to burn it. Several special forms of furnaces have been invented to do this efficiently. In some cases the sawdust is dried before it is burnt, while in others it is dried in the furnace in which it is burnt. It can also be mixed with coal slack, spent dye-wood, turf, peat, etc., and compressed into bri-

quettes, which allow it to be sold for use in place of coal. As coal is often very highly priced in regions where sawdust is produced, there is an opportunity for a large profit. By the dry distillation of sawdust all the distillation products of wood are obtained; and this manufacture can be conducted as an adjunct to the working of wood in a way to insure a profit. The products obtained are gas, wood alcohol, acetic acid, tar, and oils. From the tar there have been obtained benzole, toluole, zymole, cumole, paraffine, naphthalene, and hydrocarbons which are used in the manufacture of aniline colors. Carboic acid and creosote are also obtained. As a last product charcoal is left in the retorts.

By sieving out the coarser particles, mixing the remainder with various fillers and agglutinants, compressing, and heating, some very interesting materials have been made, in the way of artificial wood, plastic masses, etc. Such a material was brought out by Latry in Paris, and was made from prepared sawdust and blood. It formed a hard, black substance, which could be tooled and machined like wood. It took a high polish, and could be glued, lacquered, and gilded. Imitation marbles have also been made from the fine dust of certain woods and the dust of ivory and similar waste. A mixture of sawdust and phosphate of lime with a binder has been used as a material for taking casts of sculptures, and has been called "Similibois." Slabs for parquet floors have also been made from sawdust, as well as plates for bas-reliefs, art castings, panels, and decorations. Terra-cotta lumber and artificial lumber are both instances of the utilization of sawdust. Sawdust compositions have also been used for sidewalks and dinner plates.

A long list could be given of explosives and varieties of gunpowder that have been made from sawdust. In some the sawdust is used as an absorbent, as with nitroglycerine, in others as a filler, while in still others it is converted into forms of pyroxiline. By heating sawdust with caustic alkali and sulphur, a brown dye is obtained which is cheap and fast, resisting both acids and alkalies, and dyeing cotton without a mordant. By heating sawdust with caustic alkali, oxalic acid is formed. A large amount of the oxalic acid on the market is made by this process.

There are still many other uses for sawdust. It is used to sprinkle on floors, to assist in sweeping, as a filler for fertilizers, for packing, etc. Soft-wood sawdust, mixed with slaked lime, makes a mortar which has been used for decoration. Several inventors have used mortars containing sawdust for stucco and wall finish. Mixed with cement and plaster a mass is produced which has a most remarkable insulating power against heat and cold. The spaces between the floors and walls in many of the

large city structures are filled with mixtures of this nature. The material known as "Sciffarine" is made of sawdust, hemp fibre, starch, glue, and filler. It is very hard and elastic, and takes a high polish. By heating pine and fir sawdust with water and a little muriatic acid under pressure, the cellulose is converted to some extent into grape sugar, and this can be fermented. In this way brandy free from woody or turpentine odor or taste, and of excellent flavor, has been obtained from sawdust.

An ingenious use for sawdust is to mix it with clay or other non-combustible material and then burn the sawdust out, leaving a porous mass. In this way are made the alcarrazas, or porous flasks, which are used by the Arabs to cool water by evaporation on the outside. Porous bricks made in this way form walls which are admirable non-conductors of heat, as they are filled with air cells, thus utilizing the well-known non-conducting property of air. On account of its porous and consequently non-conducting nature pumice-stone was very popular with the Romans, who, when the supply of it gave out, made porous bricks by mixing clay with materials which were destroyed during the burning. Construction with porous material of this kind is not only fireproof but is very light; and hence structures can be erected on foundations which will not bear a heavy load. A mixture of sawdust, cement, and sand forms a mass which is unsurpassed as an insulating filler for walls and compartments. Certain kinds of sawdust can be pulverized and used in the manufacture of paper. Attempts have been made, but not with entire success, to make out of sawdust a substitute for cork. An excellent illuminating gas can be made from sawdust. In fact, in some localities there is enough sawdust produced to make all the gas required for the whole community, both for light and heat.

A most interesting waste product to the chemist and engineer is the slag from iron blast furnaces. Immense deposits of this material exist in various parts of the world, awaiting utilizations extensive enough to afford an outlet for them. Many attempts have been made in this direction. Some of them have been successful, but they have not as yet made much impression on the immense output of slag. Slag wool is largely used for a non-conducting and fireproof filling in construction. It is made by blowing a current of steam through a stream of melted slag. The slag is broken into little drops which fly through the air like comets, and leave a long tail, or filament, behind them. These tails constitute the slag wool. On baking this slag wool a material is formed which, it is claimed, can be used in the production of porcelain. Bricks and building stones have also been made out of slag. The use of slag for

road-making is a very attractive one. As slag is a kind of glass, chemists have tried for years to modify it so as to convert it into some form of glass for which there is a large demand, as bottle glass. It is believed that very recent discoveries have made this possible in a practical degree.

In certain foreign works the heat in the slag was utilized in an interesting way, which if it had been devised in this country would have been designated as pure Yankee ingenuity. The slag was cast into slabs, and, while red-hot, was placed in receptacles in the form of travelling bags, but made of insulating material. The workman carried this home with him, and placed it in a stove made to hold the slab. In this way he got his heat without cost. The escape of heat through slag is very great, and but few attempts have been made to utilize it. Water can be boiled with it, air can be heated with it, perhaps even steam boilers might be kept going with it. Slag has also been used in making tiles, building blocks, bottles, and cement.

The immense quantity of waste gases from the iron blast furnaces was once the cause of much annoyance. It represented also a loss in heat which kept the cost of iron at a figure so high as to limit its use in many ways. Means were invented to utilize this waste in heating the air used in the blast. An immense saving was thus effected. The gas, after being thus used for heating purposes, will burn when mixed with air, and in Europe this mixture is now being used to make power. It is evidently quite inconsistent for a manufacturer to throw away large quantities of combustible gas and then buy coal to do what could be done with the gas he wastes. And before burning the gas there are some constituents which might be extracted in a way to bring about a still greater saving in cost.

The utilization of skim-milk in recent years is a good instance of the practical benefits of scientific investigation. The introduction of the Delaval separator made it possible to separate the cream from milk in a far more practical and perfect way than had been possible before. But while this aided the butter industry, there was produced a large amount of skim-milk which had little value, and, except to serve as food for hogs, had but few uses. This skim-milk contains, however, casein, albumen, and milk sugar, and can also be used in the production of lactic acid. The result of experiments has been the development of a large industry in manufacturing from the products of skim-milk coatings and sizings for paper, waterproof glues for wood veneers and other purposes, paints, substitutes for hen's eggs, hard rubber, horn, etc.

The working up of old textiles arouses many thoughts in one's mind as one sees the shop windows filled with cloth at low prices. The old clothes, consisting of mixtures of cotton and wool fibres, are exposed to the effects of various chemicals in a heated condition. The cotton fibres are thus disintegrated and when the fabric is beaten the cotton is reduced to dust and can be blown out, leaving the unchanged wool fibres. This wool is then washed, bleached, and dyed, reappearing in overcoats and many forms of cheap dress goods. The product is known in the trade as "wool extract." How many times these overcoats, trousers, vests, coats, skirts, and what not wander through the "carbonizing chambers" to reappear as new fabrics none can say. The cycle is really endless; because after the cloth has become gradually lost during its travels, or becomes too degraded even for the "carbonizer," it is converted into fertilizers, or finds its way to the soil, and so in due time reappears to a greater or less extent as wool on sheep and cotton in the boll.

To what strange uses are some materials put! Some years ago there was quite a run on dress buttons made out of blood. I do not suppose that the fair women who wore them ever dreamed of their source. It is perhaps not well to ask too many questions about the origin of things; but nothing shows more ability to grasp scientific knowledge and apply it than success in converting some worthless substance into something that is useful and valuable. But to be able to utilize waste one must have not only a thorough knowledge of the properties and changes of matter, but also a wide acquaintance with the practical applications of substances in all branches of industry; for the waste of one manufacture may be of great value to an entirely different manufacture. To find that out demands the possession of a far more extensive and intimate knowledge of technology than is usually possessed.

Some of the applications of waste are very unexpected and surprising to one not versed in this kind of work. All sorts of fantastic thoughts may be evolved in this study. Artificial pearls are made from fish scales. The old paper collars, so popular in parts of the West, find themselves again in paper. The old coffee pot is chopped up. The good parts of the metal are used for making the metal corners on trunks. The rest of it may appear as copperas, the useful mordant, or in ink. My lady writes tender sentiments to her lord with ink made from an old coffee pot, on paper made from old collars or shirts. The offal, intestines, and useless odds and ends of animal life all come handy in the production of Prussian blue, which again is the base of the greens used in paint. Bones, too, are admirable examples of queer changes. Out

of bones are made phosphoric acid and acid phosphates, and from these again come some of the kinds of baking powder. Again, from these bones is made phosphorus. Among the various uses of old newspapers is the manufacturing from them of paper boards from which paper boxes are made. Old rubber shoes and bicycle tires are ground up; and the rubber is extracted and started again in its cycle.

Deposits in wine casks consist of argol, or crude bitartrate of potash, which, when purified, becomes the cream of tartar which is so popular in baking, and from which tartaric acid is made. How many of those who so earnestly oppose the use of wines, brandy, and the fermentation products of the grape understand that in using cream of tartar in raising biscuit and cake, or in wearing the innumerable fabrics dyed with tartar mordant, or in drinking effervescent salts containing tartaric acid, they are materially aiding in the support and development of the wine industry by maintaining a demand for the products of argol, which is one of its side-products? To think that persons who have been so strenuous in abolishing the army canteen should themselves be actively assisting in cheapening the cost of wine, and thus popularizing its use! Truly, where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be consistent. If the beer industry did not supply brewer's grains at a low price for cattle food, the teetotaler might have to pay more for his milk. If the wine industry did not make a large demand for corks, where could be obtained the cork waste which serves as the basis for the manufacture of linoleum?

The strangeness of these transformations of matter is not always realized by those not familiar with chemistry. Matter is continually passing through its endless cycle. An overcoat may have in it the remains of ball-dresses and prison shirts. It may have lain on luxurious beds or in the gutters. When our shoes wear out they are made into fertilizers, and produce grass and grain, and from the grass and grain are raised cows, and out of the cow's skin we make leather again. So we have the shoe back again, less that portion of it that has been consumed as milk and beef. Nothing is really lost in Nature. Give the ground filth it returns us the flower. Matter is in eternal circulation. "Give me the sewage of New York City," says Dr. Long, "and I will return you yearly the superior milk of 100,000 cows."

I might go on for many pages telling about the waste products in manufacturing, and explaining how many of them have been utilized, and how some of them have become so valuable that they have given rise to new industries, and hence have passed from waste to raw products. Many extraordinary and unexpected relationships might be pointed out

between articles of commerce, and many a singular inference drawn; but the really great lesson which I wish to teach is that in the present state of science there ought to be but very little waste. A waste product, like dirt, is matter out of place, and represents a pecuniary loss; for the matter going to waste has been bought and paid for.

To make the waste valueless the value of the material in it has to be charged for in the products sold; thus holding the price up and restricting the sales. Some of the energy and money spent in the selling of goods would show better results if spent on the reduction of the cost of making the goods which would come from a proper utilization of the waste. Finding a place for this matter out of place at once gives it a value, and takes some of the load from the cost of manufacturing the chief products. It is, therefore, a matter of great interest to the manufacturer to keep a sharp eye on his waste and to lose no opportunity to find ways to utilize it; always bearing in mind that waste is matter out of place, and that in some other branch of industry that particular form of homeless matter has a place. In fact, one manufacturer often buys what another throws away.

PETER T. AUSTEN.

FINLAND'S PLIGHT.

AWAY up in the most northern part of Europe a large and powerful nation is seeking to destroy and exterminate a small people. We have of late become accustomed to the spectacle of large nations making war upon and swallowing nations much weaker than themselves; but in most cases the stronger power could claim with some semblance of truth that its own was the higher civilization, and that the conquest and ultimate subjugation of the weaker nation would work for the spread of civilization, the benefit of commerce, the good of industry, and ultimately the welfare of the conquered. In the case of Finland, however, no such pretence can be made. In point of culture, civilization, commerce, industry, and all other civic virtues, the Finns are far ahead of the Russians, and their fight for national existence is also a fight of civilization against perfidy and brutal force. In spite of the denials of official Russia, the fact that it aims at nothing less than the total extermination of the Finnish nation is apparent to any one who compares the conditions of to-day with those of, say, five years ago. Not long since, General Bobrikoff, the Russian Governor-General, paraphrased Metternich's famous saying concerning Italy, and declared that "Finland is merely a geographical conception." While this is by no means the fact at present, it is certain that if Russia continues to deal with the Finns as she has dealt with them since 1898, Finland will soon cease to be more than a mere "geographical conception."

It is needless at this date to enter into a discussion of the constitutional questions involved. Professor Rudolf Eucken has shown the merits of the case clearly and precisely; his article¹ is an excellent and eloquent document proving the perfidy of Russia. But the optimistic hopes expressed by Professor Eucken have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, things have become worse, and the outlook to-day is darker than ever.

What has Russia done during the last two years? First and foremost, by an imperial edict of February 3 (15), 1899, Finland ceased to

¹ See THE FORUM, for November, 1899.

be a Grand Duchy and became a Russian province. By the same edict the Finnish Diet was shorn of all its rights and powers; for in the above-cited ukase the Czar declared: "We have found it necessary to reserve to ourselves the ultimate decision as to which laws come within the scope of the general legislation for the Empire." At the same time the Governor-General of the newly made province received the right to veto any or all laws enacted by the Legislature. And although the Diet meets, it has practically become utterly impotent; the Legislature is not allowed, either by the authorities in St. Petersburg or by the Russian Governor, to act even in an advisory capacity.

What this means to Finland is easily seen. From a self-governing country it has become a satrapy, ruled by the orders of a governor and edicts from Russia. The first shock that brought this knowledge home to the Finns was the imperial edict concerning the reorganization of the military system. Instead of being a national militia, commanded by Finnish officers and not to be used outside of the country without the consent of the Legislature, the Finnish soldiers have been declared to be a part of the Russian army. Russian regiments have been stationed in Finland; while the Finns must serve under Russian officers, must obey commands given in the Russian language, and are sent to all parts of Russia proper. Grievous as all this is to the Finns, it is only a small part of the injustice done to them in connection with military service.

The number of men to be drafted annually has been quadrupled by the Russian authorities. Finland is required to furnish annually 7,200 men between the ages of twenty and twenty-two. These men must remain in active service for five years at least, after which they belong for thirteen years to the reserve force. A very little calculation will show that what Russia exacts is almost an impossibility; for that demand means nothing less than that out of a population of perhaps 2,500,000, as many as 36,000 should be constantly doing active military duty, while 93,600 more should participate once in two years in manœuvres and drills for the length of six weeks.

It is easy to see what an effect this requirement must have on the industries and agriculture of the country. Practically every able-bodied man is drafted into the army, and is kept from any useful occupation for fully five years. We may overlook the misery and frequent tortures that have to be endured during this time; we may even pass over the fact that five years of enforced uselessness unfit a man to follow with any success the occupation or trade he has learned in his youth; nay, we can go even further, and leave out of consideration the toil which is

required from the producers in order to clothe and feed the army. It is sufficient to say that a country whose soil yields only to concentrated and steady labor cannot have 36,000 young men taken away from its scarce population and remain prosperous. And it is a fact, admitted by the Russian authorities themselves, that the industries and agriculture of Finland have suffered very much. Indeed, for the first time in the history of Finland the population is at times actually in distress from hunger, a condition which was totally unknown as long as the country was self-governing or was a part of Sweden, in spite of the fact that its crops have failed occasionally.

Another direct result of the Russian exaction in connection with the military service is a large emigration of young men in order to escape the hardships of the service. The Finns were never a migrating race until the Russians became their masters. From practically nothing the number of young men who left the country rose to 16,000 in 1899; and in 1900, in spite of the fact that the emigration of men liable to military service has been forbidden under the severest penalties, not less than 36,000 of them emigrated. It has come to pass that some counties, like Wasa and Uleåborg, for instance, have retained only their old people, women, and children; all the able-bodied men having gone to seek more favorable conditions in Sweden, Canada, and the United States. The larger the number of emigrants grew, the more stringent became the laws forbidding emigration. No young man above the age of sixteen is now allowed to leave the country, in any circumstances. In theory a family can emigrate if none of its members is subject to military service; in practice, however, this permission is not granted except to old people. As a natural result of this state of affairs, the straightforward, honest, truthful Finn has been compelled to take refuge in lies and subterfuges in order to elude the authorities.

In vain did the Finnish Estates protest against the unjust burdens of the military laws. The bearers of a monster petition to the Czar were informed that if they knew what was good for them, they would return immediately to their homes without trying to see him. Similar treatment was received by a number of men of science who travelled to St. Petersburg on a similar errand. The Diet was curtly told that if it repeated its protestations, it might be abolished, and that it must confine its attention to local and economic questions.

In February, 1900, the representatives of all four Estates declared that they would never give up their constitutional rights of self-government. For answer they received the ukase of June 14 (26), which de-

creed the introduction and use of the Russian language in all official departments and public offices, beginning with the office of the Secretary of State, including the Senate, and gradually extending to all offices and officials. The result of this edict was exactly what the Russian authorities expected. The Senate, without whose promulgation no decree is supposed to have any legal force, refused to promulgate this particular ukase. But Russia has a way of dealing with recalcitrant senators. The Senate was peremptorily ordered to promulgate the order under pain of being abolished. Fourteen of the twenty-one senators resigned their offices, and the remaining seven were not unanimous in publishing the ukase.

Thus has the Russian language superseded the Finnish in the administration of the country. Those Finns who did not know the Russian language or were not willing to employ it became *ipso facto* debarred from holding office, and the vacant positions were filled with Russians. In one instance a Russophile Finlander, Senator von Spåre, accepted office at the hands of General Bobrikoff. Great was the popular indignation in consequence and the newspapers gave their opinions, reflecting really the sentiment of the people. Immediately Bobrikoff gave his answer. Von Plehwe, one of the Russian senators, and a notorious Pan-Russian, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Province of Finland," an office that had never previously been held except by natives of Finland. With the advent of Von Plehwe came a regiment of Russian gendarmes "to help, and, if need be, to supersede," the native police in and around Helsingfors. Then came the suppression of every newspaper and magazine whose editor and proprietor would not bind themselves never to criticise any act of the governor, an imperial edict, or the general legislation of the empire. In other words, the Russian censor system was introduced with all its horrors and detestable infamies.

And here again a renegade Finn was found to do the dirty work of the Governor. Senator Yrjö Koskenen, the censor, is at the present time more detested than even Bobrikoff or Pobiedonostseff. The record of Koskenen's doings speaks for itself. Under his censorship there were 375 interferences with the press in 1899, and nearly 1,000 in 1900, as compared with 40 in 1897 and 12 in 1898. But, while particular attention is paid by the Russian authorities to the printed word the spoken word is not neglected by them. The continuance of existing associations and the starting of new societies depend entirely upon the pleasure of the Governor. He has refused to allow the formation of philanthropic, scientific, or literary societies. He has dissolved the Finnish

Medical Association, for instance, and has threatened to extinguish the Finnish Geographical Society. He defends his action by the specious plea that these societies are in reality nothing else but clubs for political agitation. Bobrikoff has gone even further, having long ago prohibited any meetings for the discussion of political or economic questions. In November, 1900, however, on the occasion of Senator Mechelin's sixtieth birthday, a great number of scientists came together to eulogize this distinguished professor of Helsingfors University. Senator Mechelin is a strong opponent of the Russification of his country, and by the force of his logic and by his complete knowledge of constitutional history he has shown repeatedly that there is not a shred of justice in Russia's treatment of Finland.

Immediately after the day when Senator Mechelin had been made the recipient of the congratulations of his fellow professors, scientists, and students, an order came that henceforth all meetings of scientists would be subject to the pleasure of the Governor, and could be held only in the presence of a delegated official. One need scarcely add that spying and informing are encouraged by the authorities, who do not hesitate to tamper with the mail not only of their own subjects, but even of the visiting foreigner, who is looked upon as a suspicious person. In at least two absolutely authenticated instances my own mail was withheld from me. Both letters were sent to me by registered mail from Stockholm to Helsingfors, and neither of them reached me. Upon the sender presenting his claim for reimbursement at the post office in Stockholm, the Swedish authorities traced these letters to the post office of Helsingfors, whence they had disappeared. I will say, however, that the damages claimed were readily paid.

If the traveller is treated in this way, the native does not fare any better. Perhaps it was an isolated and extreme case, that of Juhani Aho, the Finnish writer and lecturer at Helsingfors University. Still it shows how far Russia will go in her desire to exterminate the Finns. Professor Aho wrote a very brief description of what he imagined to be the thoughts of an old militiaman guarding the mass of flowers at the foot of the Emperor's monument. This short piece of fiction appeared in a Finnish magazine, which was promptly suppressed. Professor Aho was forbidden to reprint his story. He disobeyed. He had it printed in leaflet form, and it was widely circulated. One evening he received a visit from two gendarmes, who, without any further ado, compelled him to follow them. It was fully six weeks before information reached his family that the author had been sent "in the administrative way" to

Siberia for the crime of "preaching sedition and inciting people to disobedience to Imperial laws."¹

The suit of Eero Erkko, Nonni Zilliams, Dr. Axel Lille, Jonas Castrén, and other equally prominent and learned men against Yrjö Koskenen for defamation of character proves that there is no redress from the injustice and wanton malice of the censor. Everybody who listened to the evidence became convinced that right, decency, and honesty were on the side of the plaintiffs. The jury itself found Koskenen guilty of criminal libel. But the Governor-General nullified the findings of the court, and Mr. Koskenen has since risen in the esteem of St. Petersburg.

With the Russian regiments and the Russian office-holders came the Russian church. According to the census, Finland has 2,234,547 Lutherans, and only 45,000 members of the Russian orthodox church, mainly on or near the eastern frontier, where Russia adjoins Finland. Still, no one may hold an office in the higher administrative service who is not a communicant of the orthodox church. Church attendance being compulsory in the army as well as in the civil service, a pretext for importing a large number of Russian priests (*popes*) was readily found. Then followed, as a matter of course, the erection of churches, so that to-day there is hardly any community of considerable size which is not compelled to maintain at least one Russian church and its *popes*. While, however, the authorities can force the Finns to pay the expenses of a church to which they do not care to belong, they cannot compel them to attend the services, and a church attendance of from half-a-dozen to a dozen people is nothing extraordinary. Gradually the church spreads by the conversion of a few people who are lured into deserting the cause of their nation by the expectation and promise of preferment on the part of the authorities, and also by the efforts of paid agitators who go about among the poorer population and tell them that under "Russian law" not only the land but also all accumulated wealth will be divided among the poor.

These agitators travel in the guise of pedlars, and are used for all sorts of purposes. The management of almost all communities is still in the hands of the Finns, and every election returns Finns to office. The method employed to oust these men is very simple. A few "pedlars" are sent into a district, where they begin their nefarious work by inciting people to lawless acts. The Governor, with a great show of indig-

¹ A translation of Professor Aho's story appeared in the New York "Evening Post" for August 10, 1901.

nation, removes the responsible official as incompetent. In his place he appoints a creature of his own; and it devolves upon this individual to harass and embarrass the remaining Finn office-holders until they resign in disgust. Once the local administration and government are controlled by creatures submissive to the Governor, all kinds of methods, including if need be even brutal force, are employed to prevent the Finns from ever regaining their power.

Russia has learned that she cannot count on making Russians of the adult Finns. She is shrewd enough, however, to know that if she can control the educational system of the country she can make of the children whatever she chooses. Following up this knowledge the Russian authorities have begun to "reform" the school system of Finland. How much need there is for such an undertaking on the part of Russia is best shown by quoting a passage from Mr. Henry Norman's "Russia of To-day." Mr. Norman is by no means an opponent of Russia. His chapter on Finland would rather justify the conclusion that his sympathies are with the Russians. Yet this is what he has to say:

"It [Finland] is a land of schools; except upon the Eastern frontier, where the people are still backward, everybody can read and write. The total population in 1890 was 2,380,000, and so far as I can calculate no fewer than 540,412 souls attended school. That is, out of every hundred of the entire population something like twenty-three are actually at school. . . . There are 2,608 university students, including women; 4,723 are at the lycées; private schools educate 7,758; primary schools contain 413,867; 'urban popular schools' give instruction to 25,931, and 'rural popular schools' to 72,901; normal schools are preparing 1,881 teachers, the sexes being of about equal number; and private schools receiving a subvention from the state have 7,785 children."¹

Does it not look like a satire when Russia "reforms" a school system that produces these results? Russia, where the government has been opposed to education, and where illiteracy is the condition of nearly sixty per cent of the population, intends to "reform" the school system of Finland! No wonder that men and women raise their voices in horror; no wonder that resistance to this movement will be even stronger than to either the reorganization of the army or the changing of the official language. Already the order gradually to substitute the Russian language for the Finnish in all elementary schools shows plainly the reason for this action. Most teachers are perfectly conversant with the Swedish, German, French, or English language, but only a few know Russian well enough to teach in it. Of course, they become at once incompetent in the eyes of the Russian authorities, and are replaced by Russians, who

¹ In "Scribner's Magazine," June, 1901.

instil into the minds of the children the tenets of the orthodox church and the "knowledge" the Russian Government desires they should get. Persistency in this direction — and the Baltic provinces have shown the world that Russia is persistent — will bring the control of the elementary schools into the hands of the ignorant and often drunken *popes*; real teaching will disappear; and the children will degenerate into a nation as illiterate as the Russian.

But it is not only the elementary schools upon which the heavy hand of the Russian Bear has fallen. The high schools, lycées, normal schools, and even the old University itself are becoming objects of attack. In the high schools the time devoted to the study of the Finnish and Swedish languages and their literature has been reduced from twelve hours a week, taking the average of the various schools, to five. Russian, which was only optional for the student, has been made obligatory, and occupies the attention of the students to the extent of more than ten hours a week. Russian history, Russian geography, and the Russian religion, in the sense of the Russian Church, are taught during the hours which were previously devoted to foreign languages, general history, and the rudiments of modern science. Of course all these proceedings can have one meaning only, the forcible Russianization of the Finnish youth. Besides these open methods Russia employs even more repugnant means to reach her aim. To those youths who have studied at a higher institution of learning — a high school or lycée — inducements are held out, in the shape of shorter military service and better treatment in the army, provided they pass an examination in Russian. It is no rare occurrence for a youth of seventeen to be told by some official that he will gain the highest honors and receive an appointment to high and lucrative office if only he will become a member of the orthodox church and continue his studies in a Russian school.

But the old and venerable University of Helsingfors has fared worst of all. Hers is a proud record. She has educated more than her share of men prominent in all branches of science, and she has occupied an enviable position among seats of learning and original research. But now her outlook is dark, indeed. The old time-honored self-government of the University has been abolished. The professors no longer elect their *rector magnificus* from their own number. Von Plehwe, a Russian, a man of no education and a notorious despiser of the sciences, has been appointed Chancellor of the University, with powers almost as arbitrary as those of the Governor-General. To-day Von Plehwe appoints and dismisses professors or students at his whim and pleasure; he decrees

what is needed for the University, and he assumes the rôle of a brutal martinet when either professors or students dare to complain.

Ever since Helsingfors University was organized the professors of the faculty have been entrusted with appointments to any vacant post in it. To-day they are not even consulted; and their advice in such matters has been rudely and brutally rejected on two occasions during the last year. Nevertheless, even under such adverse conditions their tenacity and firmness have effectively blocked the efforts that have been made to Russianize the University. Of course, Von Plehwe could have summarily dismissed all these sturdy professors, and could have appointed in their places creatures of his own. But that is not his way of doing things. That would have been a plain admission on his part that whoever dared to do anything that did not meet the approval of the Chancellor was to be dismissed. No: he had a better plan, and he put it into operation.

According to a governmental edict the Swedish and Finnish languages will cease in the fall of 1901 to be the languages in which lectures are to be given at Helsingfors University. Russian will become the official language; and, since only very few of the professors are proficient enough to lecture in Russian, they will have to resign or else will be removed as incompetent. The fact that only a small proportion of the students can follow a lecture in Russian does not matter; for under the Russian régime, the function of a University is not so much to educate its students or to promote knowledge as to mould the young men and women into pliable subjects of the Czar.

The fight against these measures will be a very bitter one. The Finns are prepared to defend their rights to the last; but they do not hope for much success. Is there, then, no help for them? An old man, a venerated patriot, has stated his view thus:

"Numerically we do not count. We are a small nation. Russia is very large. We can neither fight her nor oppose her very long. And other countries will not and cannot interfere in our behalf. They are doing precisely the same thing. England has her Boers; Germany her Poles; in Austria one nation fights the other, the Magyars oppress the Germans and Roumanians. And France? France is the ally of Russia. America? No hope from there; she is busy with the Filipinos. It is a pity, an all-round pity; but it seems to me that the days of national existence for small peoples have gone."

And I fear my old patriot is right.

EUGENE LIMEDORFER.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

For every system of education there is a reason. For every change in the processes of education there is a reason. These reasons do not depend upon the preferences of the teacher, but originate in forces which are far beyond his control. The Chinese student learns the Chinese classics, for through that avenue of knowledge alone can he gain distinction among his fellows, or seek preferment under the state. The Mohammedan youth studies the Koran, for upon that book all Mohammedan institutions are based. In each case the purpose of scholarship is essentially utilitarian, and that training is given which best qualifies the recipient for active participation in the intellectual life of his own immediate surroundings. To that aim all successful schemes of education are directed, all being, in motive, fundamentally the same. Subjects and methods vary with differing environments; but applicable knowledge and intellectual power are always kept in view.

With the revival of learning in mediæval Europe the modern university began. Latin was learned, not for discipline or culture, but because it was the common language of all scholars throughout the Western World. To a less extent Arabic was studied, in order that the medical and scientific lore of the Moors might be made accessible. Later, in spite of opposition, Greek came into vogue for the sake of its treasures in literature and philosophy. For each language there was a definite use; each one opened a path to other knowledge; each was taken as a means and not an end. The study of language for its own sake, for mental discipline, for abstract culture, is a conception of recent growth. Such considerations never appealed to the mediæval mind. For every study there was a practical reason, and scholarship meant available power. In the church or the law, that power could be applied to definite purposes, and therefore it was useful to its possessor. With a limited field for intellectual activity, however, education was necessarily narrow. It was conservative, submissive to authority, and hostile to innovation; but being the creature of its environment it fulfilled its purpose, and left to us an inheritance of precedents which is partly beneficial and partly embarrassing.

Step by step, by slow changes from the mediæval university, the Oxford and Cambridge of the seventeenth century were developed, and after them the earliest American colleges were modelled. Latin and Greek were still the dominant studies, but with an increased appreciation of their literary value; mathematics was just beginning to assume its modern form; philosophy had become less scholastic; the stimulus of the Reformation was evident throughout the intellectual world. Authority was questioned, precedents were disregarded, innovations were proposed in every department of human thought. The old scholarship was modified to meet the new conditions, and came across the Atlantic in its altered form.

On this side of the ocean, although the English pattern was generally followed, another change took place; and the colonial college was given, at least in New England, a distinctly Puritan aspect. Harvard, which was the earliest of the American institutions, was established with especial reference to the training of young men for the Christian ministry; and "Christian," to its founders, meant "Calvinistic." Here again Latin was a fundamental study, for the practical reason that it was still the universal language of scholarship, and that in it were written nearly all the greater treatises upon science and philosophy. Greek and Hebrew were also of use to clergymen, and received due attention; philosophy of a narrow kind was taught; and for mathematics there was a moderate provision. The limitations of the mathematical field we can best appreciate if we remember that Harvard College was founded in 1636, when Galileo and Descartes were still living, but before Newton and Leibnitz were born. The physical and natural sciences hardly existed; geology and chemistry were almost unknown; and the modern languages, apart from the vernacular, were of so little importance to scholarship that they were commonly disregarded altogether. Theology was the crown of all knowledge, and to that all else was subservient. Aside from theological learning, the scholar was one who knew the ancient languages and literatures; and little more was expected. The college stood for the knowledge of the day; it met the demands of its own time and environment; its limitations were natural, and not to be evaded.

With the development of science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the problem of the higher education assumed a new form. New branches of learning came into existence and acquired great importance; and for these the universities were compelled to provide. Latin, considered as a language for practical use, became steadily of less and less value; for the new knowledge was mostly published in the modern

tongues of Europe, and not in the common speech of former times. Hence the English, French, and German languages came into prominence, not only for their literatures, but as keys to knowledge, without which no scholar could get full access to the learning of his fellows. To these, unless some unforeseen change occurs, Russian may yet be added; for the intellectual activities of Russia are enormous, and find their chief expression in the mother tongue. In short, Latin and Greek, which once filled a large part of the educational field, now fill a much smaller portion of it, and the lost positions are occupied in some measure by English, French, and German. Furthermore, new reasons are assigned for the continued study of the ancient languages; and high attainment in the latter demands a working knowledge of the modern tongues. The classical student who would fully understand ancient life, ancient history, or ancient art, or who seeks to go far in philological or archæological studies, must be able to read the works of French and German authors. Without these aids to scholarship his advancement will be slow indeed.

The development of the new education naturally took place by slow degrees; each novelty being first questioned, then tolerated, and finally encouraged. At the outset, the new subjects were treated by what were apparently the old methods; that is, they were taught by lectures and text-books, and each one was given a relatively small amount of time. They were subordinate in rank to the older studies, being regarded as contributory to general information, but as having little or no influence in respect to mental discipline. The classics and mathematics still lay at the foundation of all collegiate training; and the attempt was made to pursue them with undiminished thoroughness, and to assimilate a mass of new material at the same time. The obvious result of this policy was that little or no real science was learned, and the only gain to the student was an overloaded memory. A smattering of scientific facts was given, but with no solid discipline in scientific thought or method, and no training in the power to reason accurately from personally observed data. The memory of the pupil was exercised, but his intellect received only the old cultivation. Even the teachers of science were often quite untrained, and unable to see clearly the problems which lay before them.

From this condition of affairs several consequences followed. Independent schools of science were established, and these attracted a class of students who cared little for scholastic traditions, but had definite purposes in view. The training which the colleges denied was sought

elsewhere; and there sprang up between opposing theories of education a rivalry which exists to the present day. Science demanded the fullest recognition; the classics held the field; and each claimed a supremacy which the other could not admit. The classics, however, were on the defensive side of the controversy; and the evidently diminished utility of Latin and Greek led to excuses for their retention in the list of required subjects.

Thus arose the fallacious distinction between disciplinary and non-disciplinary studies; a distinction for which there was apparently some ground. It was, however, based upon the comparison of incommensurable quantities, and therefore had no foundation in the nature of things. Years of systematic training in Latin, under competent instructors and by established methods, undoubtedly gave a mental discipline of some real value; short courses in science, with untrained instructors and no laboratory practice, gave no discipline at all. Thoroughness in one class of subjects was compared with defective training in another, and so the real questions at issue were obscured. It is now seen that all studies are disciplinary, when pursued seriously, systematically, and by proper methods; but all do not give the same kind of discipline, nor are all methods alike. The chief tactical advantage of the classical position was found in the fact that the preparatory schools were organized and equipped with reference to classical work, while for scientific studies the college student had no preparation whatever. So long as the sciences were given an inferior place and inferior opportunities in education, no just estimate of their educational value could be made. The conservatism of the colleges was not altogether unreasonable. A tried and successful system of education could not be hastily supplanted by an untried scheme. The necessary and inevitable changes were only to be effected by slow degrees, through a natural process of evolution. Science was first to prove her claims and establish her methods of instruction.

It is no paradox to state that conservatism is often the greatest of innovators. The conservative man, when adjusting himself to new ideas, retains his old habits of thought, and so is led to curious misconceptions. Thus, in the early teaching of experimental science, at least in the American colleges, instruction was given by means of lectures and text-books, without laboratory practice, and the teacher supposed that he was applying established methods to his task. In reality he was wandering far away from the recognized pathway to learning, and attempting to do what could only end in failure. All successful study requires direct contact with the thing itself, with the actual subject-

matter of investigation; reading alone or hearsay alone having no solid educational value. In Latin the pupil worked directly with the language, writing exercises and making translations; in mathematics he applied the rules to the actual solution of problems; and in each case the process implied the full equivalent of laboratory practice. The Latin laboratory was equipped with books, blackboards, pencils, and paper; but it was a true laboratory none the less, and the thing itself was studied at first hand. Mere reading or hearing *about* Latin would never have made a scholar. No mathematician was ever trained without long and hard discipline over the equations. The physical and natural sciences needed different laboratories; but the principle of direct study was the same. Just as the Latin scholar works with Latin, so should the student of chemistry handle chemical substances and apparatus, making the facts a part of his own experience, and giving to the deductions therefrom a real and vital meaning.

Thus the pupil learns to examine phenomena, to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials, to verify facts, and to draw correct conclusions from what he sees — a form of mental discipline in which the older education was woefully deficient. Literary studies improve the taste and cultivate the powers of expression; from linguistic training verbal accuracy is acquired; the mastery of grammatical rules with their long lists of exceptions gives a certain alertness to the memory; mathematical exercises develop the reasoning faculty and teach the highest precision of thought and statement. Each of these subjects has its place in the educational field, and yet all together cannot fill it completely. The powers of observation are yet to be cultivated, and here experimental science comes into play. To see clearly and to think clearly are the essence of its teaching; the application of logic to verified evidence is its intellectual domain.

Educational advances, however, are not brought about by philosophizing; they are answers to demands which cannot be denied. Every real step forward corresponds to some real necessity, to some increase of knowledge, to some change in the intellectual activity of the time. The growth of the physical and natural sciences compelled their recognition by the colleges, first as additions to their curricula, then as substitutes, wholly or in part, for something which had previously been regarded as essential. With the development of the laboratory system a new pressure was brought to bear upon the schools, and different institutions were differently affected.

The equipment and maintenance of laboratories and museums, which

are the working tools of science, are expensive affairs; and the resources of education were severely tested. Under the old system a small and poorly endowed college might fairly compete with the richer institutions, and give an education of practically the same quality. But under the new dispensation the larger and richer schools had an enormous advantage, and so they were able to advance along modern lines with much greater rapidity. Furthermore, the small colleges were commonly under sectarian control and subject to ecclesiastical conservatism — a retarding factor which sometimes exerted a most unfortunate influence. It affected the choice of teachers, and often put orthodoxy of belief above special qualifications of knowledge; it led to the duplication of equipments which should have been united; it delayed the acceptance of new doctrines. Fortunately, the denominational schools did not all suffer alike. Some of them escaped, in great measure, from the restrictions which cramped the others; even if they did not welcome novelties, they at least accepted the new conditions and grew with the growth of science. Through this inequality of progress the American colleges, which had been fairly uniform in character, became divided into two groups, one retaining essentially the old classical type, the other broadening into the modern university. Of course, the division was not marked by any precise boundaries, for every intermediate stage of development was possible; but the distinction is clear enough for purposes of discrimination, and has a certain validity. In American usage the terms college and university had often been used interchangeably, and no doubt erroneously; but now the line of demarcation between them has become more obvious, and the higher term, which is only relative, not absolute, receives a more distinctive meaning. The college stands for a lower grade of work, usually with definite limitations; the university represents higher attainments and a more nearly universal scope. Indeed, the one may be made to include the other, as when the college and the graduate school coexist in one institution; professional schools may be associated with them; but the difference in quality is clear, and university studies are regarded as the highest.

In England, the university is an aggregation of colleges, as at Oxford and Cambridge; elsewhere it has been defined as an institution having the four faculties of arts, law, medicine, and theology; but neither of these definitions holds in the United States to the exclusion of others. nor is any exact limitation of the term possible. The college may exist by itself, as at Williams; Clark University has but a single faculty, and even that is incomplete; Harvard, with its many departments, represents

another type; and so the usage varies. Words alter their meanings in spite of etymology; they disregard history; they outgrow dictionaries. They are the dependent variables of thought, changing as it changes, vague when it is vague, becoming more or less exact just as the conceptions which they represent vary in clearness. So the word "university" fluctuates in value, meaning different things at different times and places. A university charter, valid in the eyes of the law, enables its holder to confer university degrees; but the institution so dignified may fall far short of its pretensions, and be no better than a high school. A Bachelor of Arts from one "university" has been known to enter the "preparatory department" of another, where the best part of a year was needed to fit him for admission to the freshman class. The legal definition, therefore, is as arbitrary as any other, and has only a conventional significance. Let us use the word in its relative sense, and regard a university education as defined by the highest academic training.

It has already been said that the earliest American colleges were fashioned after English models. Their founders were Englishmen, with English ideals and traditions; and although the copy could not be exact, the family likeness was preserved. At that time a man could "take all learning for his province"; he could know "everything of something, and something of everything"; and this possibility gave shape to the college course. All undergraduate students could be treated alike, and receive the same fundamental training; and so the fixed curriculum was adopted, with its prescribed studies throughout. It was a natural consequence of existing conditions, and the fulfilment of a reasonable demand. With a single standard of scholarship the problem before the colleges was very simple; and all students were easily equipped with the tools which were needed for participation in the intellectual life of the time.

To the development of scientific thought during the early part of the nineteenth century the universities of continental Europe gave the quickest and fullest response; while those of England were conservative and slow to change. American students, therefore, who sought advanced instruction in the new fields, went for their training to France and Germany; whence they brought back to the United States a new set of educational ideals. The German influence was the more potent, and in the transformation of the American schools it played an important part. The German system of education could not be adopted bodily, for conditions here and abroad are not the same; but the originally English type of institution was profoundly modified, and the process of change is not even yet at an end. Compare the Harvard of to-day with the Harvard

of fifty years ago, and the difference is startling. The requirements for admission have been increased, and now include subjects which were formerly neglected until the junior or senior college year. The standard of scholarship is higher than ever before, and the field of activity has been broadened enormously. In chemistry, for example, the Harvard undergraduate of 1850 received very little instruction; now, elementary chemistry is taught in the preparatory schools. The science can be studied continuously through the four college years, and after that advanced graduate work is possible. This thoroughness, the thoroughness of specialization, is partly due to the impulse received from the German universities, through the enthusiasm of American students who received their higher training abroad. Not in chemistry alone but in every department of knowledge is this impulse felt; learning has become a republic, in which all subjects are of equal dignity. The notion that one branch of scholarship outranks all others is wellnigh obsolete.

It was not by the preferences of teachers, not through whims and fancies of any kind, that the fixed curriculum of former times gave way to the modern elective system of studies. The change was necessary and unavoidable; it was forced upon the colleges by the growth of knowledge and the altered requirements of the day. No regrets, no repinings, no catchwords about "sound learning" or "a liberal education," no sectarian fears of "science falsely so called" were able to prevent the transformation. To fit the student for active life, to put him in touch with the great intellectual movements of the century, was the problem to be solved, and it could be solved in one way only. The fundamental purpose of education was unchanged; it was the subject-matter and the methods which varied. All attempts to modify the fixed curriculum by the addition of new subjects were foredoomed to failure. They cramped the classics, they trifled with science, they satisfied nobody.

In short, it was no longer possible for any one man to study all desirable subjects, at least seriously or to advantage. Neither had all men the same needs, the same tastes, the same aptitudes, or the same purposes. A selection of studies must be made in accordance with individual necessities; but the method of choice was different in different places. The independent schools of science, of mining, of engineering, turned their attention for the most part to the technological side of the question, and so became institutions for professional training, similar in purpose to the existing schools of law, medicine, and divinity. The agricultural colleges responded to another phase of the demand, and sought to combine a general education with a special, somewhat limited purpose. The

ordinary colleges met the modern demands by various devices. The University of Virginia, for example, was ostensibly elective from the beginning of its organization, but its requirements for degrees reflected the old ideas of classical education; so that although the new conditions were recognized, the recognition was incomplete. No student could receive a degree who had not passed well in the classics.

Many of the smaller colleges "threw a sop to Cerberus" by organizing ostensibly parallel courses of study, each with its prescribed curriculum, and leading to different degrees; but the classical course was regarded as the highest, while the others were mere asylums in which inferior students might find accommodation. In such schools the "scientific course" was often little other than the "classical course" with the classics left out; the amount of science in each being essentially the same. Such an evasion of the demand, however, was not always practised. In some cases the parallel courses were really equivalent in value, and the student merely chose that one of several schemes which best suited his purpose. This solution of the problem was perfectly legitimate, and its results have been fairly satisfactory. Many reputable institutions have developed their elective systems along these lines.

In institutions which were founded during the transitional period, such as, for example, Cornell and Johns Hopkins, the elective idea was recognized from the start. Among the older universities Harvard has probably adopted the method the most broadly and completely. Yale and Princeton, being more conservative, fell into line more slowly, and even yet retain much of the old procedure. Sooner or later, however, the modern policy must prevail. Required studies are becoming fewer and fewer, but no less work is done by the student than before. In fact, better work is accomplished; for chosen studies represent personal interest, and are pursued with greater enthusiasm than those which have been prescribed. Formerly, the youth who entered college without a purpose seldom found one there. He might become interested in a subject which filled a small part of his junior year, only to drop it for some other which came next on the required schedule. Thoroughness, except in mathematics or the classics, was discouraged. Now the veriest cub may find his interest awakened at the beginning of his university career; and being able to follow up his chosen subject through four years of study, he can hope to become a useful scholar. The man with a definite aim is no longer dragged back that dullards may keep pace with him. He can develop himself to the best advantage, and learn that which his nature most craves.

And here we get a glimpse of the real distinction, so often fallaciously drawn, between "hard" and "soft" electives. The study for which a man has no aptitude is hard; that which absorbs his interest is easy. The dunce in Greek may take high honors in mathematics or biology. The brilliant literary scholar may be a fool in astronomy. To put a man on his own feet — to make him think his own thoughts and see with his own eyes — is the aim of the elective system. It encourages originality, independence, and self-reliance; it trains the student to be truly himself. Prescribed studies belong to the preparatory schools; and only those should be universally required which are fundamental to all advanced intellectual training. Fortunately, the high schools have kept pace with the advance of the colleges; and a preliminary education is now given without which the elective system would be impossible.

The final step in the evolution of the American universities, a step to which the elective system was a necessary antecedent, was also due in great part to the example set by Germany. In former days the student was a learner only — one who acquired existing knowledge and looked for nothing further. To question the text-book was heresy; to think outside of rule, a presumption. But the modern university is a producer of knowledge, a school of research, a place wherein the art of discovery is literally taught to pupils. In every German university men are trained to investigate; to question Nature directly, and to elicit new truth from her responses. Even in literature and history the same spirit prevails. Scientific criticism has taken the place once held by authority; the student goes to original sources for his information, and learns to take nothing at second-hand. Thus has been produced a new race of scholars, and all learning has gained a fresh vitality.

On this high plane the best American universities now stand. Each one emulates the others in adding new truth to the sum of human knowledge, and in sending forth men qualified to raise the standard of research ever higher and higher. Mere erudition no longer holds the first place in the world of learning. Scholarship must become a creative force if it would win the highest recognition. The greatest teachers are also the greatest discoverers; and their work is the corner-stone of our modern civilization. Three-fourths of our scientific discoveries originate in the universities, and from them the greater inventions are developed. The pure science precedes its useful applications.

During the nineteenth century all civilized industry has undergone a revolution. Judgment, rule of thumb, empiricism, have been supplanted by a scientific precision which was not formerly possible. Waste

and loss are now reduced to a minimum; accuracy of manipulation, guided by exact weight and measure, controls all manufacturing operations. Steam and electricity have changed the conditions of all commerce. In every line of material progress we see the effects of scientific discovery. The metallurgist is governed by chemical analyses of ore, flux, fuel, and product; electrical currents light our workshops and are harnessed to our machines; worn-out soils are revived by artificial fertilizers; the sanitation of cities and the prevention of disease have become possible through the results of scientific research. All this material progress, by which our civilization is distinguished from the civilizations of former times, has its roots deep down in the investigations of men who sought truth for its own sake, and whose work was done, for the great part, within the universities. Germany, small in area, weak in natural resources, has seen this principle most clearly. Her trained intelligence has more than made up for her natural deficiencies; her astonishing advance is due to her systematic encouragement of research. The German universities have contributed more than all other agencies combined to the material welfare of Germany. Oxford and Cambridge have lagged behind, and England's industries are suffering. Education, therefore, in its highest development, means something more than intellectual culture; it makes also for material progress. Culture alone, without a living purpose behind it, is only a veneer, a pretence, an elegant hypocrisy. True culture means productive scholarship, and that is the moving force behind our modern civilization. Its home is in the universities; and to them we must look for our greatest advancement in the future. Libraries preserve knowledge; schools distribute knowledge; universities create knowledge.

F. W. CLARKE.

THE GERMAN TARIFF PROPOSALS: WHOM WILL THEY AFFECT?

THE recent tariff proposals of the German Reichsrath are likely to attract considerable attention in America, as their points are understood to be directed against this country. It is, therefore, desirable to examine them with a more careful scrutiny than is usually accorded to foreign topics of a similar kind. If we were really the objects of attack, we should have little right to complain, considering our own exploits in this direction. In that case the Germans might be excused for remembering that stone-throwing can be practised from both ends of the line. Unfortunately for them, however, their position is far more vulnerable than ours. While at the worst we may receive various scratches and irksome blows, they expose themselves to wounds that may affect them vitally.

If the tariff on boots and shoes is raised from 50 marks to 85 marks as the minimum rate for 100 kilos (220 lbs.), and to 125 marks as the maximum, our trade with Germany in these articles may be affected, but the German consumer will scarcely be injured. He has been in the habit of having his foot-gear measured by the shoemaker, who will supply him in the future as in the past, and without any increase in price, even though the whole \$140,000 worth that we exported in the year 1900 were given over to the home industry.

The increase of the rates imposed on miscellaneous machinery, which is to pay from 3.50 to 18 marks per 100 kilos, instead of from 3 to 8 marks as at present, together with increased duties in similar proportions upon other manufactures of iron and steel, will do more serious damage to our manufacturers on account of the larger interests thereby affected. But the raised duties will not burden the German consumer either directly or indirectly. The total of 36,000,000 marks, the value of imports in machinery and products of iron and steel from the United States in the year 1900, will certainly not again be reached in the time of depression which is now beginning its sway. German manufacturers will be glad to take half a loaf rather than no bread at all, and to supply all the home demands at whatever price the market may afford.

Without any change in tariff, the immediate future would show a considerable diminution in the number of articles imported from America.

All the imports in manufactured goods from this country — including leather and pig-iron, but omitting raw copper and petroleum, which we happen to call manufactures in America — amounted in the year 1900 to but 60,000,000 marks. In 1897, before the late boom set in, the imports from America of the same class of articles amounted scarcely to one-half of that sum.

Even if the provisions of section VIII of the new tariff proposition were ever to become operative against us, they could do no more than stop our exports, a misfortune which would not be seriously felt in either country.

The situation is different, however, with respect to breadstuffs and provisions. The present duties on wheat and rye are 35 marks per metric ton (2,204 lbs.), and on oats 28 marks. They are to be raised to 65 marks as the maximum tariff, and 55 as the minimum, in the case of wheat, and to 60 and 50, respectively, in the case of rye and oats. Provisions are to be raised in a similar proportion. Meats were 12 marks per 100 kilos, and are now to be 30 marks, *i.e.*, 3½ cents per lb. These prodigious increases will have quite a different result. If they were intended as retaliatory measures, they could not effect their ends, as Germany submits to an economic necessity in buying our food-stuffs. A rise in duties would act solely to the serious discomfiture of Germany; and her governing classes, if persisting in this policy, would invite results that might prove calamitous to themselves. A statistical survey of the field will make this clear.

In the year ending December 31, 1900, the imports of Germany in articles of food amounted to 1,684,000,000 marks (\$402,440,000). Her imports of all kinds of grain amounted to 550,000,000 marks. Of this America supplied 176,000,000. To the sum total of food supplies of 1,684,000,000 marks we contributed 340,000,000. Hence, America supplied 32 per cent of Germany's wants in foreign-grown grains, and 14.5 per cent of the balance of imports contributing to her food bill. In meats Germany imported 45,000,000 marks, in which sum America figured with 18,000,000 marks. In lard, however, imports amounted to 88,000,000 marks, supplied by America almost entirely, as our contribution to this sum was 86,000,000.

Germany exports no grains worth speaking of, but considerable quantities of other foods and drinks. These amounted in 1900 to 496,000,000 marks, of which sum 216,000,000, or 43.5 per cent, consisted

of sugar. Important as these exports are, in comparison with imports, as indicating that Germany's agricultural productive capacity is by no means covered entirely by the deficiencies shown by imports, they need not mar our statement, because in general they comprise other articles than those which form the list of imports.

Our own chief interest is of course in the importation of grains. But, as already stated, we are contributors to Germany's bread ration to the extent of barely one-third of foreign-grown grains. The following table of the sources of her supplies will show to what extent other foreign nations are interested in this question:

GERMANY'S GRAIN IMPORTS IN THE YEAR 1900.

	Marks.	Tons.	Per cent. of value.
<i>Barley</i> : Total imports.....	92,000,000	781,468	100.
From Austria-Hungary.....	39,900,000	285,210	43.3
" Russia.....	39,300,000	381,171	43.2
" the United States.....	6,200,000	57,235	6.6
<i>Corn</i> : Total imports.....	128,800,000	1,384,157	100.
From the United States.....	104,000,000	1,124,602	80.
" Argentina.....	10,500,000	112,022	8.
" Roumania.....	5,900,000	57,777	4.6
" Russia.....	5,500,000	60,297	4.5
<i>Oats</i> : Total imports.....	46,700,000	462,851	100.
From Russia.....	38,900,000	389,071	83.
" the United States.....	5,800,000	54,453	12.4
" Austria-Hungary.....	1,300,000	12,483	2.5
<i>Rye</i> : Total imports.....	96,000,000	893,333	100.
From Russia.....	89,200,000	834,328	90.3
" the United States.....	2,500,000	21,906	2.4
<i>Wheat</i> : Total imports.....	171,100,000	1,293,864	100.
From Argentina.....	63,500,000	479,929	37.
" the United States.....	60,600,000	455,934	35.4
" Russia.....	36,400,000	278,198	21.3
" Roumania.....	5,900,000	43,455	3.4

The amounts imported by Germany and the ratio of the contributions of the different countries figuring in this list vary, of course, in different years according to the needs of Germany and the respective ability of the other countries to supply her wants. But, taking this table as a representative one, we find that Russia supplies 38 per cent and Austria-Hungary 7.5 per cent of the 68 per cent of grain drawn from abroad which is not supplied by us, while Argentina's quota is 13.4 per cent. While Argentina has not figured until the last few years as a heavy contributor to Germany's demands, the exports of Russia to Germany have always been very large, and those of Austria-Hungary small. Averages of a period of years show this more convincingly. The seven years closing with 1900 show imports in grains of

an average of 492,000,000 marks. To this America contributed 140,000,000, or 28.5 per cent; Russia 218,000,000, or 40 per cent; Austria-Hungary 50,000,000, or 8 per cent; and Argentina 34,000,000, or 7 per cent.

Austria-Hungary is interested in these higher grain duties to a limited extent. Her grain exports to Germany consist chiefly of barley. But Russia's exports are principally turned toward Germany; and both on that account and on account of the magnitude of her trade relations, that country would be affected by a rise in tariff to a far greater extent than the United States could possibly be. There is, however, a *but* in the case. As Germany's production of grain is insufficient to feed her people, she is compelled to supply her deficiency from sources which happen to have a surplus to dispose of; and these are the countries that figure in the above statement.

Germany cannot be a chooser. Not even prices are of her making. These are made by the world's demand. Any duties which she may be disposed to lay on will simply be burdens laid on her people, as they will affect not foreign-grown grain alone, but all the home product. The duty is a protective measure, raising every ton of grain consumed by the people by about 55 marks over the free-trade price, though the imports are 550,000,000 marks, or one-sixth of the entire consumption. It is the same with meat. Every pound consumed will be raised 3½ cents, though the imports were but 40,000,000 in 1900. The ten years preceding the recent period of trade expansion show an average of but 26,000,000 marks in meat imports. But all this is as effective in raising the price of every pound of meat sold by the butcher as if the whole quantity consumed had to be imported.

The proportion of grain imported to home-grown grain is as 19 to 100. The product of the year 1900 was 23,000,000 metric tons, and the net imports, deducting exports, 4,300,000 tons. The burden of the consumer will therefore be $27,300,000 \times 55$, or 1,501,500,000 marks per year. Of this sum the Government will receive $4,300,000 \times 55 = 236,500,000$ marks, and the surplus, after allowing for what is consumed on the farms, will be a bonus to the "agriculturist."

The modern Issachar, the strong ass that crouches between two burdens, has been made to believe that the heavy duties laid on imported goods in order to swell the price of the corresponding article made at home to the full extent of the duty, so long as the market will afford it, are actually the cause of his well-being. It remains to be seen whether the German will be willing to accept the increased burden

with equal readiness to that of the American under the stimulus of the same plea.

The amount of the meat bill cannot be computed as easily as that of the grain and bread bill. The imports of meat are small, as has been shown. Nor is there a large importation of animals to be slaughtered. The value in 1900 was 67,000,000 marks. Consequently, the whole German consumption of meats raised on foreign soil is, and probably will remain for some time, not quite 100,000,000 marks a year. The burden of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound will not, therefore, fall any the less on every pound of home-grown meat consumed in Germany. It is difficult to say, without a laborious calculation from the animal statistics of the empire, what this is. But, assuming the burden of the consumer to be covered by 500,000,000 marks, the duty of 30 marks per 220 pounds would be equal to a consumption of 65 pounds per capita. Mulhall computes the consumption of meat in Germany at 69 pounds per inhabitant. My estimate will, therefore, be rather below than above what is warranted by the actual conditions.

Another large item in burdens laid on articles of food for the benefit of "agriculture" is the duty on sugar. The duty on refined sugar is 30 marks per 100 kilos. This is to be raised to 40 marks. The imports in 1900 were 486,000 marks, the exports 216,338,000 marks. The full amount of the duty is levied by the producer for every pound of sugar consumed at home, as can be seen by comparing the retail price in Germany with the ruling prices in England.

In 1900, the product of raw sugar was 1,795,479 tons. The exports were 1,006,466 tons, leaving for home consumption 789,013 tons. This would be equal to fully 720,000 tons of refined sugar, as raw beet sugar is of a high degree of saccharine strength. The 7,200,000 metric cwts. at 40 marks take therefore 288,000,000 marks out of the pockets of the consumers and transfer them into those of the producers — minus the tax on beets. The deduction of the tax on beets, less the drawback paid on exported sugar, still leaves a bonus of 150,000,000 marks, designed to benefit "agriculture," but practically gilding the pockets of the manufacturers of the sugar.

Thus the new tariff will cause the consumers of Germany to pay well up to the amount of 2,100,000,000 marks on their food — after allowing for the consumption on farms — in excess of the sum they would have to pay were there no duties on these articles. Out of this sum the Government will receive about 250,000,000 marks, and the other participant in the division will gather 1,800,000,000 marks. In other

words, for every dollar of revenue collected by the Government, the latter will permit "agriculture" to collect six dollars for its own benefit. Under the present tariff the total burden is only about 1,200,000,000 marks. But the ratio of yield to the Government and to the private tax collector is not materially different.

It may be asked here: What would be the result if the Government were to levy a direct tax of two marks and fifty pfennigs upon every inhabitant for its own purposes, and for every two and a half marks so collected were to permit various privileged classes to collect for their own enrichment nineteen marks from every inhabitant so taxed, and were then coolly to propose that the tax should be increased to nearly double the previous amount of these two burdens?

The Germans are told that the duties are required to enable the agriculturist to maintain himself in the unequal struggle against American products. It remains to be ascertained what constitutes the agricultural class for whose benefit the German is called upon to make sacrifices which in their milder form have already reduced his status of existence to one in which the barest necessities of life are scarcely met.

The census of 1895 shows 18,501,307 persons, about one-third of the population, dependent on the soil for their support. The soil under cultivation was distributed as follows:

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS OF GERMANY.

		Number of holdings.	Number of hectares.	Hectares per cent.	Average number of hectares per holder.
I.	Under 2 hectares	3,236,367	2,415,914	5.57	0.75
II.	Between 2 and 5 hectares	1,016,318	4,142,071	9.33	4.07
III.	" 5 " 20 "	998,804	12,537,660	29.	12.51
IV.	" 20 " 50 "	239,643	9,459,240	21.84	39.35
V.	" 50 " 100 "	42,124	3,697,961	8.54	87.84
VI.	" 100 " 500 "	20,881	6,571,104	15.15	314.4
VII.	Over 500 hectares.....	4,180	4,460,792	10.57	798.
		5,558,317	43,284,742	100.	

The acreage of all these holdings cultivated by these 5,558,317 heads is 43,284,742 hectares (107,000,000 acres, one hectare being equal to 2.471 statute acres). The holdings average but 7.78 hectares each, or less than 20 acres, but they are very unevenly distributed, as is seen from the above figures. We find that 67,000 landholders, whom we may call the landholding class, possess nearly as much land as the 2,015,222 peasants holding from 2 to 20 hectares each.

When tariff measures are under discussion by the national legislators

of the United States, it is not unusual for interests wishing to have their special claims advanced to send delegations of working-men to Washington, to urge the necessity of the maintenance or increase of existing high duties as a *sine qua non* for the continuance of the rate of wages these working-men have been receiving. The fact that the lower piece-rate of wages paid here can alone explain the lower cost of production in America has never yet interfered with the granting of the benefits sought. The German landholders seem to have learned a lesson from us. The agricultural classes are brought to clamor for high duties on grain and provisions as an indisputable necessity for the further prosecution of the farming industry. To prove the analogy of the two cases, let us examine to what extent the German farmer is a seller of grain.

It is self-evident that none of the 3,236,367 holders in class I, with average holdings of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a hectare, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ acres, grows grain. The cultivators of these tracts are market gardeners or agricultural laborers, or are engaged in industrial or other pursuits, earning wages in those pursuits, and devoting their spare time and the labor of their families to the small parcels of land rented or possessed by or allotted to them. They buy their bread and whatever meat or animal food they may be able to procure. Class II, consisting of holdings between 2 and 5 hectares, in reality averages but 4.07 hectares (10 acres) to each holder. It is demonstrable that this class, composed of the smaller peasantry, is burdened rather than helped, as at best those who compose it consume the corn they grow on their own farms, while in most cases they have to buy bread as well as other provisions.

Preceding and following the time of the enactment of the last tariff on grain, inquiries were instituted by various German Governments into the conditions of agriculture. The question of the size of holdings that permitted the grower to become a seller of grain was a prominent one. The findings of these investigations are interesting, and throw a welcome light upon the situation. In an inquiry covering the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg it was shown that, in cases of good harvests, and of thorough cultivation, the lowest limit where the selling of surplus grain becomes possible must be fixed at 4.54 hectares (11.20 acres). It was found that 84 per cent of holders had to buy to meet their needs, either fully or in part, and that only 16 per cent were able to sell grain. These latter, however, possessed between five and six times as much land as the 84 per cent of the former class. The report says:

"The peasant representing this class (4.54 hectares) may sell milk, butter, vegetables, fruit, and honey, a calf now and then, and some straw at times, here and there

a small quantity of summer grain, but in the ordinary run of things not a kilo of breadcorn. He may be seen occasionally on the market with a few bags of wheat or rye; he has to change the seeds; but what he sells in favorable market conditions he may have to buy in again when conditions favor buying. If grain were to be covered by duties of two and three times the present rates, he would not have a penny's worth of profit, and in poor harvests he would suffer positive loss."

In 1883 the Government of the Grand Duchy of Baden instituted an inquiry into the same question. It was stated, as the result of this inquiry, that the doubling of the existing duties, as was being advocated rather forcibly even then, would not materially benefit holdings of even 10 hectares (24.70 acres) in grain-producing sections in the northern and southern parts. In five communities in the northern section five holdings, averaging 11.6 hectares, realized 1,149 marks from sales of farm products, but claimed an average of 43.40 marks only in surplus income as a result of the raising of the grain duties to double the prevailing rates. In the southern section the showing is still less encouraging for higher grain duties. Eight holdings in six different communities averaged 14.10 hectares each. The average yield of sales was 1,855 marks each, on which the benefit from increased duties would give a surplus income of but 35.50 marks. This is in the hilly sections, where results are not as favorable as in the lowlands. But, as Germany has as many hills as plains, we have to apply similar methods of scrutiny to all the returns that cover holdings of that size. We must add the sections in the low countries where other cultures than grain are favored by climate and territorial conditions, to reduce further the numbers of possible beneficiaries of grain duties in class III. The report says that if the data obtained by inquiry were extended so as to cover the whole state, the result would show that but 3.31 per cent of holders, possessing, however, 27.4 per cent of the total area, had a material interest in an increased duty on grain. The limit where this material interest begins is put as high as 15 hectares (38 acres).

To understand the question fully in its economic and political bearings, it is necessary to cast a glance on the division of land in the separate states constituting the empire as well as on the several provinces of Prussia. In the provinces of East and West Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, and Silesia, the holdings of classes VI and VII form from 33.86 to 55.24 per cent of the agricultural domain. In the two Mecklenburgs the percentage is as high as 59.95 per cent in one of the two states, and 60.68 per cent in the other. On the other hand, the holdings from 2 to 5 hectares cover from 3.61 to 5.35 per cent in the five first-named provinces of Prussia, and 10.86 per cent in Silesia, while

in the Mecklenburgs they cover but 1.65 and 2.70 per cent. The holdings of class III cover but 14 per cent in East Prussia, 15 per cent in Pomerania, and 29 per cent in Silesia. If we now proceed to the western provinces of Prussia and the other German states, we find the relations in the holdings reversed. Here the land is divided largely into peasant holdings, while the prevalent manufacturing industries give the tenant a market for innumerable articles of small produce, and create conditions that make small holdings a possible basis for a livelihood.

The following tables set forth these comparisons in detail.

A—PROPORTION OF SMALL HOLDINGS TO LARGE HOLDINGS IN THE
WESTERN PROVINCES OF PRUSSIA AND IN THE GERMAN STATES
SOUTH OF PRUSSIA.

Provinces of Prussia.	Class II, per cent.	Class III, per cent.	Classes II and III, per cent.	Classes VI and VII, per cent.
Hanover	11.83	32.01	43.84	7.14
Westphalia	13.64	34.67	49.31	5.30
Hesse-Nassau	20.84	43.15	63.99	7.34
Rhineland	19.92	43.24	63.16	3.51
States.				
Bavaria	12.74	49.49	62.23	2.57
Württemberg	23.32	45.05	68.37	2.14
Hesse, Grand Duchy	21.35	50.22	71.57	4.80
Alsace-Lorraine	22.81	37.09	59.90	7.38
Baden	29.37	41.78	71.15	3.06
Oldenburg	13.11	29.43	42.54	3.16

B—PROPORTION OF SMALL HOLDINGS TO LARGE HOLDINGS IN THE
EASTERN PROVINCES OF PRUSSIA AND THE GRAND DUCHIES OF
MECKLENBURG.

	Class II, per cent.	Class III, per cent.	Classes II and III, per cent.	Classes VI and VII, per cent.
East Prussia	3.86	14.96	18.82	39.47
West Prussia	3.61	17.22	20.83	43.66
Brandenburg	5.35	20.73	26.08	35.24
Pomerania	3.44	15.64	19.08	55.24
Posen	3.67	20.83	24.50	52.19
Silesia	10.86	29.11	39.97	33.86
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2.70	6.83	9.53	59.95
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1.65	5.18	6.83	60.68

The case could not be presented in sharper outlines than in the figures afforded us by the German census. They show that these six provinces of Prussia and Mecklenburg hold 6,247,577 hectares of land

under classes VI and VII, while the remainder of the empire has an area of but 1,684,224 hectares under this heading. The population of the provinces and states, with the maximum of large holdings, represented in table B is 15,500,000; that of the rest of the empire represented by table A, with the minimum of large holdings, is 41,000,000.

These figures furnish a key to the economic, social, and political complications which surround the fatherland; but it is not the object of these pages to deal with them. It is obvious that the large numbers do not represent such holders of land as are interested in the duties on corn and other agricultural products. A preponderance of small and medium holdings is opposed to an insignificant minimum in large holdings in all the states and provinces where small holdings predominate. On the other hand, where the large holdings absorb the large percentage of the area shown in the second table, the small tenant almost disappears. The part of the peasantry that is represented in class III is possessed of barely one-half of the ratio of the area that is absorbed by the corresponding class in my first table. The contrast between the Eastern provinces of Prussia, on the one hand, and the industrial provinces of the monarchy with the rest of Germany, on the other, is well illustrated by these showings. The contest is one between the Northeast, where feudal conditions have still a strong foothold, and the rest of the empire, where democratic tendencies prevail.

What has been set forth in detail may be thus recapitulated: Of 5,558,317 agricultural tenancies classified in the census of 1895, as many as 3,236,367 tenants, who occupy respectively not more than 2 hectares, are excluded, on account of the smallness of their holdings, from all participation in the benefits of the tariff. They are heavily burdened, as they have to buy their articles of food, whether bread, flour, or meat. Those who are found in class II (2 to 5 hectares), numbering 1,016,318 persons, produce no salable surplus, and have frequently to buy corn, and in most cases a part or the whole of the flesh food they consume. They are not benefited, but burdened to the extent that they become purchasers. Class III (5 to 20 hectares), numbering 998,804 heads, shows an average of but $12\frac{1}{2}$ hectares to each holder. It follows that a great percentage in this class comes near the lower limit of size in holdings. Without reference to the estimate by the Baden report of 15 hectares as the point at which the high grain duties become of benefit to the producer, we may assume that one-half of that number may be considered to derive some benefit from the high tariff. They look, however, with indifference on these duties, as they declare in the report pre-

vously quoted, because their interests are too insignificant. The other classes number in all 307,000 heads. They hold from 20 to 500 hectares and over. But of these again, it must be remembered, 25,000 hold nearly as much land as the remaining 280,000. It is in their interest alone that all these burdens are heaped upon the peasantry and the industrial classes of Germany.

With consummate skill the privileged classes keep themselves free, and put the burdens of taxation upon the peasantry and the industrial classes in a double or treble degree. That the working classes are little able to stand up under increased burdens is clearly proved by the conditions which now rule in all the industries of Germany. The miserable wages paid to working-men seldom permit them to lay aside a penny for a rainy day. The iron and coal industries have never been so prosperous as in the last two years. Millions and tens of millions have been heaped up in profits by the lucky owners of mines and furnaces. But, as shown in a previous number of THE FORUM, the increases in wages have been of the paltriest nature.¹ The wages of miners, which were 3.75 marks (90 cents) in 1895 rose to 4.55 (\$1.09) in the boom time, and those of day laborers from 2.74 marks (63 cents) in 1895 to 3.04 marks (73 cents). We may judge from the mining industry, the most prosperous in the empire, what the condition must be in less fortunate fields, and in times of relapse.

From what has been shown in the course of this article, it is evident that the tariff increases proposed by the German Reichsrath can in no way inflict a very serious injury upon American interests, or, for that matter, upon the interests of any foreign state. But that their enactment would be a most cruel infliction upon the German people for the sole benefit of 300,000 landholders is clearly demonstrable, and permits of no doubt.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

¹"The Nations in Competition at the Close of the Century." THE FORUM for March, 1901.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

MR. BAILEY's special plea in *THE FORUM* for April, 1901, entitled "The Case for the South," is one of many indications that the greatest problem facing the United States since the Civil War has reached the stage at which attempted solutions are the subject of calm and reasonable discussion. In other words, the practical side is uppermost, and sentiment and prejudice are compelled by the logic of events to take the second place. That may not be true in the case of every man or every community; for intolerance is not confined to either side of Mason and Dixon's line. The intolerance of the Northern man in this question comes from an ignorance of the facts; that of the Southerner from the idea that the results of ordinary experience are final. It cannot be doubted that before any impartial tribunal the position of the Southern man would be the stronger; and yet in the position adopted by the Southerner there is a fatal weakness which comes as near putting him out of court as does the Northern man's ignorance. I mean, of course, when the case is considered from a strictly judicial standpoint; for the Southern man's practical knowledge is invaluable. It is not too much to say that the North really concedes this, and will watch the South with critical and apparently unsympathetic eye while it works out its own salvation.

Naturally, an occasional politician and editor will rail in unrestrained fashion at the disfranchisement of the negro, and will threaten the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment; but the best evidence that there is nothing behind such protests is the fact that the legal disfranchisement of the negroes in several of the Southern States is an accepted fact. To be sure, Maryland is the only one that has taken an unassailable position. The others have admitted illiterate whites and have barred practically all blacks; but the results are accepted in a tolerant if not an approving mood.

Mr. Bailey sums up by saying: "So, then, I submit that it is good statesmanship to leave the South to her own way in working out her salvation from the ignorant negro vote." Good! She already has it. To that can only be added the advice: Now make the best of it.

What is the best that can be made of it? Is it to proceed on the assumption that experience of the negro as a slave, or as a slave suddenly freed, is final? This would be a fatal error. As well might one assume to judge of the capacities of a man in health from observing his petulance as an invalid. This would be as hopelessly unjust and foolish as was the Northern man's idea that the former masters of the negroes were not their best friends. Of course, the point of view is to blame for this misconception. The Southern man can see the Northern man's folly, but he cannot imagine his own, even when he admits the remarkable intellectual and material advancement of the negro in one generation. That advancement is none the less marked because of his relatively low position to-day. The negro's condition a little over a generation ago has been most vividly portrayed by Ex-Secretary Herbert, as follows:

"Not in all of the imaginings of the Arabian Nights is there any concept so startling as the sudden manumission of four millions of slaves, left unshackled to shift for themselves — without property, without resources excepting their labor, without mental training, and with no traditions, save only such as connected them with bondage and barbarism."

Yet, Mr. Bailey solemnly asserts that it is unreasonable to hope that the negro can be fitted for the responsibilities of the ballot in two hundred years. There is the fatal weakness of the Southerner's position. No man has any right to predict what standard of development or decadence any race of human beings will attain in two hundred years. It all depends upon circumstances.

Aside from the negro's savage ancestors and his position of irresponsibility as a slave, he has missed, for the most part, the influences of even the most rudimentary sort of home life. Under the exigencies of the slave system, the humblest home had no chance of permanency, and consequently had but little influence. Among the civilized races that have gone far on the road of progress, the family life of the people is reckoned the foundation of self-respect and morality. The negroes in the United States thirty-five years ago had, however, scarcely any better developed traditions of family life than the birds that mate in the spring.

But the generation born since the war and now rearing young children possesses a home life, poor as it must be in a majority of instances. Their children's children, the proverbial third generation, will inherit certain family traditions and ideas of training. What those traditions and ideas are will depend upon the education of the fathers and grandfathers. Suppose, for instance, that a negro, now of the age of thirty, has received at the institution conducted by Mr. Booker T. Washington, at

Tuskegee, a common-school education and the knowledge of a trade, together with some ideas of proper living. Suppose, too, that his children and grandchildren will have a similar training. Will any man undertake to lay down the positive dictum that those grandchildren will be more unfit for the responsibilities of the ballot than the children of the European peasants who vote in all our States? Will any man, not blinded by prejudice and intolerance, claim that he can predict the future of the negro race before he has seen the third generation born outside of slavery — a generation possessing some idea of a home, and a little education and knowledge of skilled labor? That will be sixty years hence, almost a hundred years after the period of slavery. Will any man, who has given the subject an hour's thought, deny the reasonableness of suspending judgment? The extent to which favorable conditions will obtain will depend upon public-spirited men and the voters who sustain their policy.

Of course, all the race will not come under the beneficent influences of Tuskegee, Hampton, and other centres of practical education; but already in the maturity of the first generation born since the war, the leavening influences of the best education are distinctly a factor in the problem. If the South is to make the best of its tacit freedom to settle its own peculiar troubles, it will be necessary for it to adopt a new point of view in estimating the capabilities of the black man, not so much in the present generation as in the generations to come.

There can be no reasonable objection to an educational qualification for the franchise; but a test of this kind ought to be a fair one, and it ought to apply to all the citizens in the State. To allow an illiterate man to vote because his grandfather voted, and to debar another because of his ignorance, is for the law-making power to stultify itself and to destroy, by its own act, the respect of honest men. To leave to the discretion of election officers the choice of questions to determine a man's qualifications for the ballot is to make a farce of the whole proceeding. For instance, how many white men of fair intelligence can explain the meaning of that provision in the State constitutions which prohibits the making of *ex post facto* laws?

As for the lack of sympathy of the North for the South, it is probably a lack of comprehension rather than anything else; it is certainly not active antagonism. The attitude of the North is undoubtedly critical, but that is always the case in families and nations. The people of the North value our united country quite as highly as the people of the South love the Union. The progress of both sections is a matter of congratulation, pride, and — criticism.

GEORGE A. THACHER.

THE ESSAY AS MOOD AND FORM.

It is odd that while the essay as a distinctive form in modern literature is so well cherished and enjoyable, it has received so little expert attention. Books upon the drama, upon poetry in its many phases, upon the novel even, a thing comparatively of but yesterday, are as leaves in Vallombrosa for number; but books on the essay — where are they? It is high time the natural history of the essay was written; for here is a fascinating literary development which has had a vigorous, distinguished life of more than three hundred years in English, and which counts among its cultivators some of the abiding names in our native literature. Here is a form, too, interesting because of its relations to such other forms as fiction, which is connected with it by the bridge of the character-sketch; the drama, whose dialogue the essay not seldom uses; and such later practical offshoots as the newspaper editorial and the book review.

This neglect of the essay is not altogether inexplicable. Scholars have been shy of it, I fancy, in part at least, because on the side of form — the natural and proper side to consider in studying the historical evolution of a literary *genre* — it has been thus fluent and expansive, a somewhat subtle, elusive thing. We can say, obviously, that an essay is a prose composition. But can we be more explicit than this rather gross mark of identification? The answer is not so easy. Moreover, the question has become further confused by a change in the use and meaning of the word within a century. A cursory glance at the history of the English essay will make this plain.

Lord Bacon was, by his own statement, fond of that passed master of the essay in French, Montaigne. It is small wonder, then, that when, at the end of the sixteenth century, he put a name to his "dispersed meditations," he called them essays, after the Frenchman, using the word for the first time in our tongue. Not the name only but the thing was new. (The form was slight, the expression pregnant and epigrammatic: there was no attempt at completeness.) The aim of this early prince of essayists was to be suggestive rather than exhaustive —

the latter a term too often synonymous with exhausting. Bacon's essays imply expanded note-book jottings. Indeed, he so regarded them. In the matter of style, one has but to read contemporaries like Sidney, Lyly, and Hooker, to see to what an extent Lord Bacon modernized the cumbersome, though often cloudily splendid, Elizabethan manner. He clarified and simplified the prevailing diction, using shorter words and crisper sentences, with the result of closer-knit, more sententious effect. In a word, style became more idiomatic, and the relation of author and reader more intimate, in the hands of this Elizabethan essay-maker. The point is full of significance for the history of this alluring form. Its development ever since has been from this initiative. Slight, casual, rambling, confidential in tone, the manner much, the theme unimportant in itself, a mood to be vented rather than a thought to add to the sum of human knowledge, the frank revelation of a personality — such have been and are the head-marks of the essay down to the present day. This fact is somewhat obscured by our careless use of the word at present to denote the formal paper, the treatise. The current definition of the essay admits this extension, and of course we bandy the word about in such meaning. But it is well to remember that the central idea of this form is what removes it forever from the treatise, from any piece of writing that is formal, impersonal, and communicative of information.

Little was done for the development of the essay, after Bacon, during the seventeenth century. But with Addison, Steele, and the "Spectator" in the early eighteenth, the idea is reinforced, and some of the essential features of this form are brought out the more clearly. The social, chatty quality of the true essayist is emphasized; the writer enters into more confidential relations with his reader than were ever sustained with the stately Verulam; and the style approaches more nearly to the careless, easy elegance of the talk of good, but not stiff, society. The "Spectator" papers unquestionably did more than any other influence to shape the mould of essay writing in English. At the same time, to speak, as some critics do, as if Mr. Bickerstaff originated the form, is to overlook its origin with Bacon. The essay idea — this colloquial, dramatic, esoteric, altogether charming sort of screed — was cultivated quite steadily through the eighteenth century. It became, as a rule, more ponderous in the hands of Johnson, and was in danger of taking on a didactic, hortatory tone foreign to its nature; yet occasionally in the "Rambler" papers Johnson exhibits a lightness of touch and tone that is surprising, and that suggests that we have perhaps regarded the dictator as too exclusively a wielder of sesquipedalian words. That

this God of the Coffee House had a clear and correct idea of the essay is shown by his own description of it: "A loose sally of the mind," he says, "an irregular, indigested piece, not a regular and orderly performance."

Goldsmith, a light-horse soldier in contrast with Johnson, full panoplied and armed cap-à-pie, broadened the essay for literary and social discussion, although Grub Street necessity led him at times to become encyclopedic; and he was never happier than when, as in the "Reverie at The Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap," he played upon some whimsical theme, pizzicato, surcharging it with his genial personality. Minor writers, too, in the late eighteenth century had a hand in the development, none more so, to my mind, than the letter and fiction makers, Chesterfield and Walpole, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Fanny Burney — these and that inimitable fuss and chronicler, Boswell. If one would know how society talked in the second half of that Tea-Cup century, one must read not the dialogue of the novelists, where the art is too new to have caught quite the accent of life, but these off-hand epistles dashed off without a thought of print — to print were half-way vulgar then — and hence possessing all the freshness and naturalness of life itself, the ideal essay note. We may be thankful that as yet the habit of publishing everything, from one's thrills to one's table tastes, had not gained popularity: those ladies and gentlemen could afford to be charmingly unreserved in their private correspondence. To-day, in the very act of penning a note, intrudes the horrid thought that it may be incorporated as an integral part of one's "works."

The letter, as a literary form, offers an interesting line of side inquiry in connection with the essay. It has influenced that form beyond doubt, and is in a sense contributory to it. In the same way, dialogue — a modern instance like Landor comes to mind — has had its share in shaping so protean a form.

But it was reserved for the nineteenth century to contribute, in the person of Charles Lamb, the most brilliant exemplar of the essay, the prince of this especial literary mood — not primarily a thinker, a knowledge-bringer, a critic; but just a unique personality expressing his ego in his own fascinating way, making the past pay rich toll, yet always himself; and finding the essay accommodative of his whimsical vagaries, his delicious inconsistencies, his deep-toned, lovable nature. And that incomparable manner of his! 'Tis at once richly complex and tremulously simple, an instrument of wide range from out whose keys a soul vibrant to the full meaning of humanity might call spirits of earth and heaven in exquisite evocations and cadences at times almost too pierc-

ing sweet. Turn to the Elia papers and see how perfectly this magic of Lamb's illustrates and supports the qualities of mood and form I am naming as typical of the essay as an historic growth. The themes, how desultory, audacious, trivial, even grotesque! The only possible justification for a dissertation on roast pig is the paper itself. Note, too, how brief some of the choicest essays are — half a dozen small pages, even less — and with what seeming carelessness they vary, stretching themselves at will to four times their normal length. Study the construction of any famous essay to see if it can be called close-knit, organic, and you will find a lovely disregard of any such intention.

The immortal "Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist" gives a capital example. If you turn to the end of that inimitable deliverance you will find it to contain one of the most charming digressions in all literature. Lamb leaves that delicious old gentlewoman for a moment, to speak of Cousin Bridget, Bridget Elia, the tragic sister Mary of his house; and playfully, tenderly, picturing their game at cards, he forgets all else and never returns to Mrs. Battle. But who cares? Is not lack of organic connection (to call it by so harsh a name) more than justified by that homely-heartful picture of Charles and Mary Lamb, bent over their "mere shade of play," a game not for shillings but for fun — nay, for love. "Bridget and I should be ever playing," says he, and the reader is charmed and stirred clean out of all thought of Mrs. Battle. It is ever so with your essayist to the manner born! To wander and digress is with him a natural right. He is never happier than when he is playing mad pranks with logic, respectability, and the mother-tongue. Yet should his temperament be sensitive, his nature broad, deep, and noble. The querulous-gentle Elia was surely of this race.

To turn from Lamb to any contemporary is an effect of anticlimax. None other was like to him for quality. Yet Hazlitt and Hunt were his helpers, doing good work in extending the gamut of this esoteric mood in literature. De Quincey, too, though losing the essay touch again and again because of didacticism and a sort of formal, stately eloquence, wrote papers in the true tradition of the essayist. Passages in the "Opium Eater" are of this peculiar tone; and that great writer's intense subjectivity is always in his favor — since the genuine essay-maker must be frankly an egoist. Hunt is at times so charming, so light of touch, so atmospheric in quality that he deserves to be set high among essayists of the early century. A man who could produce such delicately graceful vignette work as his sketches of the Old Lady and the Old Gentleman was a true commensal of Lamb. In such bits of

writing the mood and manner are everything, the theme is naught; the man back of the theme is as important in the production of the essay as is the man back of the gun in warfare. Herein lies Hunt's chief claim on our grateful remembrance — here, and in certain of his verses, rather than in the more elaborate papers to be found in such a volume as "Imagination and Fancy."

But already we must begin to recognize in writers like Hunt, Hazlitt, and De Quincey, and still more in later men, a tendency distinctly modern and on the whole antagonistic to the peculiar virtues of the esoteric essay, the *causerie* of literature: it is moving fast toward the objective, rounded out, formally arranged treatise. It becomes argumentative-critical, acquisitive-logical, expository, laden with thought. Hence, when we reach masters like Ruskin, Carlyle, Arnold, we see what is natural to them as essayists in one sense deflected into other, and no doubt quite as welcome, forms: one and all they have messages, and missions. Now, your *bona fide* essayist has nothing of the kind. He would simply buttonhole you for a half-hour while he talks garrulously, without a thought of purpose, about the world, and himself, especially the latter. Splendid blooms grow from out the soil which gives us our Ruskins and Carlyles; but when we are considering this sensitive plant of the literary garden, it were well to agree that it is another thing, and to save for its designation the word essay. Nor is this to deny essay touches, essay moments, essay qualities to Ruskin or Carlyle: it is only to make the point that their strenuous aim and habitual manner, so far as they went, were against the production of a very different kind of literature.

Earlier American writings have at least supplied one real essayist to the general body of English literature, the genial Irving, who was nurtured on the best eighteenth-century models and carried on the tradition of the "Spectator" and Goldsmith in papers which have just the desired tone of genteel talk, the air of good society. There are hints in Benjamin Franklin that, had politics not engulfed him, as they afterward did Lowell, he might have shown himself to the essay born. Irving is sometimes spoken of as a fictionist, but all his stories have the essay mood and manner; and he had the good sense practically never to abandon that gentle *genre*. His work always possesses the essay touch both in description and the hitting-off of character; thus offering an illustration of the fact that the essay, by way of the character sketch, debouches upon the broad and beaten highway of the novel, the main road of our modern literature. There are plenty of Irving's papers

which it is rather puzzling to name as either essay or fiction — "The Fat Gentleman," for example. A later and very true American essayist, Dr. Holmes, furnishes the same puzzle in the "Autocrat" series. They have dialogue, dramatic characterization, even some slight story interest. Why not fiction then? Because the trail of the genuine essayist is everywhere; the characters, the dramatic setting, are but devices for the freer expression of Dr. Holmes's own delightful personality, which, as Mr. Howells testifies, Holmes liked to objectify. It is our intimate relation with him that we care about in converse with the essayist born: we sit down to enjoy his views. The fictionist's purpose, contrariwise, is to show life in a representative section of it, and with dramatic interplay of personalities moving to a certain crescendo of interest called the climax.

And so Dr. Holmes remains one of our most distinctive and acceptable essayists of the social sort; possessing, I mean, that gift, perhaps best seen with the French, of making vivid one's sense of one's relation to other men and women in the social organism. It is the triumph of this kind of essay to be at once individualistic and social, without eccentricity, on the one hand, or vulgarity, on the other. Vulgarity, by the way, is a quality impossible to the heaven-called essayist: it can be better tolerated in poetry even. For the intimacy between the essayist and his reader — I say "reader" rather than "audience," with a feeling that the relation is a sort of solitude *à deux* — is greater than in the case of any other form of literary expression. Hence, when one enters, as it were, the inner rooms of a friend's house, any hint of the *borné* is more quickly detected, the more surely insufferable.

The voice of a natural essayist like Thoreau is somewhat muffled by being forced now and then into the public pulpit manner. Yet an essay-writer by instinct he certainly is, particularly in his journal, but often in the more formal chroniclings of his unique contact with nature. In Emerson, too, we encounter a writer with a vocation for the essay, but having other fish to fry — doubtless a loftier but a different aim. No man, English or American, has a literary manner which makes the essay an inspired chat more than the Concord Sage-Singer; and the inspired chat comes close to being the beau-ideal of your true-blue essayist. With less strenuousness of purpose and just a bit more of human frailty — or, at least, of sympathy with the frail — here were indeed a prince in this kind!

How much of the allurements of the essay style did Lowell keep, however scholarlike his quest, in papers literary, historical, even phil-

ological! In a veritable essay-subject like "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners," he displays himself as of the right line of descent from Montaigne. There is in him then all that unforced, winsome, intimate, yet ever restrained, revelation of self which is the essayist's model, and despair. In the love-letters of the Brownings may be found some strictures by both Robert and Elizabeth upon an early book of this great American's, which must pain the admirer of the Brownings as well as of Lowell. It displays a curious insensitiveness to just this power of the Cambridge man's which made him of so much more value to the world than if he had been scholar and nothing more. One can hardly rise from anything like a complete examination of Lowell's prose without the regret that his fate did not lead him to cultivate more assiduously and single-eyed this rare and precious gift for essay — a gift shared with very few fellow-Americans.

A glance among later Victorian prose writers must convince the thoughtful that the essay in our special sense is gradually written less; that as information comes in at the door, the happy giving-forth of personality flies out of the window. It is in shy men like Alexander Smith or Richard Jefferies that we come on what we are looking for — in such as they, rather than the more noisily famed. Plenty of charming prose writers in these latter days have been deflected by utility or emolument away from the essay into criticism, like Lang, Gosse, Dobson, and Pater; into preaching and play-making, like Bernard Shaw; into journalism, like Barry Pain and Quiller-Couch; into a sort of forced union of poetry and fiction, as with Richard Le Gallienne. All these and others still have been touched by fiction for better or worse.

The younger Americans with potential essay ability are also for the most part swallowed up in more "useful" ways of composition. Her old-fashioned devotion to the older idea of the essay makes a writer like Miss Repplier stand out with a good deal of distinction: so few of her generation are willing or able to do likewise. Mr. Howells has reached a position of such authority in American letters that what he produces in the essay manner is welcome — not because it is essay, but because it is he. His undeniable gift for the form is, therefore, all the better. Often he strikes a gait happily remindful of what the essay in its traditions really is: the delightfully frank egoism of his manner covering genuine simplicity and modesty of nature. Since "Venetian Days" he has never ceased to be an essayist.

The twin dangers with the younger essayists both of the United States and England are didacticism and preciosity. The former, I be-

lieve, is most prevalent in this country; and it is of course the death-blow of the true essay. The danger of being too precious may be overcome with years. We should not despair of the essayist: no type of writer is rarer. The planets must conspire to make him. He must not be overwhelmed by life and drawn into other modes of expression.

Our generation has been lucky to possess one English essayist who has maintained and handed on the great tradition: I mean Stevenson. Although, in view of the extent and vogue of his novels and tales, Stevenson's essay work may seem almost an aside, it really is most significant. He is in the line of Charles Lamb. Where a man like Pater writes with elegance and suggestion after the manner of the suave and thoroughly equipped critic, Stevenson does a vastly higher thing: he talks ruddily, with infinite grace, humor, pathos, and happiness, about the largest of all themes — human nature. From "Ordered South" to "Pulvis et Umbra," through many a gay mood of smile and sunshine to the very depths of life's weltering sea, Stevenson runs the gamut of fancy and emotion, the fantasticality of his themes being in itself the sign manual of a true essayist. In the "Letters" no man using English speech has chatted more unreservedly, and with more essential charm: it is the undress of literature always instinctively stopping the right side of etiquette, of decency. The Stevenson epistles drive us on a still-hunt outside of the mother-tongue for their equal, with little prospect of quarry save within French borders.

The essay is thus a literary creature to the making of which go mood and form; and the former would seem by far the paramount thing. Great and special gifts does it demand. 'Tis an Ariel among literary kinds, shy, airy, tricky, elusive, vanishing in the garish light that beats down upon the arena where the big prizes of fiction are competed for amidst noise, confusion, and *éclat*. But ever in its own slight, winsome way does it compel attention, and gain hearts for its very own. 'Tis an aristocrat of letters: nowhere is it so hard to hide obvious antecedents. Many try, but few triumph in it. Therefore, when a real essayist arrives, let him be received with due acclaim and thanks special, since through him is handed on so ancient and honorable a form.

RICHARD BURTON.

WRITERS IN THE SEPTEMBER FORUM.

MR. PETER T. AUSTEN was born in 1852 at Clifton, Staten Island. Graduated in 1872 at the Columbia School of Mines. Holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Zürich, and studied for three years at Berlin in the laboratory of Prof. A. W. Hofmann. In 1876 was appointed Instructor in Chemistry at Dartmouth College, in 1877 Professor at Rutgers College and the New Jersey State Scientific School, and in 1893 Professor in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Has recently given up teaching, and now devotes all his time to professional practice. Is a member of the American, English, French, German, and Russian Chemical Societies, and many other scientific associations.

MR. KARL BLIND, born at Mannheim, Germany, Sept. 4, 1826, was educated at Heidelberg and Bonn Universities. Active for German union and freedom, was imprisoned in Bavaria and Baden before the Revolution of 1848, in which he took a leading part, at Karlsruhe. After participating in the Republican rising led by Hecker, was arrested at Strasburg on a false charge of being implicated in the Paris insurrection in June, and was transported to Switzerland. Was leader of the second Republican rising in the Black Forest, and fought at Staufen. A prisoner of war, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, but was liberated in 1849. Was member of the Embassy at Paris of the Democratic Governments of Baden and Rhenish Palatinate. After the overthrow of Ledru-Rollin's rising for the protection of the Roman Republic, was proscribed from France. Carried on a Democratic and National propaganda from England. Coöperated with Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other European leaders. Has published numerous essays on politics, archæology, history, mythology, philosophy, and ancient German and Norse literature.

SIR JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT was born in 1837. Is a son of a native of the island of Jersey, and is a Nova Scotian by birth. Has been Chief Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada since 1880, and has written several works on parliamentary government which are in constant use in the colonial dependencies of the Crown. Is also the author of "The Story of Canada," in the "Nations" series, of "Canada under British Rule" in the Cambridge Historical Series, and of other works. Has been President and is now Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, and is also editor of its "Transactions." Is a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

PROF. RICHARD BURTON was born in 1859, at Hartford, Connecticut. Received A.B. degree at Trinity College in 1883, and Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University, 1887. Taught Anglo-Saxon for a year at Johns Hopkins; was managing editor of the New York "Churchman," 1888-89; literary editor of Hartford "Courant," 1890-97; and in 1898 became Professor of English Literature in the University of Minnesota. His published books include three volumes of verse—"Dumb in June" (1895), "Memorial Day" (1897), and "Lyrics of Brotherhood" (1899)—and a volume of essays, "Literary Likings" (1898).

MR. FRANK W. CLARKE was born in Boston in 1847. Graduated at the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University, in 1867. In 1869 was Instructor in Chemistry at Cornell, and from 1874 to 1883 Professor of Chemistry at the University of Cin-

cinnati. Since 1883 has been chief chemist of the United States Geological Survey. In 1901 was elected President of the American Chemical Society. Is author of several scientific books and of many scientific papers. Has been a member of the Board of Management of Government Exhibits at the expositions at Cincinnati, Chicago, Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, and Buffalo; also of the International Jury of Awards at Paris in 1900, where he received the ribbon of the Legion of Honor.

Mrs. LEONORA BECK ELLIS, a Georgian by birth, is a Southern writer, whose first magazine work appeared in the New York and Boston periodicals some five years ago. Since that time has contributed extensively to the magazine literature both of this country and of England. Belonging to one of the old Southern families, Mrs. Ellis stands as an exponent of what is distinctively Southern.

PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL was born at Ashfield, Massachusetts, in 1845, and graduated at Williams College in 1867. Then went abroad to study at Berlin, Bonn, Heidelberg, and Leipsic. Was Professor of Psychology at Antioch College, Ohio, from 1872 to 1876, and at Johns Hopkins University from 1882 to 1888. Since the latter year, has been President of Clark University, at Worcester, Massachusetts. Dr. Hall has written on psychological and educational subjects, and has translated many German philosophical works. Is founder and editor of "The American Journal of Psychology" and "The Pedagogical Seminary."

Mr. EUGENE LIMEDORFER was born near Stockholm in 1864. Studied at the Royal Swedish Lycée in Stockholm, and then attended the Royal Hungarian Gymnasium in Budapest, where he graduated with honors in 1882. Continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg. In 1885 started on a two years' trip through Europe, and parts of Asia and Africa, and in the fall of 1887 came to New York, where he has since resided, making frequent visits to the Northern countries of Europe. Mr. Limedorfer has written "Studien zur Psychologie des Weibes" (A. Hartleben's Verlag, Wien, 1888) and has been a contributor to various newspapers and magazines.

LIEUT.-GEN. DEN BEER POORTUGAEL is a general in the army of the Netherlands, a Councillor of State, and an active member of the Institute of International Law. Is also a Knight of Grand Cross of the Order of the Netherlands Lion, Knight of the Order of Dannenbourg (of Denmark), Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown (Luxembourg), Knight of the Order of the Crown of Prussia, Knight of the Order of the Lion and Sun (Persia). He is the author of works on international law.

Mr. JACOB SCHOENHOF was born in Germany in 1839. Came to America in 1861, was naturalized in 1866, and followed a commercial career up to 1885. His experience in trade and manufacturing soon brought him to recognize the antagonism of facts with the generally accepted economic views. As early as 1869 he published in German periodicals his views on the errors of economic theories. President Cleveland appointed him Consul to Tunstall, England, and gave him a commission to inquire into the state of technical education and the economy of production in Europe. Mr. Schoenhof is the author of "Wages and Trade" (1885); "The Economy of High Wages" (1892); "History of Money and Prices" (1896), etc.

Mr. BENJAMIN TAYLOR is a Northumbrian by birth, and was educated on Tyne-side. After a business training in Newcastle-on-Tyne he migrated to Glasgow, Scotland, where he began to devote himself to literary pursuits. For a number of years past has occupied a prominent position among Scottish journalists, making a special study of economic, social, and industrial subjects. Mr. Taylor is associated with the Glasgow "Herald," and writes also for the leading London weeklies and monthlies.

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The Forum

OCTOBER, 1901.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

THE tragedy is over. The last word has been spoken; the bells have tolled; the funeral march has sounded sadly in our ears; and the black-draped train has conveyed to its last resting-place the body of William McKinley, who, while occupying the high position of President of the United States, was stricken by the assassin's bullet. With the melancholy music of the dirge still lingering in memory, and with the mournful picture of the casket not yet effaced, it is not time to attempt either panegyric or criticism of the man whose career was brought to this sudden and tragic close. When the passing years shall have revealed in true perspective the character and acts of William McKinley, both as a private citizen and as a public official, the duty of judging him accurately and impartially can be appropriately undertaken. Meanwhile, let this article afford to the readers of THE FORUM a glimpse of the man as he appeared to an observer of affairs at the national capital.

Mr. McKinley came to Washington in 1877, having been elected in November, 1876, to represent the Eighteenth District of Ohio in the Forty-fifth Congress. He was then thirty-four years old. His previous life had not been uneventful. In his birth he had the advantage of good blood, which, coming down from his Covenanter ancestors, had flowed through the veins of Revolutionary patriots. It was good stock all along the line, clear-headed, industrious, frugal, with mental horizon not wide, perhaps, but well-defined. Upon this solid foundation the boy was brought up well. His home training was admirable. His mother, deeply religious, developed in him the spirit of faith and rever-

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ence which assured a Christian manhood. His father, a man of intelligence and a great lover of books, widened the boy's horizon by conversations on broad subjects. In those days, the exciting issues which preceded the Civil War were discussed by the hearth-stone of the farmhouse and around the stove in the cross-roads store. Young McKinley took part in these impromptu debates, learning by experience the art of forming his sentences easily and well, and, in fact, laying the foundation of his public life. He breathed, while yet a mere lad, the atmosphere of political battle. He was, of course, an earnest opponent of slavery, nor did he lack the courage of his convictions. When the conflict began he shouldered a musket; he was a captain when he was twenty-one. Upon his youthful mind the horrors and privations of war during his four years' service made a deep and lasting impression. When, in later years, he became President of the United States, his unbounded sympathy for the men who, like him, had fought beneath the flag was manifested in many ways. He was proud of the bronze button of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the red, white, and blue rosette of the Loyal Legion. The war over, he began the practice of law, and entered, also, the field of politics. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Stark County; participated actively as a speaker in the Grant-Greeley Presidential campaign; and was prominent in the canvass which resulted in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes to be Governor of Ohio.

When Mr. McKinley entered Congress, therefore, he had a record of faithful, if not brilliant, military service, and he had already achieved some success in politics. A man of mediocre ability and of less persistent purpose would have regarded a seat in Congress as the climax of ambition. Mr. McKinley, however, had only placed one foot upon the first round of the ladder. Circumstances favored him; or, rather, he possessed the genius to discover in these circumstances the opportunity they afforded for his advancement. The country was in a transition stage regarding the tariff. In the House, William L. Morrison was planning a horizontal reduction, John G. Carlisle was posing as an apostle of reform, and Frank Hurd, more radical than either, was urging his democratic colleagues to raise the standard of absolute free trade. McKinley, fresh from a district where nearly all the voters were working-men, and where the air was heavy with the smoke of manufactories, discerned the necessity for vigorous opposition. He stepped into the breach. Upon his banner four words were inscribed: "Protection to American Industries." His first act in Congress was the presentation of a petition from the working-men of his district against any change

in the tariff. His first speech advocated protection. He delivered it at a night session, when few of his colleagues were present, and when the galleries were sparsely filled with indifferent auditors — a marked contrast to the brilliant scene presented a few years later, when, amid a throng that tested the capacity of the hall of the House of Representatives, he closed the debate upon the tariff bill which bore his name.

From the day when he assumed the championship of the protective policy until his election to the Presidency afforded him an opportunity to display the broad and statesmanlike character of his mind, Mr. McKinley was unquestionably a man of one idea. He realized early in his political career that a student must also be a specialist if he desires to win distinction. Consequently, he devoted himself to the tariff question. Naturally a lover of books, he eschewed all reading which did not supplement his store of special knowledge. When, in the course of time, he reached the position of Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he was thoroughly equipped. He had already developed a remarkable ability for assembling and assimilating details, and his colleagues had discovered that he was not to be overthrown or even disconcerted by specious questions in debate. His penetrating intellect, rendered more keen by years of study, speedily grasped the innumerable intricacies of the tariff schedules, and his well-balanced mind arranged in logical sequence the mass of information thus acquired. The work was tedious and exhausting, but it did not, apparently, affect the placidity of his mind. Debate did not irritate him; the importunate appeals of his colleagues for especial favors did not disturb him. His patience was exemplified in a thousand ways; the grace of manner which made him beloved as President was always manifest. The story of the manufacturer of chemicals, who appealed for a hearing when every other member of the Committee had refused him consideration, and who was listened to, with all his formidable array of technical data, for three hours, is cited as one example of Mr. McKinley's marvellous patience.

If I recall with some detail the preparation of the McKinley Tariff Bill, it is because I desire to picture its author as he appeared upon the day when that measure was passed by the House. The scene of which he was the central figure was one not easily to be forgotten. The occasion, thoroughly advertised, attracted to the Capitol an immense throng. The galleries were crowded, and the anticipation of the vote had compelled the attendance of every member. As usual, Mr. McKinley spoke without notes. "His voice, penetrating but not harsh" — to quote from the impressions which I recorded at the time — "filled the chamber, and

was modulated with all the art of the accomplished elocutionist. His gestures were those of a man who might have been educated for the stage — graceful and appropriate. His well-rounded figure, not above the medium height, was enveloped in a black suit, with a close-fitting Prince Albert coat — the kind which he always wore, and which, in the sedateness of its cut, was thoroughly in keeping with the serious and earnest manner of the speaker. His face, paler than usual, was, nevertheless, illumined by the inspiration of the occasion, and when turned upward to the galleries revealed lines which forcibly recalled the countenance of Napoleon. His forehead was broad and high, and his eyes were dark and deep-set, like the touchhole of a cannon, as Balzac would have said. The gravity of his bearing, the sincerity with which he spoke, and the sympathetic and musical quality of his voice impressed the eye, the mind, and the ear. There were no meretricious, glittering phrases, no sentences uttered for empty, rhetorical effect. Every sentence was as solid as the granite of the eternal hills." Never was an orator more wholly free from clap-trap than Mr. McKinley. He was not even a debater in the ordinary sense of the term — not a rough-and-ready, heavy-wrestling, partisan fighter like Reed. His wit did not amble easily, nor was it tipped with steel. He launched forth no shafts of sarcasm to irritate and confuse the enemy on the floor and amuse the crowds in the galleries. He was willing to be victor in debate without inflicting a wound. He was as gentle in his nature as a woman.

Swept out of public life by the storm of protest against the high prices which followed the enactment of the new law, Mr. McKinley proved himself magnificent in defeat. When the result of the election in his district, which had hung in the balance for several days, was finally known to be adverse to him, he sat down and wrote that remarkable statement, beginning: "Protection was never stronger than it is to-day." His sublime faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles embodied in his bill was never shaken. "Keep up your courage," he wrote to those who doubted. "Home and country will triumph in the end. Their enemies, either here or abroad, will never be placed in permanent control of the government of Washington, Lincoln, and Grant." Out of his defeat for reelection to Congress he emerged as Governor of Ohio. His people believed in him, and he believed in the people. Even at that time the shadow of the White House was falling upon him.

The dramatic incidents of the national conventions of 1888 and 1892, when Mr. McKinley refused to be tempted by the golden apple of

a Presidential nomination at the sacrifice of his loyalty, illustrate most forcibly another phase of his character. It was at Chicago that the first ripple of the McKinley wave became visible. I shall never forget the stillness which fell upon that convention as Mr. McKinley, pale and calm, mounted a chair, and, in a voice low but distinct, made a brief speech. His utterances were so characteristic of his high sense of personal honor that I reproduce them:

"I am here as the chosen representative of my State. I cannot, with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has entrusted me with his cause and with his confidence; I cannot, with my own views of my personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention."

Once again, four years later, temptation came to McKinley, when, at Minneapolis, the anti-Harrison schemers turned to him as their candidate. I still remember how, when Senator Foraker had cast the votes of the Ohio delegation for McKinley, the latter, with his pale face paler than usual, challenged the vote. I still can see the flush which rose to his countenance when Senator Foraker replied that his alternate had taken his place in the delegation, and I remember the firm, although anxious, voice in which he demanded that the roll be called. Of all the delegates from Ohio he alone responded with the name of Benjamin Harrison. Alone he stood, and yet alone he was all-powerful; for his refusal to become a party to the plans of the opponents of Harrison broke the backbone of that movement. The wisdom of his attitude at that time, as well as at Chicago in 1888, was amply demonstrated when, at St. Louis in 1896, he was nominated for the Presidency. When he finally won the proud position of Presidential nominee his hands were clean. His campaign was conducted on a high plane. He spoke ill of none, nor could any one truthfully say aught of him.

His home life was beautiful; his devotion to his invalid wife being as constant as it was sincere. When, after his election as President, he came to Washington to be inaugurated, the comfort of his wife during the journey was of far more consequence to him than the plaudits of the people who cheered him at every railroad station. It was at the end of this trip to Washington that a characteristic incident occurred. As the President walked down the depot platform to the exit, he glanced up and saw the grimy engineer leaning out of the cab and bowing. Instantly the President, with a smile, detached a flower from the button-hole of his coat and handed it to the engineer. It was a simple act, performed without ostentation, but it was indicative of that never-failing thoughtfulness and courtesy which marked every action of the Presi-

dent. I saw similar instances many scores of times. Especially I remember the efforts of a young photographer to secure a picture of the President in the railroad depot at Omaha. The light was poor, and the moving crowd interrupted the photographer's amateurish efforts. At last the young man appealed to Mr. McKinley to leave the private car and stand upon the platform. Thereupon the President of the United States, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, suffered himself to be led by the boy to the desired spot. He posed patiently while the camera was focused, and then apparently felt fully repaid by the warm expression of gratitude to which the photographer gave sincere utterance.

This same obliging spirit, when manifested in a larger field, was an important factor in the peace and prosperity of the country, because it preserved amicable relations between the Executive and the Congress. President McKinley, living, was honored and respected — I might almost say loved — by men who were his political opponents in the Senate and the House of Representatives, even as now, when dead, he is mourned by them with grief unmistakable. The President was, of course, a Republican, first of all; but he never allowed his partisanship to blind him to the fact that he was the President of the entire country. When circumstances placed at his disposal an unusually large number of appointments in the army and navy, he arranged that a fair proportion should be allotted to Democratic Senators and Representatives. Many times, when I went to the White House, I saw in the President's anteroom as many Democrats as Republicans.

When he could do so, the President granted a legitimate request; and if refusal could not be avoided, he dulled the sting of disappointment with an expression of hope that he would be able, upon the next occasion, to fulfil the applicant's desires. It was no wonder, therefore, that President McKinley exercised over Congress an influence which enabled him to outline his policies with the certainty of legislative support. I know of no President in recent years whose relations with Congress were so intimate and cordial; and when, at the beginning or the closing of a session, Mr. McKinley conveyed to Congress, through the committee which waited upon him, his welcome or his benediction, his kindly words were never accepted by the legislators as merely perfunctory utterances.

President McKinley's heart was big with love and kindness. Out of the fulness of his soul he advocated appropriations from the National Treasury for the care of the graves of Confederate soldiers. I happened to be by his side when, in Atlanta, he delivered the speech making this

suggestion; and at its conclusion I listened with the deepest interest while he told me how he had been impressed, during a visit to Fredericksburg, Virginia, with the burden which the care of Confederate cemeteries entailed upon a devoted few, while the nation maintained the last resting-places of the Union soldiers. He believed that the war was long enough past to make it possible to begin to wipe out the distinctions between the dead. By the side of this incident I place in my memory an interview which I had with the President in the White House shortly after the close of the war with Spain. A friend of mine, the editor of a London newspaper, desired to pay his respects to Mr. McKinley, and an audience was quickly arranged. When we were in the President's presence, the conversation speedily drifted to the war and its momentous results. To Mr. McKinley, however, the victories on land and sea and the acquisition of territory were as nothing compared with the fact that under God, to quote his reverential words, the barriers of sectionalism had finally and completely disappeared during his administration. As he talked he became eloquent. His eulogy of our great and united nation, delivered to an audience of two persons, was wonderfully impressive and soul-stirring.

Again, when I sat with him in his home a few weeks ago and we discussed the memorable trip to the Pacific coast, he reiterated the same thought, and expressed his pleasure at the warm and cordial welcome which the South had accorded him. His heart was literally big enough to take in the entire nation; and yet it was not too big to beat in sympathy with the individual. I remember, for instance, that on the day when we started upon our journey to California, the President personally visited every car in the train in order to assure himself of the comfort of his fellow-travellers. "We must all be patient and forbearing with each other," said he, "for we have a long and tedious journey before us." It was simply the spontaneous expression of a thoughtful and kindly heart.

It was President McKinley's fortune to control the destinies of the country during four momentous years. How well he performed that tremendous task, how bravely and how calmly he met all the enormous responsibilities, and how greatly he endeared himself to the people are now matters of history. When the full narrative of his administration comes to be written, with all its secret workings revealed, the memory of the President will be even more radiant than now. His fame will not lose lustre as the years pass.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT; ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PECULIARITIES.

THE United States inherited at her birth a national debt. This debt, contracted by the colonies in carrying on their war with England, was regarded by Hamilton and his followers in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 as "the price of liberty." In their opinion the assumption of this debt by the new Government was a solemn obligation which ought to be recognized in the instrument which created the Government. Through the wisdom of these men, who thought that the establishment of public credit was of greater importance to the young nation than the winning of battles, the Constitution of the United States provided, in clause I of article VI, that "all debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation."

The Constitution became operative and the United States took her place among the nations of the world upon the inauguration of Washington at New York, on April 30, 1789. The Treasury Department was created by act of Congress, approved September 2, 1789; and on the 11th of that month Alexander Hamilton, the man whom universal public opinion selected for that office, was named by President Washington as the first Secretary of the Treasury. Throughout the war, and during the dark years following its close, Hamilton had shown himself a thorough master of the subjects of taxation, currency, and finance, and had already won the confidence of his contemporaries not only at home, but in the countries of Europe that held our securities. In addition to the transcendent abilities which he possessed, Hamilton, more than any other man of his age, was imbued with a deep consciousness of the destiny of the young Republic. With a prophetic vision as clear as his perception of the immediate dire necessities of the new state, he saw the future greatness, wealth, and power of the nation which had arisen from the ruins of the old Confederation. This made it possible for him to enter with hope of ultimate success upon the gigantic task that confronted

him when he assumed his office at the head of the financial department of a nation with an overwhelming debt, an empty treasury, and no revenue. This task was nothing less than bringing order out of financial chaos.

The Confederation had come to an inglorious end, strangled by a debt which it had no power under its Articles of Union to provide for, and submerged beneath a flood of repudiated paper currency. Washington, Hamilton, and the other leaders of the new Government realized that it could not long survive the ill-concealed enmity of its foes at home and the open opposition of its enemies abroad unless at the outset it showed a disposition and the ability to fulfil its financial obligations promptly and faithfully. The provision of the Constitution relating to the debts of the Confederation must be fully complied with. These debts must be assumed and refunded; and revenues must be provided for defraying the ordinary expenses of the Government, paying the interest on the debt, and establishing a sinking fund for its eventual extinction.

To the accomplishment of these ends Hamilton bent all the energies of his genius. On January 14, 1790, he submitted to the House of Representatives his first Report on the Public Credit. This report—whether we consider the abstract political philosophy contained in it, or the great and far-reaching results that flowed from it—must be regarded as the ablest state paper prepared by an American statesman. Together with the Constitution it ought to be studied in every school and college in the land.

In it Hamilton outlines a detailed plan for assuming, refunding, and paying the debts of the Confederation and the colonies, together with a scheme for raising adequate public revenues. He divides the debts to be assumed into three classes: (1) the interest-bearing securities issued by the Continental Congress and held abroad, amounting with interest to about \$12,000,000, called the Foreign Debt; (2) similar securities held at home, amounting with interest to about \$42,000,000, called the Domestic Debt; and (3) similar securities issued by the individual colonies for defraying expenses growing out of the War of Independence, estimated with interest at \$25,000,000, called the State Debts.

In respect to the foreign debt there was no diversity of opinion. It was agreed by all that it should be paid in full with all arrears of interest. It was thought by many, however, that in the case of the domestic debt there should be a discrimination between the original holders of the securities and those who had purchased them below their face value; many of these securities having been bought up by speculators at a low

figure. Hamilton's position was that such a discrimination would be a breach of faith on the part of the Government and a violation of the clause of the Constitution relating to the payment of the debt of the Confederation. To the payment by the National Government of any portion of the State debts the opposition was much stronger than to the payment in full of the domestic debt. The objections to the assumption of the State debts were founded largely on a jealous fear of increasing the powers of the Federal Government. It was argued that the revenues for paying the State debts ought to be raised by the States individually. Hamilton realized, however, that, although the assumption of the State debts might tend, by increasing our national indebtedness, to impair our credit abroad, it was, nevertheless, of the utmost importance to satisfy domestic creditors, to enlist their friendship and coöperation in support of the new Government, and to cement more closely together the States of the Union. It was, therefore, his earnest desire that his financial plan should be adopted as a whole, and his efforts to this end were unremitting.

As we review after the lapse of over a century the debates on the measures introduced into Congress to carry into effect the recommendations of Hamilton, and contemplate the wonderfully beneficent results that have flowed from their adoption, it is almost impossible to understand the bitter opposition which they encountered in both Houses of Congress. Although there was a unanimous sentiment in favor of the assumption in full of the foreign debt, the opponents of the assumption of the domestic and State debts were able to prevent the adoption of this portion of the scheme. We wonder to-day how they could have been deaf to the logic and eloquence of Hamilton's arguments, which were summed up in his report in these impressive words:

"While the observance of that good faith, which is the basis of public credit, is recommended by the strongest inducements of political expediency, it is enforced by considerations of still greater authority. There are arguments for it which rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation. And in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate, in the order of Providence, an intimate connection between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnancy to a violation of those principles. This reflection derives additional strength from the nature of the debt of the United States. It was the price of liberty. The faith of America has been repeatedly pledged for it, and with solemnities that give peculiar force to the obligation."

There were, however, in this country at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as at the end of the nineteenth, those who could perceive nothing immoral in a breach of national faith, nothing dishonor-

able in a repudiation of national obligations. And there were in the first Congress enough members holding these perverted views to delay the passage of the financial legislation recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, so that it was not until August, 1790, that his measures were finally passed, and then only as the result of a compromise.

The history of this compromise forms an interesting chapter in the annals of our Government. The subject that seemed to the members of the first Congress next in interest and importance to a provision for the national debt was the selection of a location for the seat of Government in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Most of the important cities were rivals for the honor of becoming the capital of the nation. The representatives from the Southern States agreed among themselves to favor a location on the Potomac. It was thought that it would take ten years to build the necessary permanent buildings for the use of the Government. The people of Philadelphia were anxious that, in case their city should not be selected as the permanent capital, the Government should be located there for ten years.

Now it so happened that the assumption of the domestic and State debts was mainly advocated by the Northern States, and opposed by the Southern. The financial measures and the bills for locating the capital were under discussion at the same time. The idea therefore suggested itself quite naturally to Hamilton that if he could secure from those members who favored a Southern location for the capital enough additional votes to adopt his financial plan, he might induce a sufficient number of his Northern friends to vote to establish the seat of government on the Potomac. Jefferson had recently returned from Paris, where he had been acting as representative of the Confederation, and had taken his seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State. His distrust and jealousy of Hamilton had not then developed, and he was in substantial accord with his financial views. Although as yet no organized political parties had been formed, Hamilton knew that Jefferson aspired to be the leader of the Southern anti-federalists, and that he would be glad of an opportunity to increase his influence and popularity with the Southern members. To Jefferson, therefore, Hamilton expressed his desire to secure a compromise and an amicable adjustment of the pending controversies.

Jefferson was equal to the emergency. He had returned full of French ideas, and was quite ready to try on his own countrymen the continental method of dealing with political differences. With his assistance the principal advocates of a Southern location for the capital and

the leading friends of Hamilton's measures were brought together. There was a little dinner, with great harmony and a mutual understanding. And so, as a result of this intelligent and judicious log-rolling, differences that seemed incapable of settlement and threatened to disrupt the Union at its outset were harmoniously adjusted, and measures of the most far-reaching importance that had seemed doomed to certain failure received the approval of both Houses of Congress. Hamilton's brilliant financial scheme was enacted into law; Philadelphia became the capital for ten years; and the permanent seat of Government was established on the Potomac. The refunding now proceeded rapidly. The State debts, as finally adjusted, amounted to a sum slightly exceeding \$18,000,000. In addition to the loans for purposes of refunding, the Government was compelled to borrow money to pay its ordinary current expenses. On January 1, 1791, the national debt amounted to \$75,463,476.52.

Before following the subsequent history of the national debt, it is worth while to consider the results that had flowed from the issuing of paper money by the colonies and the Continental Congress. It is impossible, without a clear conception of the losses and ruin which the people of America had suffered through the depreciation of the continental currency, to understand the horror and aversion with which the framers of the Constitution regarded all forms of unsecured paper money.

During the colonial period there was not sufficient specie in the country to meet the demands of business, although foreign coins circulated freely at a fixed valuation or by weight. As late as 1857 Congress fixed the rate at which certain foreign coins should be received for public dues. Owing to this lack of specie the colonies were led, from time to time, to issue bills of credit or certificates of indebtedness. These were originally secured by lands or taxes; but when the dangerous practice of printing money had become familiar and attractive, they were issued with no other security than the credit of the colony. The first colonial paper currency was probably issued by Massachusetts in 1690, to pay the soldiers who had taken part in an unsuccessful expedition against Canada. Before the outbreak of the Revolution all the colonies had fallen into the pernicious habit of issuing unsecured paper currency. We can gain some idea of the difficulties that beset the patriots of 1776, and the temptations which led them into unsound financial practices, when we consider that the total cash in circulation in the country in 1775 was estimated at \$12,000,000, of which not more than \$10,000,000 was in specie. This was less than \$4 per capita,

while the present per capita circulation is over \$25, nearly \$13 of which is in gold and over \$8 in silver.

The Continental Congress, having no power of taxation and no means of raising revenues, was forced by the hard necessities of the war to follow the example of the colonies and issue unsecured bills of credit. The first emission of \$3,000,000 was made in the summer of 1775. By July 4, 1776, over \$15,000,000 had been issued. For about a year this currency circulated at par; but, as the issues increased, it rapidly depreciated. The more it depreciated the more reckless Congress became, until finally Congress and the individual colonies seemed to vie with each other in swelling the volume of this rapidly depreciating paper currency. By 1780 this money had sunk to the ratio of 75 to 1 compared with specie, and thereafter ceased to circulate in the Northern States. It survived a year or so longer in Virginia and the Carolinas, the last services performed by it being rendered at the ratio of 1,000 to 1. The last of these continental bills were lost or destroyed, and the phrase "not worth a continental" had passed into history. It is estimated that the total amount of paper money issued by the Continental Congress was \$241,000,000, and that the colonies issued individually \$209,000,000, Virginia alone issuing over \$128,000,000. To add to the embarrassment of the situation and complete the financial chaos that prevailed in the colonies, England flooded the country with counterfeits of the continental currency, for the purpose of further injuring the credit of the revolutionists.

The total issue of paper currency, amounting to some \$450,000,000, was at the ratio of over \$100 per capita. The rapid depreciation and final obliteration of so great a volume of money upset all values, destroyed the industries of the country, and brought disaster and ruin to many prosperous families. One instance of the effect of this depreciation is especially interesting, owing to the distinguished person who suffered by it. The careful student of Jefferson's writings must be struck by the vigorous and decided views respecting the national currency which he held after the close of the war. He would have no money but metallic money, which must circulate at its commercial value. His recollections of his own experience with paper money were vivid and painful. In 1776, being heavily in debt, he sold lands of great value, taking the purchaser's bond. He was finally paid in the depreciated currency, which turned to waste paper in his hands. On January 5, 1787, in writing from Paris to William Jones, one of his creditors, he thus refers to the transactions:

"In the year 1776, before a shilling of paper money was issued, I sold lands to the amount of £4,200. . . . Great sums of paper money were afterward issued. This depreciated, and payment was made me in this money when it was but a shadow."

In his desire to explain and excuse his failure to pay his indebtedness, Jefferson, when he states that not a shilling of paper money had been issued in 1776, falls into one of his characteristic inaccuracies, which in this instance is entirely inexcusable. He was a leading member of the Continental Congress which began issuing paper money in 1775, and, as we have seen, had issued over \$15,000,000 of this currency before July 4, 1776, while prior to this time his own colony of Virginia had issued over \$1,000,000 in paper.

This episode must have still rankled in Jefferson's mind when, in 1798, he gave utterance to this extraordinary and impracticable sentiment in a letter to John Taylor:

"I wish it were possible to obtain a single amendment to our Constitution. I would be willing to depend on that alone for the reduction of the administration of our Government to the genuine principles of its Constitution; I mean an additional article, taking from the Federal Government the power of borrowing. I now deny their power of making paper money or anything else a legal tender."

It is difficult to see why the continental currency did not constitute as valid a debt of the Confederation as the greenbacks and fractional currency issued during the Civil War are a valid debt against the United States. But the assumption in 1790 of the \$450,000,000 of indebtedness represented by this paper currency would have swamped the new Government at the outset. No serious suggestion was ever made in the Constitutional Convention, or in the Congress of the United States, that any part of this currency should be redeemed. It had long since become worthless; and the people, whether they complained of their losses as the result of robbery, or accepted them cheerfully as a species of taxation, were resigned to the situation and expected no relief. They were determined, however, that their experiences with a worthless currency should not be repeated. The Constitution, although it authorizes Congress to borrow money on the credit of the United States, provides that no State shall emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts. In the opinion of many of our ablest statesmen, including Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison, the emission by Congress of any kind of unsecured, irredeemable paper currency is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

Nothing could portray more strikingly the small beginnings of our National Government than the story of its first loan, entered on the books of the Treasury as "The Temporary Loan of 1789." No one con-

nected with the new Government had expressed a willingness to serve his country without compensation except Washington. In his first inaugural the President had announced his determination to give his services without emolument. When Hamilton entered upon his duties as Secretary of the Treasury, in September, 1789, the officers of the Government, senators, and representatives had received no compensation for their services and no reimbursement of their expenditures. There was no money in the Treasury and no revenue coming in. In this emergency, Hamilton, with his customary resourcefulness, negotiated on his own authority a loan of \$191,608.81, through the Bank of New York in the city of New York, and the Bank of North America in Philadelphia. At this time there was but one other bank in existence in the United States, the Massachusetts Bank, in Boston. Out of this fund were paid the running expenses of the Government including the salaries and expenses of the senators, representatives, and public officials. This first loan of the United States is the only loan ever effected by the Government without the express authority of an act of Congress. It is probable that Hamilton's political enemies in the first Congress excused his temporary disregard of technical restraints, and, with a grateful sense of personal obligation, acknowledged his abilities as a practical financier, even while condemning his views as a constructive statesman.

As we have seen, the national debt on January 1, 1791, was about \$75,500,000. In forty-four years it had been paid in full. It remained nearly stationary until 1806, when it began to diminish, sinking gradually to \$45,000,000 on January 1, 1812. It increased again during the war with England, reaching \$128,000,000 on January 1, 1816. It then steadily decreased until, on January 1, 1835, it had been practically extinguished. At that date the outstanding indebtedness matured but unclaimed amounted to about \$300,000, and the balance in the Treasury in excess of this sum was about \$9,000,000. On January 1, 1836, the surplus was nearly \$27,000,000, and it was then evident from the rapidly increasing revenues derived from the tariff and the sale of public lands that the balance on January 1, 1837, would be much larger. The question therefore arose, what should be done with the surplus.

The account of the disposition of this surplus in 1836-37 forms the most curious chapter in the history of our financial legislation. In those days it was considered unconstitutional to appropriate the national revenues for internal improvements. Such a River and Harbor Bill, for example, as to-day forms a convenient and seductive medium for reducing the surplus, even if it could have been passed by Congress, would

have been vetoed by President Jackson. Two propositions for disposing of the surplus were discussed in Congress. The first was to distribute the money to the States according to their representation in Congress, including one share each to the Territories and the District of Columbia. This, however, was thought to be unconstitutional. The second proposition was to deposit the surplus with the treasurers of the different States, to be repaid to the National Government on demand. This latter proposition became a law as sections 13 and 14 of the act approved June 23, 1836, entitled "An act to regulate the deposits of the public money." These sections provided that the balance in the Treasury on January 1, 1837, after reserving \$5,000,000, should be deposited pro rata, according to their representation in Congress, with those States, which should by law authorize their treasurers to receive the deposits and give a receipt therefor pledging the faith of the State to repay the same at any time upon the demand of the Secretary of the Treasury. These deposits were to be paid in four instalments, on the first day of January, April, July, and October, 1837.

On January 1, 1837, the balance in the Treasury, over and above the \$5,000,000 reserve, was \$37,468,859.97. All the twenty-six States accepted the deposits under the conditions above stated, and the first three instalments were paid in full. Through the courtesy of the Treasurer of the United States, I have recently examined the original receipts given by the States, and the book in which the stubs of the original drafts are preserved. The book still contains a sufficient number of blank drafts with which to pay the fourth instalment, now sixty-four years overdue. The draft, called "State Transfer Draft," is made by the Treasurer of the United States on the cashier of one of the State banks, and orders the money to be paid to the State named "to be placed to my credit by that State, payable on demand." The receipts are on double-page printed forms. On the first page is the receipt signed by the Treasurer of the State; on the third page are instructions in reference to repayment.

This obligation on the part of twenty-six States of the Union to pay into the National Treasury over \$28,000,000 has been so completely lost sight of in recent years that it may be interesting to recall the fact that each State participating in this division of the surplus is bound by its agreement to repay the amount received upon demand of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The withdrawal of the \$28,000,000 from the State banks that were the depositories of the public funds helped to bring on a financial crisis.

By May 1, 1837, eighty-two out of eighty-six of these banks had suspended specie payments. A simultaneous falling off in the public revenues occurred, and a financial panic swept over the country. It became evident even before the payment to the States of the third instalment that, on October 1, the Secretary of the Treasury would have no funds with which to make the fourth payment. A special session of the twenty-fifth Congress met on September 4. On October 2 an act was passed providing

"that the transfer of the fourth instalment of deposit directed to be made with the States under the 13th section of the act of June 23, 1836, be, and the same is, hereby postponed until the first day of January, 1839; Provided, That the first three instalments under the said act shall remain on deposit with the States until otherwise directed by Congress."

On January 1, 1839, the Secretary of the Treasury had no funds with which to pay the fourth instalment, and it is still unpaid. The following table shows the representation of the twenty-six States in Congress, the total amount to which they were entitled under the act of 1836, the amounts actually received, and the amount of the fourth instalment still unpaid:

States.	Number of electoral votes.	Total amount which was to have been deposited with the States.	Amount of three instalments deposited, subject to call by Congress.	Amount of fourth instalment still unpaid.
New York.....	42	\$5,352,694.28	\$4,014,520.71	\$1,338,173.57
Pennsylvania.....	30	3,823,353.06	2,867,514.78	955,838.26
Virginia.....	23	2,931,237.34	2,198,427.09	732,809.03
Ohio.....	21	2,676,347.14	2,007,260.34	669,086.78
North Carolina.....	15	1,911,676.53	1,433,757.39	477,919.13
Kentucky.....	15	1,911,676.53	1,433,757.39	477,919.13
Tennessee.....	15	1,911,676.53	1,433,757.39	477,919.13
Massachusetts.....	14	1,784,231.43	1,338,173.58	446,057.86
South Carolina.....	11	1,401,896.12	1,051,422.09	350,474.03
Georgia.....	11	1,401,896.12	1,051,422.09	350,474.03
Maine.....	10	1,274,451.02	955,838.25	318,612.75
Maryland.....	10	1,274,451.02	955,838.25	318,612.75
Indiana.....	9	1,147,005.92	860,254.44	286,751.48
Connecticut.....	8	1,019,560.81	764,670.60	254,890.20
New Jersey.....	8	1,019,560.81	764,670.60	254,890.20
New Hampshire.....	7	892,115.71	669,086.79	223,028.93
Vermont.....	7	892,115.71	669,086.79	223,028.93
Alabama.....	7	892,115.71	669,086.79	223,028.93
Illinois.....	5	637,225.51	477,919.14	159,306.38
Louisiana.....	5	637,225.51	477,919.14	159,306.38
Rhode Island.....	4	509,780.41	382,335.30	127,445.10
Mississippi.....	4	509,780.41	382,335.30	127,445.10
Missouri.....	4	509,780.41	382,335.30	127,445.10
Delaware.....	3	382,335.31	286,751.49	95,583.83
Arkansas.....	3	382,335.31	286,751.49	95,583.83
Michigan.....	3	382,335.31	286,751.49	95,583.83
Total.....		\$37,468,859.97	\$28,101,644.91	\$9,367,214.67

It is worthy of note that in this distribution of the national revenues the Territories and the District of Columbia were ignored.

By act approved August 13, 1841, Congress repealed all of the act of June 23, 1836, except the 13th and 14th sections, which, as we have seen, provided for the distribution of the surplus with the States in four instalments, and for its repayment on demand. In 1883 the Treasurer of the State of Arkansas made a demand upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the payment to the State of the fourth instalment. The Secretary replied that he must follow in the path of his predecessors, who in recent years had considered the law obsolete. In 1884 the State of Virginia filed, in the Supreme Court of the United States, a petition for a writ of mandamus to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to the Treasurer of that State \$732,809.03, the amount of the fourth instalment. Justice Harlan delivered the unanimous opinion of the Court on March 17, 1884, holding that the Secretary of the Treasury had no authority, without further direction from Congress, to pay the fourth instalment out of any surplus that might have accrued since January 1, 1839. In the course of this opinion, Justice Harlan thus speaks of the situation of the States with reference to the amounts deposited with them:

"Congress has permitted the 13th and 14th sections of the act of 1836, as modified by the act of October 2, 1837, to stand for the purpose, as we infer, of showing not only the terms upon which the States received the first three instalments of deposit, but that those instalments are held by the States subject to be recalled in the discretion of the United States."

The question of the constitutionality of that part of the act of October 2, 1837, which requires an act of Congress to recall the three instalments was not before the court. It is difficult to see how that provision can be sustained. The original deposit act strained to the breaking-point that clause of the Constitution which says, "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law." It could be justified only on the theory that the deposits were still in the Treasury of the United States so long as they were subject to the demand order of the Treasurer of the United States. As a matter of fact, these funds have always been carried on the books of the Treasury as assets of the Government, and appear on page 47 of the last report of the Treasurer of the United States as "Unavailable Funds of the General Treasury." But under the act of October 2, 1837, which provides that these funds shall remain on deposit with the States until otherwise directed by Congress, they cannot be held to be, even technically or con-

structively, in the Treasury. For how can funds be in the Treasury — out of which they cannot be drawn except in consequence of appropriations made by law — if a preliminary act of Congress is necessary to make them available for appropriations made by Congress? If these funds are constructively in the Treasury, then they are subject to recall by the Treasurer in the same way that funds of the Government deposited in the national banks, but constructively in the Treasury, are subject to recall by the Secretary of the Treasury. If these funds are not in the Treasury — if they are on perpetual deposit with the States — then they were taken out of the Treasury in a manner not warranted by the Constitution. This is a technical legal question; but, in my opinion, the provision above referred to in the act of October 2, 1837, cannot be sustained, and the three instalments, now on deposit with the States, are subject to recall in accordance with the provisions of sections 13 and 14 of the act of June 23, 1836. On the other hand, in view of the rapidly increasing surplus in the Treasury, it would not be surprising if some member from one of the twenty-six deposit States should bring before Congress the claim of his State for the unpaid fourth instalment.

As no limitations or restrictions were placed by Congress on the uses which should be made by the States of these deposits, it would be interesting to ascertain what disposition was made of the money received by them, and how readily they could comply with a demand for repayment. A glance at the foregoing table suggests the great changes that have taken place in the population, wealth, and relative importance of these States in two generations. In 1837, Virginia, the third State in the Union, had a population of 1,200,000, and received, as her share of the deposits, \$2,198,427.78, while Michigan, with a population of about 150,000, received only \$286,751.49. To-day Michigan has a population of 2,400,000, while the population of Virginia is only 1,800,000. Where the principal of the fund received by the State has been kept intact, the deposit could be repaid without serious difficulty; but where the principal has been expended, as is the case with some of the States which received the largest amounts, the repayment would cause serious embarrassment.

Two illustrations will be sufficient to show the different uses made by the States of the deposits received by them. The State of Vermont, by act of the Legislature passed in 1836, sought to provide every possible safeguard for the preservation intact of the principal of the deposit fund. Under this law the money was apportioned to the towns accord-

ing to population, and paid to trustees, who were required to give bond, and a receipt for the money, similar to the receipt given by the State Treasurer to the Treasurer of the United States. The funds must be re-apportioned after each census, and the income used for school purposes, unless the town has other funds sufficient to support all its schools for six months in each year, when it may be used for any other purposes. I have just seen the last annual report of the town of Windsor, which shows that its deposit fund amounts to nearly \$5,000, yielding an income for school purposes of over \$200 per annum. The State of Vermont has treated this fund as a temporary deposit, and could at any time recall the allotments to the towns in case repayment should be demanded by the United States.

Another New England State treated the money received in a totally different fashion. Maine distributed the \$955,838.25 which she received among the towns according to population, and the town authorities divided the cash equally among the inhabitants. The account on the books of the State Treasurer was closed in 1838. I have recently talked with a very interesting and intelligent lady, who was living in South Berwick, Maine, her native town, in 1837. She says that she remembers perfectly the distribution of the surplus, and her surprise that a girl of eleven should receive \$2.50 from the United States. She was allowed to spend the money as she pleased, and, on her first trip to Boston, purchased with it a pair of kid gloves. The buttons on the gloves were covered by the kid. When the gloves were worn out she found that the buttons were round seeds. She planted the seeds, and in due time was the happy owner of a flowering plant. If the State of Maine should be called upon by the United States to repay this deposit of \$956,000, this lady would probably have difficulty in realizing on the kid gloves and flowers which were purchased with her share over sixty years ago.

Whatever opinion we may entertain on the abstract proposition that a national debt is a national blessing, we must admit that on the only occasion when we have been without a national debt the existence of a surplus and the desire for its distribution led us into legislation of doubtful constitutionality, the ultimate results of which we have not yet seen. We cannot regard with pride or satisfaction our first and only attempt to deal with a national surplus; and it is to be hoped that if we are fortunate enough to face this problem again we shall avoid the blunders of 1837. The safest way to reduce the surplus is to reduce taxation. For a reduction of taxes is not only a direct blessing to the people, but acts

as an incentive to economy in legislation and to wise appropriations. On the other hand, high taxes, producing a steadily increasing surplus, are a constant invitation to extravagant expenditures.

We have now in the Treasury an available cash balance of over \$175,000,000. This sum is \$100,000,000 in excess of a conservative balance necessary to meet the requirements of the Treasury. As long as holders of Government bonds are asking 108 for the 2 per cent bonds and 113 for the 3 per cents, the surplus cannot be profitably used in purchases for the sinking fund. Our revenues are increasing steadily, and there is every prospect of still further increase in the future. A few months ago the gold in the Treasury passed the \$500,000,000 mark. In August it reached the highest point in our history, \$516,221,252. In view of this favorable condition of our finances, the people have the right to demand a reduction in taxation, to the extent, at least, of the entire repeal of the War Revenue Law of 1898.

The panic of 1837 and the consequent falling off in the revenues compelled the Government to issue Treasury notes at various times during the next three years, for the redemption of which a new loan was made in 1841. Since that time we have never been without a national debt. The highest point the debt reached between 1841 and 1861 was in 1851, when it rose to \$68,000,000, an increase due largely to expenses growing out of the Mexican War. On July 1, 1860, the national debt was \$65,000,000, an indebtedness of \$2 per capita. In 1791 it had been \$19 per capita. During the four years of the Civil War, the Government borrowed nearly three billions of dollars, including the United States notes. This rapid and tremendous increase in the national debt has no parallel. The debt reached its highest point by August 31, 1865, when it was \$2,845,907,626.56. After deducting \$88,218,055.13, the cash in the Treasury, the net indebtedness was \$2,757,689,571.43, or an indebtedness of \$80 per capita. If we wonder at the enormous amount of the obligations contracted by the Government during the four years of the Civil War, we are no less amazed at the rapidity with which these obligations have been cancelled. Within twenty-five years after the war we had paid off nearly two billions of the principal of the debt. The lowest point reached by the debt during the last forty years was on September 30, 1892, when the net debt, including greenbacks, was \$834,622,246. This was an indebtedness of about \$13 per capita.

During the years 1894-96, the Government again sold bonds to the amount of \$262,000,000, to replenish the gold reserve and cover defi-

ciencies in the revenues. In 1898, to obtain funds for the prosecution of the Spanish War, the Government sold bonds to the amount of about \$199,000,000. Under the Financial Act of March 14, 1900, the Government has issued, for refunding purposes, \$446,000,000 two-per-cent thirty-year bonds, payable in gold coin. These are the first bonds issued by the United States payable specifically in gold.

The present net debt, including the greenbacks, reaches a total of about \$1,100,000,000, or an indebtedness of \$14 per capita. The national per capita debt of the United States is less than that of any other great power. The debt of France is \$150 per capita; that of Russia, \$24; while the debt of Great Britain is \$75 per capita. Moreover, it has always been the policy of the United States, except in times of emergency, to reduce its debt constantly, while the debts of all the great European powers are continually increasing.

It was Hamilton who called the debt contracted by the colonies in the War of Independence "the price of liberty." And we may well call the expenditures that have grown out of the Civil War the price of union. To some it may give a fuller conception of the enormous price that was paid in treasure alone to reflect that the expenditures growing out of the Civil War constitute two-thirds of the total expenditures of the United States since the adoption of the Constitution. From March 4, 1789, to July 1, 1900, the United States had expended about \$16,000,000,000, including interest on the public debt. Up to July 1, 1861, the expenditures were considerably under \$2,000,000,000. In 1880 the Secretary of the Treasury submitted to the United States Senate a detailed report, showing that the expenses resulting from the Civil War, down to July 1, 1879, amounted to over \$6,200,000,000. At least \$4,000,000,000 must be added to this figure for expenditures on account of the war during the last twenty-two years; making the total expenditures growing out of the Civil War over ten billions of dollars. It should also be borne in mind, in this connection, that these figures do not include any estimate for unpaid losses sustained by the States, municipalities, or individuals, or for the cost of the war to the Confederacy.

Our national credit was at its lowest ebb in 1860, when the Government was compelled to pay 12 per cent interest for money. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Government 6 per cent bonds were sold at a discount of 10 per cent. The interest paid under the Confederation never exceeded 7 per cent, and Hamilton's refunding loans were made at from 3 to 6 per cent. In 1791 our securities were above par in

Amsterdam, and the credit of the United States was better than that of any European nation. During the Civil War, in spite of the enormous debt contracted, our credit steadily improved, and it was better in 1864 than in 1860. The highest rate of interest now paid by the Government on outstanding bonds is 5 per cent, on the \$22,000,000 bonds due in 1904. If the rate of interest at which a nation can borrow indicates the character of its credit, then the United States, with its two-per-cent bonds selling at 108, has now the highest credit of any nation in the world.

One of the most curious facts in connection with the national debt is that it is impossible to tell, within many millions of dollars, the liabilities of the United States. The books of the Treasury show of course our exact liabilities, should all the obligations of the Government be presented. But no one can tell how many bonds and notes have been lost or destroyed, or are held as curiosities and souvenirs. For example, the Government issued during the Civil War considerable fractional paper currency; the largest sum outstanding at one time being \$45,000,000. Of this sum \$30,000,000 has since been redeemed and withdrawn. In 1879 as much as \$8,000,000 of the outstanding \$15,000,000 was estimated to have been lost or destroyed, and that sum was deducted from the national indebtedness on the books of the Treasury; leaving \$7,000,000 now carried as outstanding. During recent years very little of this currency has been presented for redemption. The amount offered last year was only \$2,400. The greater part of this fractional currency, now carried as part of the debt, will eventually be deducted therefrom. Many millions of outstanding legal-tender notes, or greenbacks, will never be presented for redemption, and the same is true in a lesser degree of the more recent Treasury notes and bonds. The books of the Treasury carry an item called "Old Debt," amounting to about \$1,000,000. It consists of matured indebtedness, most of which was redeemable before 1861. Probably very little of this sum will ever be presented for payment. The books of the Treasury carry many other items of indebtedness which will never be claimed.

The only asset of the Government contained in the Treasury statements of the public debt is the cash on hand. No account is taken of the lands, buildings, ships, arms, and other property of the United States, the value of which has never been fully estimated, but which amounts to an immense sum. The public buildings alone represent a valuation exceeding \$200,000,000.

Hamilton's plan for assuming and refunding the debt of the colonies

contemplated the creation of a sinking fund for the payment of the principal of the national indebtedness. The act of 1790 provided that all revenues derived from duties on imports, and from the sale of public lands, over and above the amount annually appropriated by Congress for the current expenses of the Government, should be applied to the sinking fund. Hamilton laid down the principle that has ever since controlled our financial legislation, that the creation of a debt should always be accompanied by provisions for its extinction.

The Sinking Fund Act of 1862, which is still in force with subsequent modifications and amendments, provides that a certain sum shall be annually set aside for the purchase of the outstanding principal of the public debt. This sum amounts to one per cent of the principal of the unpaid debt, plus the annual interest on the bonds already purchased on behalf of the sinking fund. The present annual requirements of the sinking fund are about \$54,000,000. This fund, however, is satisfied only when the revenues of the country exhibit a sufficient surplus, and outstanding bonds can be bought at such a figure as to make the purchase advantageous to the Government. At the present time the Sinking Fund is about \$345,000,000 short of the amount which would have been realized by its operations had its requirements been fully carried out. If the provisions of the Sinking Fund should be complied with fully in the future, the interest-bearing debt in 1908 will not exceed \$600,000,000, and will probably consist of about \$100,000,000 of the four-per-cent bonds of 1925, and \$500,000,000 of the two-per-cent bonds of 1930. We can thus look to the probable extinction of our debt by 1920.

As the present national banking system is, to a large extent, based on the national debt, the rapid reduction and final payment of this debt will necessitate radical changes in our banking law. On June 30, 1900, there were 3,816 national banks in operation, with a circulation, based on the deposit of Government bonds, amounting to \$274,115,552. On August 28 last there were 4,232 banks, with a circulation secured by bonds of \$328,068,190. Over \$106,000,000 in bonds are also used by the banks that qualify as the depositaries of public funds. Inasmuch as the circulation of the banks is rapidly increasing, while the amount of Government bonds outstanding is constantly diminishing as our debt is becoming extinguished, the time is not far distant when there will not be enough bonds to meet the necessities of the banks. Those who maintain that public debts are public burdens must at least admit that we have made the best possible use of our burden.

The present favorable condition of our national finances, our unim-

paired credit, our fruitful revenues, and our wonderful national resources are largely the result of a faithful adherence to the principles of the financial policy laid down by the first Secretary of the Treasury, whose views on the national debt are summed up in these words in his great Report on the Public Credit:

"Persuaded, as the Secretary is, that the proper funding of the present debt will render it a national blessing, yet he is so far from acceding to the position, in the latitude in which it is sometimes laid down, that 'public debts are public benefits' — a position inviting to prodigality and liable to dangerous abuse — that he ardently wishes to see it incorporated as a fundamental maxim in the system of public credit of the United States, that the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment. This he regards as the true secret for rendering public credit immortal. And he presumes that it is difficult to conceive a situation in which there may not be an adherence to the maxim. At least, he feels an unfeigned solicitude that this may be attempted by the United States, and that they may commence their measures for the establishment of credit with the observance of it."

As we trace the course of our national debt from its origin in the struggle of the colonies for independence through more than a century of national development, and note its rapid augmentation whenever the imperious necessities of war have called for sudden and unusual expenditures, we contemplate with pride the faithful discharge of our national obligations in the past, while we are impressed with the belief that in the future the firmest bulwark of our nation's safety must always be the strength of our national credit.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

LABOR AND THE LAW IN ENGLAND.

THE recent discussion by the British Trade Union Congress of the action of the House of Lords in reversing the decision of the Court of Appeal in the Taff Vale Railway case is of extreme interest and importance to English workmen. It is no less interesting to students of labor legislation in this country, as the trend of legislation in the United States has closely followed that of Great Britain. It is of further interest because of the belief of many earnest men that the greater the recognition accorded to the trade unions the less will be the liability of strikes and the easier it will be to reconcile the differences between labor and capital. To those persons who believe in compulsory arbitration and point to New Zealand as a model to pattern after, the unassailable legal position of trade unions becomes of the first importance, as the whole system of compulsory arbitration is based upon the recognition of associations of workmen.

Last year I was commissioned by the United States Department of Labor to inquire into the effect of certain labor legislation in England, the investigation including among other things the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. My observations on the working of that act were embodied in a report made to the Department and printed in the "Bulletin of the Department of Labor," No. 33, March, 1901. In the government report it was proper to present facts only, not opinions. The present article is based largely on the investigation made for the report and the deductions which legitimately follow.

To understand the privileges and limitations of labor in England at the present day it is necessary to review briefly the history of labor legislation, and to note how labor, once outside the pale of the law, has been given a recognized status, and is now vested with inalienable rights which must be as rigidly respected as those enjoyed by capital. Practically, the workman had no standing in the eyes of the law before 1824. In that year an attempt was made to improve his legal condition, but the actual results were a failure, and it was not until the passage of the Trade Union Act of 1871, its amendatory act of 1876, and the Conspir-

acy and Protection of Property Act of 1875, that the equality of labor was recognized by the Legislature. Curious as it sounds, it is yet a fact that during the last thirty years only has the Parliament of Great Britain admitted that labor was entitled to the same protection as capital and clothed it with a defined status.

Previous to 1824 strikes were practically unknown, for a very simple reason. It was impossible for men to combine to get their grievances redressed. They could not as a body and acting in concert leave their work as a protest against a reduction of pay or hours, because combinations were illegal, and those engaging in them were in danger of the most severe penalties. The great labor disputes which took place previous to 1824 were rather industrial revolts than organized movements to ameliorate intolerable conditions. These outbreaks invariably resulted in attacks on persons and in the destruction of property, and the men who raised the standard of revolt were sent to prison. More than one perished on the scaffold.

In the year 1799, during the reign of George III, an act was passed directed against labor. Some of its penalties are worth quoting as showing the spirit of the age and the brutality of Parliament in dealing with that portion of the population which was compelled to work for others. The preamble declares:

"Whereas great numbers of journeymen, manufacturers, and workmen in various parts of this Kingdom have by unlawful meetings and combinations endeavored to obtain advance of their wages and to effectuate other illegal purposes; and the laws at present in force against such unlawful conduct have been found to be inadequate to the suppression thereof, whereby it is become necessary that more effectual provision should be made against such unlawful combinations, and for preventing such unlawful practices in the future and for bringing such offenders to more speedy and exemplary justice."

This act declared null and void all agreements between workmen for obtaining an advance of wages or for lessening or altering their hours of labor. Upon conviction before a magistrate, workmen entering into any such agreement were to be committed to jail for three months or to the house of correction for two months with hard labor. This punishment was to be awarded to any journeymen or workmen who entered into any combination to

"obtain an advance of wages, lessen or alter the hours of work, decrease the quantity of work, or who by giving money or by persuasion, solicitation, or intimidation endeavor to prevent any unhired or unemployed journeyman or other person wanting employment from hiring himself to any manufacturer or tradesman; or who should, for any purpose contrary to the provisions of the act, directly or indirectly, decoy, persuade, solicit, intimidate, influence, or prevail, or attempt to prevail, on any jour-

neyman hired or to be hired to quit or leave his work, service, or employment, or who should hinder or prevent, or attempt to hinder or prevent, any employer from hiring such workmen as he might think proper, or who (being hired or employed) should refuse to work with any other journeymen employed therein."

Like penalties were enacted for those who attended meetings held for making agreements rendered unlawful by the act, or by any means induced other persons to attend such a meeting, or paid money in support of such a meeting, or collected money from other persons. Nor might anyone contribute to the support of persons who had quitted work. Any sums so collected were forfeit, one-half to the King and one-half to the informer.

In 1824 is to be noticed the first amelioration of the condition of labor. Parliament in that year passed an act repealing the combination laws, and striking off the statute books acts as ancient as the reign of Edward I. This legislation, however, did not produce the desired results; and in the following year an act was passed containing the important provision that it should not be unlawful for persons to meet "for the purpose of consulting upon and determining the rates of wages or prices which the persons present at such meeting should demand for their work." Compare this with the statute of George III, and it will be seen what a long stride had been made toward progress and freedom. Still, great dissatisfaction existed. The interpretation of the law was left to the courts, which practically reenacted all the harsh provisions of the combination acts by declaring that labor combinations were unlawful at common law, on the ground that they were in restraint of trade. There was a long period of agitation and discontent, until, in 1859, a law was passed which declared that workmen were not to be held guilty of "molestation" or "obstruction" under the act of 1825 for simply entering into agreement to fix the rates of wages or the hours of labor, or to endeavor peaceably to persuade others to cease or abstain from work to produce the same results.

But once more the courts nullified the intent of the lawmakers, and a commission was appointed to investigate the subject. The result of this investigation led to the passage of two acts—the Trade Union Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the latter repealing the acts of 1825 and 1859. This new act made stringent provisions, as against both masters and men, to prevent coercion, violence, threats, following, molestation, and obstruction; but there was no prohibition against doing or conspiring to do any act on the ground that it was in restraint of trade, unless it came within the scope of the enumerated prohibitions.

Before calling attention to the Trade Union Act, it is well to notice the judicial view entertained of trade unions a few years before. In 1867 the Court of Queen's Bench sustained the court below in dismissing a complaint against the defaulting member of a society because one of its main objects was "that of a trade union and the support of members on strike," which was declared to be illegal. The act of 1871, if it did not absolutely change the judicial aspect, at least materially modified it. The opening paragraph of the act tells in a sentence the victorious culmination of a struggle which the working-men had waged for centuries. "The purposes of any trade union," reads the act, "shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful, so as to render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise." The act declared that trade unions were not unlawful for civil purposes; prescribed rules for their proper conduct and government; created the machinery for their registration; defined their powers to purchase and own property; permitted them to sue or be sued touching their property; limited the responsibility of trustees; fixed penalties for the punishment of crimes against the unions; and made the necessary rules and regulations to safeguard their interests. In a word, trade unions were at last legalized.

"It was now thought," to quote from Mr. John Burnett, of the British Board of Trade, "that strikes as ordinarily conducted were legal and safe, provided the limits here set forth were not exceeded, and it was certainly assumed that men on strike were not now liable to prosecution for criminal conspiracy." But in the year following the passage of the act some of the firemen employed at gas works in a London suburb went on strike "under circumstances which rendered them liable for breach of contract," the maximum penalty for which was three months' imprisonment. The men, however, were indicted for conspiracy; the judge held that they were guilty of that offence; and they were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The severity of this sentence, and the impression it again created, that once more a law had been enacted only to prove powerless to afford the protection which was the motive for calling it into existence, led to the passage, in 1875, of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, certainly one of the most important statutes regulating the relations between capital and labor in modern times.

Section 3, which contains the essence of the statute, provides that "an agreement between or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade

dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime." That is to say, any act legal for one person to do or perform is legal when done in conjunction with others. It gave the workmen all for which they had been contending. It gave them the right to strike, either as individuals or in combination with others, and the fear of an indictment for conspiracy no longer assailed them. "The third section of this act," in the words of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, "distinctly legalizes strikes in the broadest terms."

Passing over other sections not material at this time, attention must be directed to the seventh section, scarcely of less importance than the third. Any person who uses violence or intimidation, persistently follows another person, hides his tools or other property, watches or besets his house or the place where he works, or follows him with two or more persons in a disorderly manner, is liable, under section 7, to a fine not exceeding £20 or imprisonment for three months; but "attending" near the house or place where a person resides or works in order merely to obtain or communicate information is not watching or besetting within the meaning of the section.

The passage of this act caused the workmen great satisfaction and their employers equal apprehension. It is a remarkable commentary on the judicial interpretation of statute law that after twenty-five years the positions of the two sides have been reversed. Many workmen would heartily welcome a repeal of the law, while the masters, who dreaded its enactment, would resist to the utmost its abrogation. That men can strike, or do in combination that which before was declared illegal, has not weakened the position of the employer; he has found his real strength in the prohibitions of the seventh section, which make it easier to prosecute dissatisfied workmen who attempt to interfere with those willing to take their places. Under the provisions of that section frequent prosecutions have been brought charging men with intimidation and violence, and the definition of these words is a nice nut for the lawyers to crack. As a general thing the courts have given a broad construction to the act, and have shown a disposition to protect workmen against coercion in any form, even when there was no actual violence or danger of physical assault. For example, a carpenter was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment for following a man about from place to place. Picketing a piano manufacturer's premises together with the publication of his foreman's name in a black-list was declared by the Court of Queen's Bench to be "a malicious act, which is in law and in

fact a wrong act, and therefore a wrongful act, and therefore an actionable act, if injury ensues from it." The plaintiff was awarded damages, and an injunction was granted.

It was not until 1897 that a judicial decision again threw open the doors of controversy. This ruling, in conjunction with the Taff Vale decision recently rendered by the same tribunal, will lead to still further changes in the law. In 1894 Flood and Taylor, two shipwrights, working for the Glengall Iron Company, were discharged. They were men of excellent character; they had served an apprenticeship to the same company; and their work gave satisfaction. They had been taught to work both in iron and wood. The Boiler-Makers' Society objected to the employment of men who were workers in both iron and wood, and demanded the discharge of Flood and Taylor. The manager of the works protested against their discharge; but the boiler-makers called in their delegate, Allen, who told the manager that unless the obnoxious men were discharged a strike would be ordered. Allen frankly told the manager that his union had no ill feeling against the employers or against any men in particular, but that the union was fighting for a principle, and that the employers had no option as the union was in a position to enforce its demands. Referring specifically to Flood and Taylor, he said that the men were known, and that wherever they were employed the same action would be taken, even if it became necessary to tie up every ship-yard on the Thames. Flood and Taylor were accordingly discharged that day.

The men brought suit against Allen in the Court of Queen's Bench, and each recovered damages of £20. From this decision Allen appealed to the Court of Appeal, where the judgment of the court below was affirmed. A further appeal was then taken to the House of Lords, the court of last resort. The case was argued for four days in 1895. In 1897 their lordships required further argument, and the case was resubmitted, the arguments consuming six days. The case was deemed of such great importance that the Lords did a thing done once in a generation, calling in eight of the most eminent judges in the kingdom to whom they submitted this question: "Assuming the evidence given by the plaintiffs' witnesses to be correct, was there any evidence of a cause of action fit to be left to the jury?"

The judges asked time for deliberation, and three months later delivered their opinions, the majority of them of considerable length. Of the eight judges, six sustained the lower courts, while two answered their lordships' question in the negative. The opinions of the judges were

simply to assist the Law Lords in reaching their conclusions and were not the judgment of the court. Six months after the judges had rendered their opinions the decision of the House of Lords was rendered, the judgment of the court below being reversed and the appellant granted the costs of prosecuting the appeal, in the court below, including the costs of the trial. Of the nine members of the House of Lords who heard the case, three — the Lord Chancellor and Lords Ashbourne and Morris — dissented from the majority. It will be seen that the majority opinion of the judges who were called into consultation was ignored. The report made to the Department of Labor thus sums up the decision :

"Put in the concisest form the judgment of the highest court of the British Empire is: Where an act is lawful in itself the motive with which it is done is immaterial. To induce a master to discharge a servant, or to induce a person not to employ a servant, though done maliciously and resulting in injury to the servant, does not give him any cause of action."

The far-reaching importance of this decision can be easily appreciated. Not only did it break down many of the restraints of the law, both civil and criminal, but, as Lord Morris said in his dissenting opinion, it overturned the overwhelming judicial opinion of England. The law relating to malicious discharge, it was supposed, was well settled and governed by the two leading cases of *Lumley v. Gye*, and *Temperton v. Russell*; but these precedents were swept aside and a new interpretation was given to statutory enactment. The Lord Chancellor, in concluding his opinion, concisely summarized the situation when he said :

"I regret that I am compelled to differ so widely with some of your lordships, but my difference is founded on the belief that in denying these plaintiffs a remedy we are departing from the principles which have hitherto guided our courts in the preservation of individual liberty to all. I am encouraged, however, by the consideration that the adverse views appear to me to overrule the views of most distinguished judges, going back now for certainly 200 years, and that up to the period when this case reached your lordships' House there was an unanimous consensus of opinion; and that of eight judges who have given us the benefit of their opinions, six have concurred in the judgments which your lordships are now asked to overrule."

The announcement of the decision by the House of Lords was regarded by the workmen as another sweeping victory. They considered that their position had been immensely strengthened, and that by being legally permitted to hold over an employer the threat of a strike, unless men obnoxious to them were discharged, they had a powerful weapon in their hands. But the employers were also quick to see that it gave them a weapon which might prove formidable if properly employed. If the law permitted officials or members of trade unions to threaten non-

unionists or others with loss of employment, or to threaten employers with suspension of work unless they discharged objectionable men, *ex pari ratione* employers could legally refuse to employ members of a trade union in case of molestation of non-unionists by their fellow-workmen. In other words, both threats to strike and threats to lock out had been legalized, and the threat might be converted into an act without subjecting the doer of the act to a civil or criminal prosecution. This is especially important in view of the common practice of agreements and contracts between employers and their men. If an employer broke his contract or agreement with his men, he would be liable to damages for breach of contract. Under the dictum laid down in *Allen v. Flood* he incurred no such risk. The net result is that while the workmen have gained in some things they have lost in others; and while they now have an additional weapon in their armory, it has frequently been as destructive to themselves as to their enemy.

We now come to a consideration of the Taff Vale Railway case, which is another chapter in the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor. The railway company had a difference with some of its employes which led to a strike. The merits of the case are not important, neither are the efforts made on both sides to avert hostilities. The strike was ordered by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, a powerful labor union, and the railway station at Cardiff was picketed by the strikers. The railway company thereupon applied for an injunction against Bell and Holmes, two officers of the Amalgamated Society, to restrain them from watching and besetting the station and adjacent property, claiming that their actions were in violation of the seventh section of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The injunction was granted. The railway company next applied for an injunction against the society, naming Bell and Holmes as two of its officers, to restrain the defendants from watching or besetting the property of the plaintiffs, or the residences of their workmen, for any purpose except merely to obtain or communicate information, and from inducing any persons to violate their contracts with plaintiffs.

The society strenuously opposed the granting of the writ of injunction on the ground that the society, being neither a corporation nor an individual, could not be sued in a quasi-corporate or any other capacity, and that an action in tort would not lie. Mr. Justice Farwell, in disposing of this point, while conceding that a trade union "is neither a corporation nor an individual, nor a partnership between a number of individuals," maintained, basing his conclusion on analogous cases, that a trade

union was a corporate body and as such qualified to sue or be sued. In September, 1900, Justice Farwell in the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division, granted the injunction prayed for.

The trade unions were up in arms. If the position of Mr. Justice Farwell was sound, and sustained by the higher courts, trade unionism, instead of being an element of strength to its members, would become a positive weakness. The decision of Justice Farwell was, in effect, that trade unions were responsible for the acts of their members, and that, being legally responsible, they became civilly liable for damages in case an injury was done by a member. This made the gravity of the decision from the standpoint of the trade unions. The courts had frequently awarded employers damages against individual members of the unions — as in the case of the piano firm above mentioned, and many other recorded instances — and the award had always been a barren victory, as the average workman has no money with which to pay the judgment; but if the union was to be held responsible, the situation was entirely changed, as many of the unions have large funds to their credit.

The importance of having Justice Farwell's decision reversed led the trade unions of the country to support the Amalgamated Society in carrying the case to a higher court. It came on for hearing in the Court of Appeal, before the Master of the Rolls, and Lords Justices Collins and Stirling, on November 12, 1900. The opinion of the court, delivered by the Master of the Rolls with the concurrence of the other justices, was that the society could not be sued as a society. The Master of the Rolls pointed out that in the trade-union acts there was no provision empowering a trade union to sue or be sued, except in defence of its own property. The court went very fully into this; discussed elaborately the intent of the Legislature in omitting any provision for the bringing of an action by a trade union; pointed out wherein a trade union differed from a joint stock company; and reached the conclusion that the action was not maintainable against the society, and that its name must be struck out and the injunction against it dissolved. The defendants were granted costs, and the plaintiffs were given leave to appeal to the House of Lords.

Appeal was taken and decision rendered on July 22 of the present year; the House of Lords overruling the Court of Appeal and sustaining Mr. Justice Farwell in the position that a union was a legal entity capable of suing and being sued. The Lord Chancellor, in moving that the appeal be allowed, said:

"In this case I am content to adopt the judgment of Mr. Justice Farwell, with

which I entirely agree, and I cannot find any satisfactory answer to that judgment in the judgment of the Court of Appeal which overruled it. If the Legislature has created a thing which can own property, which can employ servants, and which can inflict injury, it must be taken, I think, to have impliedly given power to make it suable in the courts of law for injuries purposely done by its authority and procurement."

The courts having decided that a labor union may be sued, the Taff Vale Railway Company entered suit against the Amalgamated Society for £20,000 damages. That suit has not yet come on for hearing, and will be contested on both sides to the bitter end. If the case should be decided against the Amalgamated Society, it will lead to a complete change in the management of labor unions. The Trade Union Congress sitting at Swansea at the time this article is written has the question under consideration, and the unions have already discussed the necessity of appealing to Parliament for a modification of the law under which they have a legal existence.

Some of the labor leaders believe that the decision will be to the ultimate advantage of the unions, as compelling employers, for their own protection, to deal solely with the unions and ignore non-union men, because the unions are responsible for their acts, while individual men can escape civil liability. If this same doctrine is applied to this country — if, for instance, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers were in danger of being cast in damages for inducing men to break their contracts with the United States Steel Corporation and go on strike — might not that fear have a restraining influence? With that suggestion I leave the question for others to discuss.

A. MAURICE LOW.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

UNDOUBTEDLY a characteristic feature of modern society is the tendency to form organizations made up of those individuals who hold similar ideas on some particular topic. This growing propensity is far removed from that of the primordial communistic and tribal society, being in purpose distinctly intellectual, not industrial. So we have trades unions, secret societies, political clubs, social clubs, scientific societies, religious societies, charitable associations, and so on almost without end. With rare exceptions, the individual now finds that he can accomplish little in the way of social reform unless he works in conjunction with others who hold like opinions. Therefore it is, in part, that we have medical societies, in addition to other organizations.

No doubt the general reader will at first thought consider that the discussion of the subject of medical organization should be confined to medical publications; but I hope in a few words to convince him that, on the contrary, this topic is of interest to every citizen of the Republic. To a considerable extent the medical profession is misunderstood by the public, and its societies are regarded largely as playgrounds for the doctors, just as the secret societies are for laymen. It is my aim to set forth clearly the true objects of medical organization, and to demonstrate the benefits that the commonwealth would derive from its perfection.

The attitude of medicine toward the world to-day is very different from that which obtained up to comparatively recent times. It is not so long ago that medicine was encumbered by a mass of superstition, ignorance, and charlatanry; but nearly all of this incubus has been swept away by the development of the natural sciences and the consequent growth of rational medicine. When we consider what scientists in the various fields related to medicine have done for that profession, we find that the ideal of modern medicine is the prevention of disease, that is, the very destruction of the physician's means of gaining a livelihood — a unique situation. It follows naturally, then, that the medical profession wishes to be understood and aided by an enlightened public intelligence.

As a result of the recent strenuous application of the scientific

method to medical research, with the consequent revolutionizing of medical education, the medical profession is to-day in a transitional stage, out of which there is rapidly emerging a true "new school of medicine," as has just been eloquently proclaimed by the President of the American Medical Association, Dr. Charles A. L. Reed. The day of "beliefs" in medicine is gone forever. The medical sects founded on metaphysical dogmas are rapidly becoming matters of history, in consequence of the steady diffusion of accurate scientific knowledge of the cause and nature of disease. *A priori* reasoning no longer determines the action of the physician.

There can be only one science of medicine, even as there is but one science of chemistry, of astronomy, of botany, of physics, or of physiology. Now that physicians must be thoroughly trained in the basal natural sciences, it is obvious that their methods of meeting the conditions of actual practice must be to a great degree similar, and that their education totally unfits them for applying any exclusive theory of treatment to the facts of nature as encountered in the disordered functions of the diseased human body. Only a man totally ignorant of physiology, or else wholly devoid of moral sense, will attempt to maintain that any exclusive method can be effectively employed in dealing with the infinitely varied forms of disease. The new school of medicine, then, is the logical outcome of the development of the natural sciences, and it is eminently rational. The address of the President of the American Medical Association at its annual meeting held at St. Paul, Minnesota, last June, contained the following statements concerning this point:

"He who now proclaims a dogma cries alone in the night, while the world sleeps. They who demand a creed may read its varying terms only in the progressive revelation of natural laws. Practice has changed. . . . Prevention is given precedence over cure. Education implies research and discovery, and all may delve. I proclaim, events proclaim, the existence of a new school of medicine. It is as distinct from the schools of fifty years ago as is the Christian dispensation from its Pagan antecedents. It is the product of convergent influences, of diverse antecedent origin. It acknowledges no distinctive title, it heralds no shibboleth. It is a school of human tolerance, of personal independence, of scientific honesty. It is the slave of neither prejudice nor preconception, and abandons the accepted truth of yesterday, if it only be the demonstrated error of to-day. It places no premium upon personal prerogative, and extends no recognition to individual authority. It makes no proclamation of completeness, no pretension to sufficiency. It recognizes that truth is undergoing progressive revelation, not ending to-day, but continuing through the ages. It yields its plaudits to achievement, and recognizes that he is the greatest among men who reveals the most of truth unto men."

The opening of the new century having thus brought to physicians a realization of the essential unity and interdependence of all true medi-

cal knowledge, there has arisen spontaneously in the medical profession a general demand for better methods of organization. It is recognized that some of the most beneficent practical results of modern medical science will not be enjoyed by the citizens of our cities, counties, States, and nation until they are enforced by legislative enactment, or until they receive general recognition and approval. Further, it is perfectly patent to physicians that individual effort will not command the attention of the lawmakers and of the public, and that only through thorough organization can the medical profession effectively accomplish its duty. Here it is that the value to the commonwealth of effective medical organization appears clearly. In the medical societies the conflict of opinion ends in the supremacy of the views promulgated by the leaders in scientific medicine, and the verdict can then be given public force as the collective opinion of the profession. The very weight of numbers, backed by intelligence and by a compact organization reaching into every county in the Union, will give momentum to demands upon legislators and administrators for improved sanitary conditions, and for the enforcement of ordinances tending to protect the people from unnecessary illness and from the crimes of charlatans.

Broadly speaking, medical organization may be said to have two purposes. The first is that of self-improvement, of increasing and extending medical knowledge and skill, and of protecting the material interests of the profession. The second is to give freely to the public the benefit of accumulated knowledge and experience, chiefly in the shape of measures for the prevention of disease. The first object, therefore, is pardonably selfish, though the public directly profits by the increase of skill in the treatment of disease; while the second is wholly altruistic. The following quotation from the new constitution of the American Medical Association gives a clear idea of the purposes of the medical profession in reorganizing its societies:

"The object of this Association shall be to federate into one compact organization the medical profession of the United States, for the purpose of fostering the growth and diffusion of medical knowledge, of promoting friendly intercourse among American physicians, of safeguarding the material interests of the medical profession, of elevating the standard of medical education, of securing the enactment and enforcement of medical laws, of enlightening and directing public opinion in regard to the broad problems of state medicine, and of representing to the world the practical accomplishments of scientific medicine."

Medical organization, then, while directed to eminently practical ends, is dominated by high ethical ideals; and its unwritten creed is chiefly characterized by an active, sensible, and genuine altruism. The

living exponents of the ethics of medicine being very human, it should cause no unusual disappointment to find that their daily path is strewn with mistakes, shattered hopes, and the other familiar evidences of the imperfection of human nature. These evident shortcomings must not be allowed to obscure the faithful effort of those who constantly strive to raise the profession nearer to its almost impossible ideals. The medical profession has yet many vexed and difficult problems of social polity to work out within its own borders; but it is nevertheless in a position to-day to give to the world knowledge and effort that promise to lengthen life, to mitigate suffering, to prevent disease, and in general to improve the conditions of civilized existence.

The general reader has not had the opportunity to learn of a significant event which occurred at St. Paul, Minnesota, in June, 1901, during the fifty-second annual meeting of the American Medical Association. The report of the committee on reorganization, including a new constitution and by-laws, was adopted with remarkable unanimity in a convention of 1,806 educated men gathered from all parts of the country. The new scheme of organization gives the legislative and fiscal work of the Association to a compact body of not over 150 delegates, who are to be elected by the State medical societies. Thus, true representative government is provided for. In addition, the Association asked the various State societies to adopt similar plans of organization, in which the county medical society shall be the unit. In passing, it may be noted that in some States — Alabama, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Indiana, and New York — the medical profession is already organized on essentially similar lines. When the present plans are finally executed, the medical profession will have an organization in every county in the Union, from which by delegate representation will arise the State organizations; and these in turn will directly elect the legislative portion of the American Medical Association.

The profession is surprisingly aroused at the present time, and is everywhere considering improved methods of organization. In many States committees appointed by the State medical societies are working out harmonious plans, and another year will witness some of the results of this general revival of interest. It is no longer an idle dream, but merely a look into the near future, to picture the secretary of the American Medical Association in constant communication with the secretaries of each State society, and through them with the secretaries of the county societies. When this goal is reached, it will be a simple matter to concentrate the good influence of the medical profession upon that

point at which, at a given time, it is most needed, whether this happens to be a city council, a State legislature, or the national Congress.

With such a ubiquitous, coherent, and well-integrated organization, permitting immediate communication between the physicians of every county in the Union, and their simultaneous action, it is perfectly evident that the medical profession will possess a powerful engine of political influence — a “machine.” Such being the case, it is fair to ask the purpose to which this machine will be set. To give some answer to this question is one object of this paper. The public has a right to know why the physicians wish to possess political power, and the medical profession desires the public to appreciate its aims and sympathize with them.

No surer index of the future has ever been found than the intelligent study of the past. What have been the public relations of medical societies hitherto? Medical societies have urged the passage of quarantine bills, have led the way in creating boards of health, and have inspired and written laws that check the spread of contagious disease. They have compelled the States — most of them — to enact laws prescribing an increasingly high standard of education for men who wish to practise medicine; and, contrary to common belief, it is the public which reaps the entire benefit from these laws. In Ohio, in Alabama, in Colorado, and in other States, medical societies have effectually punished public officials who were negligent or careless in matters affecting the public health. Medical societies have asked, again and again, for the passage of additional laws and ordinances intended to ameliorate some of the unfavorable conditions of civilized existence. These demands have as yet usually gone peacefully to sleep in the legislative pigeon-hole, because the looseness of medical organization did not threaten the legislators with loss of votes, and because councils, legislatures, and Congress have been too busy with “politics” to find any time to listen to a few troublesome doctors asking the enactment of legislation that would perhaps tend to lengthen human life, but would not immediately increase the number of votes.

When the new plans become effective, the doctors will not expect to waste on the same set of legislators a second request for laws in the interest of the preservation of public health. Doctors, when they choose to act, are excellent politicians, because they come intimately in contact with the masses, and because they rarely ask political favors for themselves. Therefore, the present agitation and general agreement among physicians as to the necessity for complete organization spring from a

desire on the part of the medical profession to accomplish in behalf of humanity that beneficent work to which its ideals bind it and for which its education fits it.

To organize the medical profession effectively and completely will cost money, time, and effort; but this fact will not deter the movement. Beyond doubt the medical profession will pay for its own organizing, particularly as such an object is not likely to appeal to the philanthropist as worthy of endowment. In reality, funds could hardly be set apart for a more generally useful purpose, when ultimate results are considered; but the returns from the investment would not be tangible, readily seen, or as prompt as the benefactor usually desires.

In closing, it will not be inappropriate to point out the manifest mission of medicine in the twentieth century. In the first place, physicians all over the world will continue with increasing energy to pursue their researches into the cause of disease, with the consequent effort to find new and improved means of prevention and cure. In the second place, the medical profession, when thoroughly organized, will teach the general public the means that have been found to reduce the amount of illness and to increase the general longevity, and will compel legislative bodies to give more heed to the ever-pressing necessities for improved sanitary laws. It will demand laws to check the adulteration of food, and to prohibit the sale of patent medicines containing poisonous drugs. It will also insist that our quarantine methods be made more effective, and that health officers be given greater authority. These and an almost indefinite number of other details of state medicine will be authoritatively dealt with by the organized medical profession of the twentieth century. There is every reason for the general public to watch and encourage the efforts of the profession of medicine during the years to come.

P. MAXWELL FOSHAY.

THE COLONIZATION OF SIBERIA.

REGARDED in the perspective of history, perhaps no event of modern times, with the exception of the discovery of America, exceeds in importance the colonization of Northern Asia by a European population. With a single exception, all the European powers in their enterprises in Asia have been restricted by both geographical and racial conditions to holding, by military force and on an expiring lease, territories which they may subjugate and rule, but cannot permanently make their own. They are met at every point by races less civilized and virile, but not less numerous or tenacious, than their own; and although they may succeed in consolidating their rule by the imposition of artificial political institutions, they know very well that their dominion cannot for a single day survive the destruction of their military power.

Russia alone seems exempted from this law that Europe and Asia can never be permanently united; and in comparison with her assimilation of the whole of Northern Asia, the diplomatic and military struggles of the Western powers to establish themselves on other parts of the continent sink into insignificance. The interest of this assimilation is all the greater since, on examination, it appears to be primarily the product of statecraft, partaking, until quite a recent date, less of the character of popular impulse than any event of comparable importance in the history of the world. Thirteen years ago, indeed, the number of voluntary immigrants settling in Siberia in each year hardly exceeded the number of convicts and exiles deported there by the authorities. Yet the population even then exceeded that of many European states; and although it was spread over an area in which most European states would be an inconsiderable patch, it was so distributed as to leave no doubt of the ultimate absorption of the country by the Russian race alone.

Though the system of registering and controlling emigration to Siberia dates back to 1881, the present improved conditions have existed since 1896 only. In that year took place two important events which have done more to ameliorate the conditions of emigration than all the official regulations and legislative enactments of the previous fifteen

years. The first of these events was the completion and opening for traffic of about 1,000 miles of the Trans-Siberian Railway, from Tchelabinsk to the Obi, and the consequent supercession by Tchelabinsk of Tiumen as the threshold of Northern Asia. In pre-railway days Tiumen played to Siberia a very similar part to that formerly played by Orenburg to Central Asia; and its decline did not begin until 1893, when the railway from Tchelabinsk was completed to Kurgan on the Tobol. In that year, though the great majority of emigrants continued to go through Tiumen, about 7,000 adopted the Kurgan route; and in 1895, on the opening of the railway to Tomsk, only 17,000 emigrants passed through Tiumen, while 90,000 passed through Tchelabinsk. In 1896 the number of emigrants increased enormously, and while 190,000 passed through Tchelabinsk only 12,000 took the river route from Tiumen; and, as the latter were for the greater part emigrants to the forest lands near Tobolsk and Tara, the triumph of the new route was definitely established. Tiumen has been saved from decline to the condition of a village only by the recent construction of the railway from Kotlas to Perm.

The immediate consequence of the opening of the railway was an immense increase in the comfort and safety of the emigrants. Although the new route was at first even less adequately equipped than the old for coping with heavy traffic, the advantages of quicker transit, freedom from long delays, and greater reliability more than compensated for the absence of special provision for the emigrants' needs. Transport by steamer probably afforded more comfort than the crowded fourth-class railway trucks, but the slowness of movement, due largely to stoppage by frost in winter and by want of water in summer, led to indescribable destitution and suffering among the emigrants. A decade ago Tiumen and the riparian towns of Western Siberia presented during certain months of the year the appearance of vast camps, where thousands of emigrants were crowded together without money or food, waiting for the steamers which were to take them on the long journey for a fortnight to Tomsk or for twenty-five days to Barnaul. The mortality resulting from this overcrowding and destitution was immense. Even as late as 1894, out of 56,000 emigrants passing into Siberia no less than 3,000 perished on the way; and the mortality in earlier years was still heavier. On the opening of the railway in 1896, out of 190,000 emigrants passing through Tchelabinsk not more than 700 died, while in 1899, out of 220,000 men, women, and children who entered Siberia, all but 300 reached their destinations safely.

The decrease in mortality within the last three years is not, how-

ever, due to the railway alone. During and since its construction many other steps have been taken to better the condition of the emigrants. The chief of these are the distribution of reliable information, and the construction of barracks, hospitals, and dining-rooms all along the line, where shelter, medical aid, and hot food are supplied to the emigrants gratuitously or at nominal prices. From Tchelabinsk every emigrant train is now accompanied by a sanitary wagon, fitted with three beds for the sick, a medicine chest, and other necessities, and in charge of a trained nurse. But while the mortality has greatly decreased the sanitary condition of the emigrants still leaves much to be desired. The so-called "emigrant trains" are composed of fourth-class carriages, fitted with stoves in winter, but with little other convenience; and, owing to the deficiency of rolling stock all along the line — especially on the Trans-Baikal section, where last February there were no first or second-class carriages at all — overcrowding is still common, children being the chief sufferers. A petition was recently presented to the Emigration Department for the construction of better carriages for emigrant traffic, but this reform is more difficult to carry out than might be expected. The wave of immigration is by no means equably spread over the year, but increases from about 10,000 in January to nearly 60,000 in May; so that special emigrant wagons, if provided in sufficient numbers, would remain idle for the greater part of the year.

But the most important step toward improving the conditions of the emigrants is the establishment of the Emigration Depots, which are now situated at short intervals all along the railway line from Tchelabinsk to Stretensk, and also on the Amoor and Ussuri and the chief rivers of Western Siberia. These depots are established not only at all the principal towns, but also temporarily at the centres of emigration for the time being. Siberia in the present year contains over thirty, at nineteen of which are stationed emigration officials whose duty it is to advise the emigrants as to the position of suitable land, and to confirm them in possession. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has also lately opened a large number of stores of agricultural implements and machinery, at which the settler can procure nearly everything necessary that he may begin farming on easy terms.

The second event which marked the year 1896 contributed perhaps even more than these reforms to improve the conditions of emigration. Up to that year the colonization of Siberia was regarded by the Russian Government as a question of high politics which must be shrouded in absolute secrecy. The press was even prohibited from publishing the gov-

ernmental regulations and statistics; and the emigrant peasants hurried or were hurried into the colony, not only without sufficient provision for their needs on the way, but without knowing anything of the country in which they were to settle. Within the last four years this policy has been completely reversed. A Department of Emigration has been formed in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; publicity has been given to statistics and to terms of settlement; and the regulations have been reformed, and at the same time more strictly enforced. A systematic study of the resources of the country has been undertaken; and for the last two years pamphlets written in simple language have been issued at nominal prices, combating the false ideas prevalent in Russia as to the nature of Siberian life. The Russian peasant's conception of Siberia, like that of more enlightened Western Europeans, has oscillated between abysmal wretchedness and elysian felicity; and in Russia, as in Western Europe, it is the latter conception which tends to gain the upper hand to-day. But the more prudent emigrants had long been in the habit of despatching pioneers, or home-seekers, to examine the country and select lots; and in 1896 this system of pioneering, the fruit of much bitter experience, was officially recognized, a year later being made obligatory upon all intending settlers upon the Crown lands.

The policy of the Russian Government in recent years as to emigration is not very easy to define, but it is by no means characterized by indiscriminating approval, as is sometimes stated. M. Kulomsine, a member of the Siberian Committee and one of the highest authorities on the subject in Russia, flatly denounced the present mania for emigration as an "undesirable phenomenon," and, after an examination of the conditions of Siberian agricultural life, straightway distributed, in the provinces from which the majority of the emigrants come, half a million pamphlets in which he openly discouraged the peasants from leaving their present homes. Many official Russians also declare that emigration, by removing the surplus population, retards the introduction of a more intense agriculture, and at the same time diminishes the supply of agricultural laborers; but as the efflux from Russia has not averaged more than 140,000 for the last seven years, while the yearly increase in the population is nearly 1,500,000, neither of these objections would seem to hold water. The pamphlets issued by the Emigration Department for the information of intending emigrants indicate, however, considerable scepticism as to the advantages of the movement, and lay continual stress upon the laborious nature of Siberian life, and the large proportion of emigrants who return disillusioned every year.

While the peasants in no way share this view — a popular proverb declaring that "Siberia is a gold mine" — it is certain that they emigrate under the influence of severe economic pressure only, for two-thirds of the emigrants come from a few of the more thickly peopled provinces, chiefly from Poltava, Tchernigof, and parts of Kharkof and Kursk, where the average allotment of land is not more than four and a quarter acres per head, and where some whole families possess less than an acre and a half.

While the stringent regulations now governing emigration to Siberia have abolished to a great extent the disorder and abuses of the old system, they have entangled the whole process in a network of bureaucratic formalities; and the preliminary steps which must now be taken by every intending emigrant are enough to make all but the most resolute desist. Before making any movement at all, the emigrant must seek the advice of the local authorities, and obtain a certificate of his suitability and capacity. Permits to emigrate are no longer easily obtainable, but are frequently refused on such grounds as "insufficient means," "physical disability," and "want of working power in the family;" the regulations laying it down that only "good farmers and taxpayers" are to be granted permits. The provisional permit is given only to the head of the family or some other able-bodied member of it, who, having taken the advice of the emigration officials at Tchelabinsk as to the nature and location of the available lands, is sent at a nominal fare into Siberia, where he is free to examine all the lots available. If he is successful in finding suitable land, he must first have his choice approved at the local Emigration Office, the title being endorsed upon his pioneer's certificate. Afterward a final permit to emigrate is given to the remaining members of his family, who follow him on special terms as to railway fares, monetary assistance, and exemptions; the poorer obtaining grants or loans to enable them to set up house and purchase the necessary implements. Formerly this assistance was given liberally, but the present policy of the Government is to encourage emigration by the more prosperous and thrifty peasants only, and monetary assistance is now restricted to small amounts seldom exceeding from fifteen to twenty-five dollars, and then nearly always in the form of a loan repayable without interest within ten years.

But before the final decision to emigrate is taken, the number of requirements to be satisfied is so great that it is not difficult to understand why not thirty per cent of the pioneers undertake the responsibility of bringing their families from home. For while Siberia as a whole contains the natural resources necessary for nearly all forms of agriculture, these

resources are very unevenly distributed, and there is no single district which does not oppose to great natural advantages certain serious drawbacks. All the best agricultural land has long been occupied; and the pioneer, who has only some two months in the year in which he can satisfactorily examine lots scattered over a great area, must compromise a hundred conflicting interests before he can be sure of making the best selection. He must consider the nature of the land, whether dry, marshy, or salt, the question of water-supply, whether wood exists in sufficient quantities and of the right quality both for building and fuel, and whether the crops raised are those to which he has been accustomed in Russia. He must inquire as to the system of agriculture practised — Siberian land requires much heavier work than Russian — the losses from thieves, disease, wild beasts, and insects; the question of markets and means of transport; and the cost of establishing a home. He must ascertain whether the local inhabitants have emigrated from the same district, and speak the same dialect as himself.

But the most difficult question of all is as to the possibility of obtaining ready money from other sources than agriculture. Of late years this question, which plays an immense part in the economic life of the peasants of European Russia, has become one of great difficulty; for the railway, while facilitating the sale of produce, has deprived the settlers along the old Siberian track of the large profits which they formerly made in the transport of goods, and has consequently rooted them more firmly than ever to the land. Though this deprivation is merely temporary, the bitterness which it has caused among the old settlers may be judged by the fact that the frequent destruction of the wooden bridges by fire is attributed to the desire of the residents to revenge themselves for the loss of their means of livelihood. The emigrant must also consider the question of education and religious instruction. And, having settled all these problems, he must consider whether it is preferable to bring out all his family at once, or, as the authorities recommend, to leave part of it for the first few years to make its way at home.

The country in which he can obtain a satisfactory settlement or compromise of these conditions no longer comprises all habitable Siberia, or even a considerable part thereof. All the best lots, especially those adjacent to the railway line, have long been occupied; and even of the uninhabited, but habitable land, only an insignificant proportion is available for settlement in any one year. The policy of the emigration authorities is to open periodically for settlement certain limited areas, and only on their complete occupation to look about for new. Though these dis-

tracts are small, and at any given time limited in number, they are situated immense distances apart, being distributed variously over forest-land, black earth, and steppe, so that emigrants from any of the three cultivable zones of Russia may find agricultural conditions similar to those to which they have been accustomed at home. The Crown lands available for settlement are classified, therefore, not according to geographical situation, but according to natural conditions; and well-advised emigrants settle in their corresponding zones, though such forethought is by no means common, and various local factors tend to modify the rule. The authorities, however, divide the free land into four classes — steppe lands, the Barabinski lands, mountain lands, and forest lands. Of these by far the greatest room for settlement is to be found in the last.

The steppe lands now open for settlement are all situated in the Akmolinsk territory, the total population of which, including Kirghiz nomads, was under 700,000 in 1897; showing an increase of about 400,000 since the census of 1858. The Akmolinsk lots are level, and contain some excellent black earth on which wheat is grown; but much of the land is unfit for the growing of cereals, though pasturage is abundant. Drought and the steppe-locust are the plagues of the Akmolinsk settlers, and water, except in the district of Omsk which is well supplied, is obtainable only by sinking deep wells. Wood also is unobtainable for either building or fuel. In 1899 steppe lands were also available for settlement by the side of the railway line in the province of Irkutsk; but these lands, which are very limited in area, are closed to immigrants in the present year. In the Irkutsk steppe lands, as in Akmolinsk, wood for building cannot be obtained, and a dry season sometimes means the total destruction of the crops. In this district of Irkutsk all Russian crops are raised, but winter wheat is sometimes destroyed by want of snow. The advantage of the Irkutsk steppe lands for settlement is the comparatively high price of produce; wheat rising to 75 cents a *pood* (36 lbs. avoirdupois), and meat to \$1.75, a price never obtained in Western Siberia.

The scarcity of wood, which plays an indispensable part in the life of the Russian peasant, is the chief drawback, and even more than the absence of water retards the settlement of the steppes. Though the wealth of Siberia in timber is great it is very unevenly distributed, and the deficiency which has already been experienced occurs precisely in those localities where the development of other natural resources is greatest. The south of Tobolsk, the middle regions of Tomsk, and the north of Akmolinsk especially suffer from this scarcity; the present supply being

insufficient for the needs of the railway and of the local population. Even in the north, the immense area nominally occupied by forest land gives a wholly false idea as to the amount of actual wood available; for fire and the axe, combined with ignorance, have desolated vast areas formerly covered with thick forest. So severely, indeed, has the scarcity of wood been felt throughout Siberia that the Ministry of Agriculture was compelled to send a commission of experts to examine and report upon the question. The investigations of these experts were limited to the provinces of Tobolsk, Tomsk, Yeneseisk, and Irkutsk, and to the territory of Akmolinsk; and their reports, which have since been published in a book, were to the effect that although Siberia still possessed vast areas covered with forest, most of the settled localities already suffered from scarcity of wood, while in the unsettled portions of the country the forests were rapidly vanishing through fires. Thus, in many of the settlements where wood for fuel is obtainable without difficulty, building wood must be transported hundreds of miles, and can be procured only at a high price. Wood from the Crown forests is supposed to be sold to the settlers at a reasonable price; but the buyer must pay the cost of transport, which often exceeds the value of the wood. The settlers also complain bitterly of the extortion of the factors, who cheat them over the measurement, and subject them to long delays while the wood is being cut.

The second field for settlement in Siberia is the so-called Barabinski steppe, which is in reality not a steppe at all, but contains wood in large quantities, though, as elsewhere, very unevenly distributed. It occupies a large part of the Tomsk, Barnaulsk, and Kainsk districts of the province of Tomsk, but only in the Kainsk district are lots now available. The land here is black earth, and the Kainsk district is well supplied with water, the country being dotted with depressions in which water collects in the spring. Irrigation is carried on from these sources by means of small canals. In the lots at Kargat wood is obtainable both for building and fuel, but in most of the settlements wood for building is brought by river. The climate is comparatively mild, and winter wheat cannot be raised. The Barabinski steppe also has its distinctive plague, which carries off immense numbers of cattle, and occasionally even attacks human beings.

It may be seen from this that neither in the steppe lands of Akmolinsk and Irkutsk, nor in the semi-steppe of Baraba, can be found the natural resources necessary for the easy and automatic enrichment of which the emigrant too often dreams. The so-called "mountain lots,"

which constitute the third official division of Siberian lands available for settlement, have also their peculiar drawbacks. These mountain lands lie chiefly in the Minusinsk district of the province of Yenesei, at a distance of 220 miles from the railway; and, although they may be reached by steamer in three days from Krasnoyarsk, in winter they are quite isolated. The soil here is excellent for agriculture, and water is plentiful; but the cultivation of hillside patches is a new experiment for most Russians; and the morning frosts of early autumn do great damage to the crops. The number of lots in this district is very limited; wood is very plentiful in some parts, and in others very scarce. During the present year mountain lots have also been opened in the Kansk and Krasnoyarsk districts, the lands in both lying along the river Manath to the south of the railway. The land in these districts, as in Minusinsk, is a light fertile black earth, and all Russian crops are grown except winter wheat.

Owing chiefly to limitation of area, the mountain lands do not offer any extensive field for emigration. By far the greatest field for settlement now remaining free lies in the forest lands which are scattered over the provinces of Tobolsk, Tomsk, Yeneseisk, and Irkutsk. This is the *taiga* — or *urman*, as it is called in the extreme West — a hundred years ago a trackless wilderness of coniferous trees, but now containing vast spaces which, with a little clearing, are suitable for human habitation. Within the present century immense areas of this forest land, once thickly covered with larches, pines, and cedars, have been desolated by fire, being succeeded by birch and aspen; which in their turn have fallen victims. The spaces cleared by these successive processes of destruction are covered with a fertile argillaceous soil, which may be tilled for several years without improvement. But the forest lots, like the Barabinski steppe, in one respect belie their name; for while the steppe is enriched with considerable wood, the forest lands contain clearances extending over tens of thousands of acres without a single tree. In most places, however, wood for fuel is plentiful, and sufficient is found for building. Winter rye is grown throughout the forest lands; but the crops both in spring and autumn are liable to damage from severe morning frosts.

Although a considerable area of habitable forest land still remains unoccupied, the lots at present open for settlement are limited both in number and extent. In Tobolsk only the two districts of Tarsk and Turinsk are at present receiving emigrants. The Tarsk lots lie along the rivers Shish and Tui, affluents of the Irtysh, and the Turinsk lots, which are reached from Tiumen, to the west of the Tobol. Every Russian

crop except millet can be raised here, but buckwheat, an important constituent of Russian food, does badly. The forest lots in the province of Tomsk lie in the districts of Tomsk and Mariinsk, and here neither buckwheat nor millet can be raised. The Yenesei forest lots are situated in the Atchinsk and Kansk districts, the latter at a considerable distance from the railway. The settlers here cultivate all Russian cereals except millet. In the Irkutsk forest lands the same crops are grown; but here only five sections of the Nizhneudinsk district and two sections of the Balagansk district are now open for settlement.

At the present time nearly all immigration into Western Siberia is restricted to the forest *taiga*. No other lands are free; and the obtaining of suitable settlers, who are capable of coping with the hard conditions of forest life, presents a problem of great difficulty. Within the last two years, however, there has been introduced into this difficult country, with excellent results, a new immigrant element, consisting of White Russians from Minsk, Vitebsk, and Moghilef. The superiority of these emigrants for the peopling of the forest arises from the fact that they find there, more than any other Russian peasants, conditions resembling those to which they have been accustomed at home. The terms upon which leasehold land is held in White Russia, and especially in Moghilef, are very onerous. The payment of rent in money is unusual, the land instead being held for the peculiar "sheaf-rent," under which the lessee, while providing his own seed, is compelled to deliver to the landlord two sheaves out of every three, and, in the case of meadow land, even three-quarters of the crop. As a consequence of this system, large purchases of forest land have been made from the landowners in recent years, and throughout the forests of Moghilef a vast number of new settlements have suddenly sprung up, completely isolated from the older villages, and among conditions which closely resemble the *taiga* of North Central Siberia. The rapid increase in the population of Moghilef has stimulated emigration; and now in the forest settlements of Kansk alone more than one-fifth of the colonists are natives of this province, while many thousands more are hidden away in the forests of Tobolsk and Tomsk.

The demarcation and assignment of all these lots are the work of the emigration officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; but the conditions under which these officials work no longer resemble in any way those of the past. In pre-railway times the free inhabitants of Siberia lived at will and in abundance, but practised no methodical system of agriculture, and having sown and reaped in their temporary settlements quickly

abandoned them for new. But at the present time, owing to the gradual occupation of the country, many of the new lots must be formed out of this abandoned land. Most of the Siberian soil now remaining virgin is either inferior in quality or is uncleared and unready for settlement.

There are, however, two fields now open for settlement in addition to the Crown lands above described. These are, first, the Altai division, and second, the superfluous communal lands of the old settlers. The Altai division, which stands on a different footing from the Crown lands, being the patrimony of the Emperor, comprises the Barnaul, Biisk, Zmeinogorsk, and Kusnetsk districts of the province of Tomsk, and seven sections of the Tomsk district. Since 1899 this field of settlement has been closed until the emigrants already there shall have become permanently settled. Settlement is, however, allowed on the communal lands of the old residents, both in the Altai division and on the Crown lands; the consent both of the commune and of the authorities being required. Formerly the quantity of superfluous land attached to the settlements of the old residents was very great, and immigrants were gladly incorporated without payment. At the present time, most parts of Siberia, and especially the Altai division, contain hundreds of communes where the lands are already overcrowded. Incorporation in these communes, of which lists are compiled and published every year, is strictly prohibited. As settlers on the communal lands of the old residents undertake none of the duties of the pioneer, they receive neither monetary nor other assistance; and the payment for incorporation is high, sometimes amounting to fifty dollars for a single person. The acceptance of new settlers must also be approved by the head man of the commune and not less than two-thirds of the members; and the immigrant must first be released from his communal obligations at home, paying up all arrears of land-tax, and removing or providing for his dependents.

On the shores of Lake Baikal the colonization of what may be called Old Siberia ends. But farther east, on the banks of the Amour and Ussuri, lies a more promising country still, which has evoked the praises of all Western travellers, and which dazzles with its fabulous riches the imagination of the Russian peasant. But here, as in Western and Central Siberia, the greater part of the more fertile land has already been occupied. In the old settlements there now remains only sufficient land for about 2,000 families, and on these the authorities settle immigrants without the preliminary consent of the old residents. The other free lands available for settlement lie to the north and east of Blagovestchensk, between the Zeya and Bureya affluents of the Amour; but even in this

limited district the most fertile land is already settled. In 1899 additional lots were opened on the north of the Tom, a westward-flowing affluent of the Zeya; and here immigrants are allowed to choose their own allotments, subject as elsewhere to the approval of the authorities. This is a rich black earth district, flat near the Amour, but with a hilly configuration as it recedes. The advantages of this district, as of the rest of the Amour and Ussuri, are the high and constant prices of all kinds of produce — wheaten flour rising to one dollar, and meat to two and a half dollars a *pood* — and the great demand for labor which enables the settlers to supplement the scanty profits which they derive from agriculture.

Chita, Stretensk, and Blagovestchensk are the emigration centres of the Amour. These towns were formerly very difficult of access from the West, a distance of 440 miles having to be traversed by a hilly and difficult track to Chita, the capital of the Trans-Baikal. The construction of the Trans-Baikal railway has, however, abolished this mode of transit, and Chita may now be reached by train, the emigrants thence descending the Shilka on rafts. Other emigrants travel by train to Mitrofanof, about ninety-three miles farther, where steamer navigation begins. The extension to Stretensk, although nominally completed, owing to the absence of rolling stock, and other deficiencies, is not yet fit to cope with heavy traffic, and only a small proportion of emigrants travel so far by rail. The journey from Stretensk to Blagovestchensk takes five days. The delays and extortion of the steamship companies until lately were the subject of bitter complaint by the emigrants; the captain of one of the tug-boats on one occasion even cutting an emigrant barge adrift in order to take back to Chita a more valuable cargo.

The emigration centres of the Ussuri country are Vladivostock, Nikolsk, and Khabarovsk, and on both the Northern and Southern Ussuri lots are now open for settlement. The northern lots lie to the south of Khabarovsk, along the Khor and Kiya affluents. The country here is hilly and well wooded and the soil fertile, and there are excellent facilities for the sale of produce, the value of which increases as one goes east. Meat here costs \$3.50 a *pood*. Settlement on the Southern Ussuri is restricted to the land lying between the sea, Lake Hanka and the Chinese frontier, and the rivers Ulakha and Sudzuka. All the best land at Lake Hanka is already occupied, but the settlements have large quantities of superfluous land. At this point the soil is black earth, and wood is deficient. The other districts are hilly and wooded.

Emigration to the Ussuri is largely carried out by means of the

Odessa-Vladivostock Volunteer Fleet. The emigration authorities estimate every year the number of settlers for whom land can be found, modifying their estimates by the capacity of the transports, which are required to carry not only emigrants, but also troops, material for the Ussuri railway, which is still cut off from the main line of the Siberian railway, and exiles for the Island of Saghalien. Peasants desirous of emigrating to the Ussuri must first obtain a permit from the Governor of their province, and permits are not given except to skilled farmers and prosperous men. These emigrants are required to pay for the transport of their families, which costs on an average from \$200 to \$225, and in addition to lodge with the authorities a sum of \$150, which is returned to them on arrival. From 4,000 to 5,000 emigrants adopt this route every year. Although the accommodation on the fleet is beyond comparison superior to that of the steamers and barges of the Siberian rivers, the length of the voyage, some 13,000 miles, the uncleanness, overcrowding, and prolonged confinement, combined with the sudden changes of climate, result in a heavy mortality compared with that of the railway route. The cost of transport on the Volunteer Fleet is also high, being with provisions about \$40 a head, while the journey from Moscow to Stretensk by rail, and thence by steamer to Khabarovsk, including provisions, costs less than \$12.50. The land route is also nearly three times shorter, so that it is probable that the Volunteer Fleet will soon have to find another source of income than emigrant traffic, and the partial supercession of the steamer is likely to exert on the Russian mercantile marine an influence which the Government by no means desires.

The population of the Amour and Ussuri, which passed into Russian hands less than half a century ago, is now composed of about 100,000 ordinary settlers and 30,000 Cossacks. In natural advantages there is little to choose between the two districts, although winter on the Amour is colder and lasts a month longer than on the Ussuri, the rough climate with its comparative absence of snow precluding the possibility of raising winter crops. Winter wheat is grown only among the woods. On the Upper Amour agriculture is hampered by the prevalence of severe morning frosts, which are met with as early as August. The climate of the Zeisk-Bureysk district, however, favors a greater variety of crops; the agricultural conditions to a great extent resembling those of Northern Manchuria. Though wood for fuel is plentiful in all the settled localities of the Amour and Ussuri, the destruction of the forests has resulted in a scarcity of building wood in many districts. The heavy rains of summer are another great inconvenience to Russians who are accustomed

to autumn rains at home. Horses also are dear, and heavy losses are caused by the Siberian plague. The settlers regard inoculation, which is the only effective preventive against this disease, with distrust.

Although considerable difficulty still exists in reaching many of the actual lots which are now being settled, communication with all the great centres of Siberian colonization is now very easy; and the railway fares, both for pioneers and for actual emigrants, are trifling, working out at about one cent for ten miles. It is now possible for the pioneer to travel from Moscow to Omsk, a distance of 1,870 miles, taking eight days, for a fare of two dollars, and to Tulun, where the emigrant detrains for the Nizhneudinsk steppe lots — a distance of 3,162 miles from Moscow, taking $13\frac{1}{2}$ days — for less than three dollars. Unfortunately for the emigrants, however, the railway fare represents but an inconsiderable fraction of the cost; and the transport of a whole family and its settlement on the land is estimated to entail an expense of \$35 for the province of Tobolsk and \$50 for the province of Tomsk. Where railway communication ends, sometimes long journeys must be made by steamer or by road, and both these means of transport are comparatively dear.

Thus the emigrant to the Akmolinsk steppe-lands, after detraining at Petropavlovsk, must travel 305 miles by the track before reaching his destination; and, although several of the settlers bring their own horses from Russia, most are obliged to hire or purchase conveyances on the spot. The cost of this increases as they go east, a pair of horses and two country carts costing \$150 on the Amour. The Minusinsk hill-lands on the Yenesei also lie several hundred miles from the railway, some emigrants detraining at Atchinsk, while others go by train to Krasnoyarsk, and take steamer on the Yenesei; the journey from Krasnoyarsk to Minusinsk taking three days and costing half a dollar a day. The forest lands of Tobolsk are reached from Omsk, from which station the emigrants steam for two days down the Irtysh to Tara. Emigrants from Northeastern Russia still go by the old Perm-Tiumen route, and thence by steamer to Tara. The forest lots in Tomsk are very scattered, and emigrants detrain either at Mariinsk or Tomsk, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ days from Moscow. Kansk, which lies twelve days from Moscow, is the centre of the Yenesei forest settlements; and the Irkutsk forest lands are reached from Nizhneudinsk or Tulun. Of the methods and cost of transport to the settlements on the Amour and Ussuri I have already spoken.

The above description of the free Siberian lands and of the system upon which they are now being peopled applies only to the regular or certificated emigrants, who have discharged all their communal obliga-

tions in Russia, and whose settlement in their new homes is under the immediate supervision of the administrative authorities. In addition to these there is a very considerable element of irregular immigrants, who form at first the landless proletariat of the country, and afterward play a very important and beneficial part in its economic life. Though the policy of the Russian Government, especially since 1897, has been to keep at home all families whose resources and working power are insufficient to cope with the difficult conditions of Siberian life, the measures taken to this end are largely ineffective, and the number of peasants who have left their homes surreptitiously, without observing the necessary formalities, tends to increase every year. A large proportion of these emigrants are intercepted on the way, and sent back to their villages on foot, as is done every day with the peasants discovered without passports in the great towns of Russia. But immense numbers succeed in entering Siberia by unrecognized routes, and now in every town and trading settlement, as well as in most of the villages from Tchelabinsk to Lake Baikal, are hundreds of these unofficial emigrants, who, being unable to acquire land for farming, occupy the positions of domestic servants, drivers, and day laborers, or engage in petty trading operations.

As in April and May, the time of high water in the immigrant stream, a great demand arises for temporary labor, they find no difficulty in obtaining employment; and on the subsidence of the immigration wave they migrate to the villages, where labor for harvest work is equally scarce. Being unable to settle on the Crown lands, they seek to attach themselves to the communes of the old settlers; but this step, as I have elsewhere explained, is a costly one, and they are therefore compelled to live unattached for years, migrating periodically from town to country and from country to town, until they have saved sufficient to enter the communes as regular members. The number of settlers of this type living in the villages or belonging to the lowest rank of the urban population cannot be estimated; but in 1897 no less than 1,000 were attached by imperial decree to the communal lands in the Altai division alone.

The opinion of the best authorities is that by their thrift, and the discipline and knowledge of local conditions which they acquire in their days of servitude, these irregular immigrants form one of the most hopeful elements in the Siberian population. That this view is shared by the authorities may be concluded from the fact that the Siberian Committee lately recommended that their return to Russia was undesirable. The cost of emigration more often than not represents the savings of years; and whether the emigrants remain in the colony, or return home disillu-

sioned, in most cases they must begin their lives anew. Many authorities now recommend that as long as free lots remain they should be divided among these irregular immigrants after the needs of the authorized immigrants have been satisfied. But as such a measure would probably lead to all the paupers and vagabonds of Russia thronging into the colony, it is hardly likely to be adopted.

The number of unauthorized emigrants who return to Russia every year is very large, constituting about thirty per cent of the total number who return. The seventy per cent of regular emigrants who return may be divided into three classes: (1) returning pioneers who have failed to discover satisfactory lots; (2) pioneers who have obtained land but have failed to settle; and (3) settlers who have been established in the country for more than one season, but have failed to make their way. The pioneers who return owing to failure to obtain land divide in their turn into two classes, some having examined lots in several districts, and found none suitable, while many others, after consultation with the officials at the Emigration Depots, return home without even having made an examination of the land. The latter are almost invariably peasants who have left their homes bewitched by the current tales as to the boundless wealth of Siberia, and who are discouraged at the first glimpse of the truth. Of the pioneers who examine the land many fail to find suitable lots owing to ignorance of the primary condition of emigration — that they should settle under conditions similar to those to which they have been accustomed at home.

But, whatever be the cause, only a small proportion of the pioneers who enter Siberia decide to remain there. In 1897, out of 16,000 pioneers who crossed the Urals, 11,000 returned home; and in 1898, out of 50,000 pioneers 36,000 returned, only 14,000 deciding to remain. In the first nine months of 1899 as many as 32,908 pioneers left Russia, but only 9,287 determined to emigrate, the remaining 23,600 preferring their state at home. It would be a mistake, however, to set these figures down to the discredit of Siberia as a colony; for an analysis of the motives of the returning pioneers shows that only a small proportion were influenced by dissatisfaction with the country. "Administrative reasons" accounted for thirty per cent of those who returned; twenty-one per cent were deterred from emigrating by the high price which was demanded for incorporation in the communes of the old settlers; while only nine per cent returned for "economic reasons," and seven per cent owing to "natural conditions." The fundamental cause seems to have been that the number of lots ready at any one time is insufficient. In addition to the

pioneers who decided not to emigrate, there returned to Russia in the first six months of 1899 no less than 38,268 souls, nearly all of whom had lived in the colony for several years, and had failed to settle on a durable basis.

That the disadvantages of Siberia as a colony which I have mentioned incidentally — the deficiency of wood, the absence of markets, the difficulty of obtaining work in winter, and the losses from insects and disease — combine to make settlement in Siberia much less attractive for the Russian peasant than is generally supposed, the statistics of returning emigrants sufficiently show. The returns of the tax collectors seem to point to the same conclusion. Notwithstanding the various exemptions and grants of assistance, the indebtedness of the settlers for government taxes increases every year, and Siberia is now beyond all comparison the most deeply indebted part of the Russian Empire.

Recent comparative statistics on this subject are not procurable; but an analysis published by the well-known authority Professor Karishef shows that the average indebtedness of Siberia for government taxes in the period 1889-94 was nearly twice as great as that of European Russia. The arrears due on all years up to 1888 amounted to 88.6 per cent of the yearly assessment, and in 1894 they had risen to 182.3 per cent of the yearly assessment, an increase of indebtedness amounting to nearly 100 per cent of the assessment. In 1889 the proportion of the year's taxes remaining unpaid was 8.6 per cent of the assessment, but in 1892 it rose to 25.6 per cent, falling somewhat in the following two years. Professor Karishef attributes this immense increase of indebtedness to the defects of the system of taxation; not merely because the system is bad in itself, but because the assessment is incommensurate with the resources of the settlers, if regard is paid to the absence of remunerative work and the long period necessary to obtain a prosperous footing on the land. In other words, a system of taxation which is tolerable in European Russia is altogether beyond the strength of the Siberians at the present stage of the development of the country.

But all drawbacks notwithstanding, the population of Siberia has more than doubled itself within the last forty years. Since it has been found that the natural increase of the convict population is inconsiderable, the greater part of this increase must be attributed to immigration and to the natural increase of the free inhabitants. How long the increase will continue at this rate it is impossible to predict; but if the present flood of immigrants, exceeding 200,000 a year, should continue, the population forty years hence will be much more than double its pres-

ent strength. It is probable, however, that when the limited area of cultivable land now available is occupied, immigration will decline, or will increase only commensurately with the development of the mineral and industrial resources of the country. That a vast expanse of country may be considered nearly fully peopled when occupied by a small population seems to be shown from the figures relating to the province of Tobolsk, the population of which increased in forty years less than forty per cent, while the population of the adjacent province of Tomsk has trebled in the same period. These figures seem to show that forty years ago Tobolsk contained nearly as many inhabitants as it could sustain under agricultural conditions, the immigrant flood since that time being forced farther east, owing to the difficulty of obtaining cultivable land.

With the gradual filling up of the land, exile vanished from Western Siberia, and at the beginning of the present year it was, with a few exceptions, abolished altogether. The system played, although unintentionally, an important part in the opening of the country. The civic prosperity of the colony demands more ordered and conscious efforts, and now, not only for the criminal convict, but for the outcast of the commune, and for the very poorest peasant, Siberia no longer extends its old hope of regeneration and prosperity. It is recognized that the future development of the country must be the work of a stronger and more laborious class, equipped with sufficient monetary resources, and fortified with higher ideals than the mere instinctive desire to escape from the burdensome conditions of life at home. This change of conditions was inevitable in Siberia, and it is very loudly insisted upon in all the later publications of the Russian Emigration Department. Indeed, the only consideration which prevents the establishment in the colony of a proprietary class who would receive large grants of land, and be liable to carry out improvements within a limited period, is the fact that such a measure, when tried some years ago in Orenburg and in the Caucasus, was seen to be impracticable. It was found that the new landlords abused their property for purposes of speculation, and that the measure invariably ended in the subdivision of the property, and its transfer into peasant hands. It is not likely that the adoption of such a scheme in Siberia would meet with any greater success. R. E. C. LONG.

THE SOUTH AFRICA OF TO-MORROW.

THE South Africa of a hundred years hence is as much a matter of pure conjecture as the America of the same period. In the conditions of that time we of to-day have no direct personal interest. With the South Africa of the present generation and its successor we have some concern. Prophecy is futile, but there is warrant for a consideration of probable developments regarded in the light of known conditions. In the light of such conditions, it is safe to say that many years must pass before the territory which England has recently annexed as a result of the war in South Africa can become far removed from a state of primeval desolation. Two generations were required to make this region what it was prior to the outbreak of the war. It was then a combination of a few mining camps, two or three of which attained the dignity of small cities, and an area of some 167,000 square miles supporting a white population, outside of those engaged in the mining camps, of probably not over 175,000.

At the beginning of the last century, the white population of the whole of South Africa was estimated at about 25,000. A century of natural increase and of immigration from England, Germany, Holland, Portugal, and elsewhere saw this number raised to about 750,000. The occupied area in the year 1900 covered 1,500,000 square miles, and included governments by English, Germans, Portuguese, and those descendants from the Dutch and the French whom we know as the Boers. Of the 750,000 people, one-half, consisting of English and the descendants of Dutch and French, were residents in Cape Colony, on an area of 221,311 square miles, averaging a population of about 1.7 to the square mile. Two-thirds of the remainder were credited to the Transvaal, and included probably 125,000 who could rightly be called transients. The latter were men of all classes and grades of society, drawn to the region in the hope of becoming rich through its gold deposits, and with no intention of settling permanently in the country or of adopting it as a home, politically or otherwise. These, with their fellows in other mining camps of South Africa, in Kimberley, Rhodesia, and the

then Orange Free State, were the *uitlanders* of the Transvaal, and the equivalent of *uitlanders* in the other districts.

A rough approximation from these figures gives a South African area, under English or Continental rule, of nearly 1,250,000 square miles, with a white population of about one person to every six square miles. This represents a century of general development in South Africa. The calculation is quite legitimate. I leave out nothing but Cape Colony, the oldest and most populous section, with its 1.7 of population to the square mile, and that which is quite distinctly a transient population connected with the mining industry. The remainder, with its vast area and its limited population, is the real South Africa.

The development of new countries proceeds along certain lines in response to certain laws. Three primary conditions are requisite. There must be: (1) The possibility of producing something which is required or desired in the world's markets; (2) the possibility of placing such productions in the world's markets in competition with other producing centres; and (3) a producing population.

Until the markets of the world find for the possible products of South Africa a greater need than that which exists to-day, that land may be excluded as a factor in competition, by reason of its natural conditions, and the fact that those conditions present no warrant for any early extension of transportation facilities sufficient to place its products in the general market. This must inevitably affect the question of an immigrant population, inasmuch as the object of emigration is a betterment of conditions. A new home in a strange land must offer some fair prospect of such betterment before any considerable tide of immigration can be anticipated.

Around its eastern and southeastern border, South Africa shows a coast strip of tropical and sub-tropical country. Tropical fruits, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, rice, and the common vegetables of all lands, are among its present productions. But there is no specialty, and in the raising of none of these is there any manifest advantage over lands which are more readily accessible to the market. Before a large part of this area could be made available in any way, there must be devised some means of stamping out the deadly fevers which prevail, notably in the more northerly sections.

Behind this coast strip, which includes barely ten per cent of the South African area, there runs, virtually paralleling the coast for a distance of 1,600 miles, the abrupt and rugged wall of the Drakensberg, or Qathlamba. These mountains rise from 6,000 to 12,000 feet above sea

level. To the west of them, there lies the great South African interior. Cape Town, Durban, and their surrounding country are in South Africa rather than of it. Behind these mountains lies the central plateau, the great veldt, the real South Africa. This stretches westward for hundreds of miles, until it slopes, somewhat gradually, to the Atlantic coast. Its western area includes the barren wilderness of Damara and Namaqualand. The real South Africa begins in Cape Colony, and runs northward for more than a thousand miles, when it sinks into the heart of the great continent. If asked to name its chief characteristics, I should mention its loneliness and desolation.

As the early New England settlers sought an inhospitable coast in a new land that they might escape a condition which they regarded as religious oppression, so did the Boers leave the more fruitful and more habitable land of Cape Colony to escape what to them was political oppression. With some coincidence of motive for their movement the comparison stops. The Pilgrims had the advantage of a water front, which meant not only ready transportation, but, as well, the special industries of fishing and ship-building. In climatic conditions the trekking Boer had a distinct advantage over the Pilgrim. In the supply of timber for his many needs and uses the Pilgrim had all the advantage. One group fought its many disadvantages, grew, and developed. The other yielded to conditions, and became — Boers.

As the Boer of to-day is largely a product of environment, it is a reasonable prediction that those who inhabit the same region in the future will be much as he has been, until there is open to the people of the land a desirable market as a stimulus to more active industry. Production is useless unless there is provided the means of a fairly profitable disposition of the product. To gridiron with railways an area of 1,500,000 square miles of such country purely as a development scheme would involve a real estate and railway speculation beyond anything yet undertaken in the world of finance. Such a scheme would also entail an irrigation system which would make anything yet undertaken in our own West seem like child's play.

No fair comparison lies between the development of South Africa and that of the mining country of Colorado or California. In those States, fifty years of labor have turned mining districts into ranches, farms, and gardens; into health and pleasure resorts; and into manufacturing centres whose investments and profits outstrip those of mining enterprises. But the natural conditions of those districts were wholly different from those presented by the South African veldt. What is

known as South Africa covers an area practically equivalent to the sum of that of the following States and Territories: Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. Cape Colony and its dependencies cover an area more than four-fifths of that of Texas. This portion of the United States to-day shows a population of upward of 7,000,000. This is the work of fifty years. But the world needed the endless variety and the vast quantity of the products of that section, and the section could place its products in the market in successful competition with those of other districts. The tide of immigration has rolled into that part of the United States because of the inducements offered to the homeseeker, by reason of possible production and distribution. Railroads have stimulated settlement, and settlement has led to an increase in railroads and railroad facilities. South Africa offers scant inducement to either railroad or settler, to essay the hand-in-hand march which has made America's great Western frontier. South Africa may produce gold and diamonds for the enrichment of the few. It is handicapped in the production of corn, cotton, wheat, beans, and potatoes, for the enrichment of the many.

Mining, as a distinct industry, attracts and provides for no more than a comparatively limited population. In South Africa, nearly all the manual, and practically all the unskilled, labor required in the mines is done by Kaffirs at prices and under conditions which make no appeal to the white man. Nor is it in any way likely that mine managers will make any change in this system because of any change in the form of government. It is officially reported that in 1898 there were 12,413 whites employed in the mines of the Transvaal. Upon that basis it is probable that a total of from 15,000 to 16,000 would cover all so engaged in South Africa, including the Transvaal, Rhodesia, the Orange Free State, and Kimberley. In 1897, reports from fifty of the leading companies engaged in mining showed that 54 per cent of their white employes were single men, 33 per cent were married men whose families were non-resident, while only 13 per cent represented resident families. It may be said, then, that the South African mines directly support a resident white population of probably less than 25,000. No marked probability appears of any very great increase in the early future. Those indirectly supported, such as merchants, traders, and their clerks and employes, are in much greater number.

But at no time and under no conditions now probable may we look for anything other than a comparatively limited population directly or

indirectly dependent upon gold and diamond mining operations in South Africa. It would appear an extravagant estimate to set any such possible population within the next fifty years as high as 500,000 souls, men, women, and children included. Nor is it possible to regard even this as a permanent population, or mining as a permanent industry. The greater part of the white population of the Transvaal before the war would not have been there but for the mines, and there is a limit to the life of mines. It is estimated by experts that fifty years of work, at the rate of the output prior to the suspension caused by the war, will exhaust the deposits of the Witwatersrand, the chief gold-mining centre. Other mines will doubtless be discovered; but inasmuch as a great deal of very diligent prospecting has been carried on for the last twenty years, it may be doubted if a second Witwatersrand will be discovered, though such discovery remains a possibility.

Other mining industries are also among possibilities. Coal, of available though inferior quality, is known to underlie large areas throughout South Africa. Copper appears, and has been worked, in Namaqualand and Damaraland. It also appears in parts of the Transvaal. Cinnabar occurs in the Transvaal, east and west. Nickel is reported in Zululand, and tin in Swaziland. Galena mines are reported from several districts. Iron, as magnetite, red iron ore, specular, and hematite, appears widely distributed. Manganese, zinc, antimony, and cobalt are also in evidence. The commercial value of any of these deposits remains for determination by more ample and effective investigation than has yet been given them. The coal is of local use and value for steam-making purposes in the present mining operations, on railways, and in such limited manufacturing establishments as are in operation and require fuel. Some day the iron may come into service for special purposes in foundries for rough iron work; but it may be assumed that years will elapse ere any local demand will come to warrant extensive operations in its manufacture or mining. By far the greater part of the iron and steel now used, and likely to be used, is in the form of special machinery, which can be imported from foreign factories much more cheaply than it could possibly be made on the spot.

Even assuming the apparently extravagant figure of 500,000 as a possible population which produces nothing for its own use and consumption, such as food and clothing, it remains that 1,500,000 square miles constitute a very large farm from which to supply the requirements of a population equal to no more than that of a large city. South Africa has not, and presents no immediate probability of having, an ex-

tensive local market to offer the farm settler as an inducement to undergo the expense and the struggle which he must encounter. Other lands are open at a smaller outlay, with offers of greater promise and easier conditions.

In the line of manufacturing, little has been done, and there is little encouragement for increase. There are a number of small local flour mills, a few bakeries, breweries, canning establishments, iron foundries, brick works, potteries, and match factories; but all are on a small scale, and cater only to local trade. Cape Colony has a fair supply of timber for special purposes, and carriage building is an industry there which employs from 3,000 to 4,000 hands. Throughout the country at large the absence of forests makes wood-working impossible. Woollen manufacturing is a possibility. No less than \$10,000,000 worth of wool was exported in 1899. The country now exports its wool and imports its woollen goods. The hide export of 1899 amounted to a value of \$2,000,000, while considerable hide stock was locally used in boot and shoe manufacturing. But these and such other manufactures as find establishment in the region are for local trade, and of small capacity. Moreover, being amply supplied with local labor, they offer no encouragement to the immigrant who is dependent upon his daily wage for his support. The dearth of raw material and the limited population preclude any probability that within any brief period South Africa will either export her manufactures or need hands to assist in supplying her local market.

The mining industry affords special opportunities to the capitalist and the investor. It offers a few well-paid positions to trained intelligence and to skilled labor. A general manager may draw a salary of between \$500 and \$1,000 per month; a mechanical engineer may draw from \$200 to \$300; a clerk from \$100 to \$200; a mine foreman from \$150 to \$200; and a good working mechanic from \$100 to \$150. But these positions are comparatively few in number; and, even if one be secured, the cost of living is so great as to leave little gain over a more poorly paid position at home. Large fortunes will be made, as they have been in the past, by those who have the money to make them. Here and there some one will strike a rich vein. But mining in South Africa, like mining in our own West, is getting well settled into a routine industry, limited in its scope and in the number of opportunities it offers to either the fortune-seeker or the home-seeker.

It is to the occupation and working of the land that we must look for the development of the country and for the increase of its population.

A difficulty faces the intending settler immediately upon his arrival. Nine-tenths of South Africa is practically treeless. Probably 85 per cent of it is absolutely so if we exclude those growths, such as the mimosa, which have no value for building, and little as fuel. Shelter and fuel are only less imperative for the settler than food. Because of this scarcity of timber, his home must often be but a sod hut, or a mud-plastered rock wall with a galvanized-iron roof — small, rough, and uncomfortable. His fuel is likely to be limited to the dried dung of his oxen, if he has the oxen. Though snow rarely falls, the nights of a South African winter often bring a nipping cold. It is a cheerless home which lacks a tight frame and a good fire when the thermometer goes down to ten or fifteen degrees below freezing-point.

Some of the limitations of the land as a place for the farming immigrant or settler have already been indicated. The home market for his possible product is small; and an export market is practically out of the question for many years to come. Vegetable export cannot be counted upon, and there is little of grain land. The greater part of the South African area is arid, treeless, and marked by few watercourses of any volume, save in time of storm, when streams hitherto dry become furious torrents. The average annual rainfall in what is now the Orange River Colony is about eighteen inches. In the Transvaal it is a little above that; but a notable percentage of even so small an annual average comes as the sudden downpour of electrical storms. With proper irrigation the soil may be made wonderfully fertile. This process, however, would entail an outlay of capital which would find no warrant in prospective returns until the more favored sections of the world's surface are fully occupied, and the wants of the world increased to the point of crowding them.

The farming settler has much with which to contend besides his arid lands and the discomforts of life in a mud cabin. His foes are many. All are not found throughout the entire area, but all are there, some general and some local, though their area of operation and effect may be extensive. The chief of these are locusts, ants, horse and cattle disease, tsetse flies, and fever. The flight of a locust swarm is an amazing sight, any description of which suggests a Munchausen tale. I watched one swarm which was upward of three hours in passing the spot where I stood. How thick it was, from top to bottom, I do not know. It did not, like the arrow-flight of the warriors of old, "darken the sun," but it did materially modify the intensity of the sun's rays. As far as I could see, to right and to left, were locusts, locusts, locusts

— millions upon millions of them. When a hungry company of these creatures settles down on a farmer's field it leaves little of his crop. Ants of various kind abound. Some are dangerous and destructive to property, like the white ant, which devours one's house and furniture; while others are only an abominable nuisance, like the small red ant, which permeates one's supply of provisions. Horse sickness attacks the horses, and the murrain and the tsetse fly attack the cattle. Fever prevails in the lowlands of the coast, though the central plateau is regarded as a healthful region in many respects. Typhoid and dysentery, however, have long been prevalent diseases in the interior; and it cannot be questioned that the ravages of typhoid, or enteric, fever among the troops will leave the land doubly germ-ridden; while the decayed carcasses of scores of thousands of horses and cattle, and all the excrement and refuse of the camps can but tend to render general conditions more unwholesome.

Ranching is one of the possibilities included in the catalogue of the South African "boomer." Sheep and goats have made men rich in Cape Colony. They do fairly well in certain sections farther north. But drouth, the devastation of wide areas by locusts, and the scanty herbage of the winter months would seem to preclude, for the present at least, any great promise in sheep-ranching, even for those who have the means to engage in it upon any scale which indicates possible profits. The same condition interferes with cattle raising. The South African ranchman does not estimate by the number of head of sheep or cattle to the acre, but by the number of acres required for each sheep, ox, or goat. In Cape Colony, the best district, this is said to be about six acres for each sheep.

These are the general conditions — a physical situation which must be faced by settlers in South Africa. But there are still further considerations in the question of South African development. The settlement of new countries and the increase of population in old countries by immigration are, to a considerable extent, matters of competition. Few emigrants go out wholly in the dark concerning the conditions to which they go. A vigorous booming might land hundreds, or even thousands, of settlers in South Africa. Their success or failure would soon be advertised. Others purposing to leave their homes for some new country would weigh the advantages and opportunities of this region against those of other lands which, for many years to come, will still remain open to the surplus thousands of overcrowded populations. Home-making in arid South Africa will be weighed against life in Canada, in the far West of

America, in distant New Zealand and Australia, in hot North Borneo, and on the pampas of South America. Cuba offers homes and the promise of prosperity to several millions; Egypt, with its new system of irrigation, has attractions for others; the Argentine holds out possibilities of its own. South Africa has no monopoly of new lands or prospective wealth with which to tempt the intending emigrant. Enthusiasm may talk loudly of trade and population following the flag, and of a vast influx immediately upon the conclusion of hostilities in South Africa. Calmer judgment halts at such ready opinion, and notes that Canada, Australia, North Borneo, and even Cape Colony have been under the British flag for many years, and are not yet densely populated, though each of them offers greater promise of comfort and prosperity than does England's latest acquisition.

Political and social conditions will remain, for many years, important factors in the development of South Africa. The war has stimulated an existing race antagonism. More than one generation must elapse, even though England's flag shall fly throughout the whole country, ere English neighbor and Dutch neighbor will forgive and forget. Peace may be declared, but many years will pass ere real peace will come. The conquered will hate the conqueror, and the conqueror will triumph over the conquered and glory in his triumph, unless human nature can be changed by royal fiat. Boer and Briton are not of one blood, and the present struggle is but the culmination of nearly a century of antagonism. The intensification of the old bitterness will remain as a barrier to the peace and harmony of South Africa, until a new people shall arise who can forget Slachtersnek and Boomplatz, Amajuba and Ingogo, Ladysmith and Spionkop, Jameson and De Wet, Kruger and Chamberlain. This is not for the children of to-day, and it may not be for their children's children.

Many theories have been advanced concerning the methods by which these social and political differences are to be submerged or reconciled, internal peace established, and the country developed. Nearly all of them fail to give due consideration to the physical and economic difficulties which must be overcome. Population is the panacea most generally proclaimed, and many proposals are made for its supply. In the "Cape Times" of July 24, 1900, I found a letter from a local clergyman, who suggested the sending out of hundreds of boys and girls from England's charitable institutions to grow up with the country, and to infuse a new English life into the land with their growth to maturity. This is the key to the greater number of plans and schemes — a numer-

ical submergence of the Dutch element by an influx of English. Some have looked to see troopers from Canada, from Australia, and from New Zealand abandon their life in those lands, and begin anew in a less promising field. State-aided emigration has had its advocates, and has found its opponents in other colonies who hold that if such a measure be adopted it should apply equally to all the colonies which help to constitute the British Empire.

The theorists who expect the early recuperation of South Africa overlook the important fact that a large percentage of the emigrants of to-day are those who go out with little or nothing save their hands, in the hope of finding employment in shop or field. South Africa has nothing for these, and will not have as long as the unskilled labor of Kaffirs can be hired at a price per month which would be less than an immigrant competitor would demand for a weekly wage. The employé argues the existence of an employer; and who, in this case, is that employer to be?

It has been proposed that inasmuch as England must for many years continue a military occupation of the conquered territory, there shall be selected for her garrisons such men as manifest an intention to remain permanently in the country. It is suggested that these, as soldier settlers or as settler soldiers, be set to work upon irrigation schemes, house building, and land cultivation. At the expiration of their term of service such men are to receive homesteads upon some duly specified terms. A year ago, Mr. Lionel Phillips, prominent in South Africa and in South African affairs, saw a solution of difficulties in productive public works, to be paid for by the issue and sale of bonds guaranteed by the English Government. This gentleman did not say whether he proposed to pay six shillings per day to English laborers for work which would be done by Kaffirs at one shilling. Scheme, plan, and suggestion have all been offered in endless variety. Nearly all suggest purely artificial methods of relief and development, for which some Government must pay.

For nearly a century there has been a condition of friction and bitterness, distrust upon one side and contempt on the other, with lack of mutual understanding upon both sides. The physical drawbacks of the region and the race antagonism of a century will require decades for their eradication. Here, as elsewhere, the pioneer type will yield to the pressure of modern times and modern institutions. The huge trek-wagon with its oxen will be supplanted by the railway; but for many years South African progress promises to move at the pace of the trek-wagon

rather than at that of the railway or the telegraph. The fundamental reason for the slow development of the region in the past has lain in those adverse natural conditions which are here indicated. Unless these be changed by artificial means, the South Africa of to-morrow will be much the same as the South Africa of yesterday. Time and the general world-improvement will work many changes; but the prime factor will be time, and it is hopeless to leave that element out of consideration. Political change will come, perhaps, and probably, in the shape of a federated South Africa under the British flag, an institution not unlike that of Canada. There may come the Dominion of South Africa, and later, perhaps, a great South African Republic under its own flag. Under either the dream and aim of thousands would be attained — a political organization in which there would be neither Boer nor Briton, but in which all would be Africanders. ALBERT G. ROBINSON.

THE OUTLOOK FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

ECONOMIC production is the chief means and end of civilized life; labor is the chief agent of production; and labor consists in moving things. This moving process consists in changing the place and the form of raw material and the place of the manufactured product. Transportation is the process of moving things in the restricted or simple sense. This industry was recognized in an early stage of civilization as a semi-public agency, and from early times it has been regulated by the common law of common carriers. The present enormous and complex system of transportation has grown up within the last fifty years — in the main within twenty years — as a result of the application of the motive power of steam and electricity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the status of this new force in the social system remains ill-defined and unsettled; and experience with this great agency of civilization, which within the period of a single generation has revolutionized social life, has been so brief as to afford but meagre aid in the great tasks of determining what those relations should be and of giving them practical effect.

But peculiar economic and political conditions in the United States are largely accountable for our tardiness and impotency in dealing with this great transportation question. Our original public sentiment and institutions were conceived of that individualistic force which produced the greatest of all social upheavals, the French Revolution, and were born into its almost undiluted atmosphere. The principle and spirit of personal liberty which were infused into our people with marvellous skill and thoroughness by Jefferson and Franklin resulted in the prevalent notion that competition was the effective regulator of all industrial relations and the cure-all of economic evils. This primitive preconception blinded the people to the need, and kept them from the study, of rational and practical methods of regulating railway traffic. So recently has this unfortunate preconception been repudiated generally by intelligent people, that Professor Ely has within the last few months thought it worth while, in a public discussion of the public-ownership question, to say:

“We may take as our starting-point the now generally recognized principle that

it is necessary to regulate in the public interest monopolistic undertakings. This is admitted by substantially all scholars whose opinions deserve attention, and likewise quite generally by intelligent and fair-minded persons practically engaged in monopolistic enterprises. The general recognition of this principle itself indicates progress."¹

Many of our leading industrial doctors have been so filled with confidence in the therapeutic potency of competition that they have advocated pooling, which is a coöperative agreement to stop competition so far as to avoid some of its worst evils, trusting that it would still persist, in some occult and subtle way, in the exercise of its corrective powers. Our inherent self-complacency and self-sufficiency, springing from the contemplation of our superior natural resources and the feeling that no artificial burdens or obstructions could prevent business success, are mainly accountable for our backwardness in the study of these grave transportation questions. We have been so long in learning the necessity of the public control of transportation interests that in the meantime they have gained mastery over the public itself. During the first period of our national existence we were absorbed in the discussion of the abstract principles of popular government, in establishing them in practical form, and in admiring the work and ourselves for our success in accomplishing it. Then followed the all-absorbing cognate questions of slavery, the civil war, and reconstruction, and then came the period of bounding industrial development, when any thought of economic rules or legal restraints was irksome.

On the other hand, the Governments of Europe, accustomed to the exercise of regulation and restraint in all departments of social life, and pressed by that necessity for safeguarding social rights and interests which inheres in dense populations, began from the first to consider and provide for the public control and regulation of railways. As early as 1854 the English Parliament, largely through the influence of Mr. Gladstone, passed an act for the regulation of railways which has been the basis of State and national regulative laws in this country. The amendatory English acts of 1873 and 1888 provided for a permanent railway commission whose powers were not much more than advisory, and which has depended for its effectiveness upon investigating railway administration and giving publicity to the results of its inquiries. It is significant that the assumption by the commission of the power to fix rates seems thus far to have been successfully disputed by the railways. And so the railways in this country have successfully resisted all at-

¹ "The Cosmopolitan" for February, 1901.

tempts to provide for the fixing of rates under the general government; and this is true also in many of the States.

England affords the best example of the intensified public control of railways under private ownership and operation. Attainment under this system, such as it is, has been reached through fifty years of experiment. Belgium, on the other hand, stands as the best example of the public ownership system, the state having begun to build railways as early as 1834. From the first, therefore, the private roads in that country had to compete with those owned and operated by the state. As a result of this real competition, rates were kept down from the first to a competitive basis, and the whole system of railway traffic was equitably conducted. It followed naturally, I think, that the state should take over the private roads or else go out of the business altogether; and the former course was followed. Belgium has thus been working consistently and undeviatingly along public-ownership lines for more than sixty years. It must be conceded, I think, that the Belgian railway system is operated more equitably as regards the whole public and with less public corruption than the railways of any country of the world where private ownership prevails.

In the thirty years of complete public ownership in Prussia great improvement has been made over the previous system of private ownership; and as an independent proposition it may be fairly said that public ownership in Prussia, after this extended test, has proved successful. While experience in Australia has not been as long or as thorough as in Belgium and Prussia, yet, after no mean trial by the several commonwealths, it seems to be regarded as a matter of course that the Government of the lately formed Confederation of the commonwealths will continue and develop the public-ownership system. In 1899, the people of Switzerland voted at a referendum in favor of the purchase of the five principal lines by the state. The purchase may not be completed until 1903. In Germany the railways are, with few exceptions, owned by the several states comprising the federated empire. In Italy the state has owned the railways since 1879; but in 1885 they were leased to three private companies for a term of sixty years. This lease may be terminated by either party at the end of any twenty-year period of the full term. The demoralized and almost hopeless condition of Italian finances has made it impossible for that country to carry on the railway system for some years to come. In France the government ownership of all railways may be assumed in the year 1950. In both France and Italy the railway system is operated in close relation — approaching a

partnership — with the Government. In Russia the Government operates about sixty per cent of the railways. In general, Government ownership prevails in Continental Europe, Australia, and India, and the present tendency appears to be toward complete public ownership. The countries of importance which stand aloof from the public ownership of railways are Great Britain, Canada, and the United States.

It is contended that traditional Anglo-Saxon conservatism and level-headedness keep these great English-speaking countries from adopting the radical and socialistic policy of public ownership. But this conclusion is drawn from a superficial view. Thus Great Britain, which so far has stood out against the public ownership of railways, is most conspicuous among the countries of Europe for its progress in municipal ownership, and also in municipal trading, which involves the public operation of ordinary non-monopolistic business enterprises. This whole matter is primarily in charge of a Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, which has been going about from city to city making minute investigation of the condition of these public business enterprises. A writer in the "Journal of Political Economy," in commenting upon the facts disclosed by a recent report of this committee, says: "It is startling to see to what degree socialism has in practice supplanted individualism, despite the reaffirmation in Britain of individualistic themes."

This statement is sustained by a summary of the facts of the report. Distributed throughout England and Wales there are 265 municipalities engaged in productive undertakings, and in Scotland there are 74. All told there are on the island 749 municipalities, and 339, or nearly half of these, carry on corporate industries. Scores of towns and rural districts are supplied by the municipal trading companies. The industries in question include water-works, gas-works, electric lighting, street railways, working-men's dwellings, model lodging-houses, baths and wash-houses, piers, quays, garbage plants, abattoirs, insurance, manufacture and sale of ice, cold storage; shops, bazars, saloons, etc., on recreation grounds; museums, crematories, etc. There is invested in these enterprises a sum amounting to nearly \$500,000,000, of which 94 per cent is borrowed. The annual expenditure authorized by Parliament and the Local Government Board for purposes of this character has increased from an average of \$25,000,000 in 1890 to \$155,000,000 in 1900.

A writer in the "Edinburgh Review" discusses the struggle going on in the United Kingdom to secure the extension of municipal ownership and operation beyond so-called natural monopolies into the field of ordi-

nary industrial enterprises; the public ownership of the monopolistic class of industries being regarded as a settled policy. It appears that the Lord Provost of Glasgow suggested to the Parliamentary Committee that

"the municipalities might safely be entrusted with, but confined to, the supply of things which were in their nature suitable to a monopoly, which were articles of necessity, and which required control of the streets or portion of the public property of the municipality. Water is a necessity. No one wants two systems of water supply in the same area. And water supply involves uses of the streets. So with tramways [street railways], where competition in the same area is not desirable. So with gas . . . and electricity. Similar conditions apply, perhaps not with precisely the same force, but nevertheless with sufficient force, in the case of markets, slaughter-houses, public baths, and cemeteries. They do not apply in case of bathing tents, refreshment-rooms, or refrigerators."¹

The writer of the article criticises the vacillating course of Parliament, and complains that

"until some principle is authoritatively laid down we may expect that . . . the promoters of private undertakings will not be able to discover what doors are open to them, what are ajar, and what indisputably closed."

It appears that there has been

"Allowed and encouraged a growth of municipal enterprise which is greatly in advance of other countries," and "a purity of method which is far from being reached on the other side of the Atlantic. . . . The magnitude of the increase of responsibility which has resulted may be appreciated when it is remembered that whereas between 1875 and 1898 the national debt was reduced by £130,000,000, the local debt was during the same period increased by £170,000,000."

Not only is the municipal operation of these business concerns for municipal purposes rapidly spreading, but there is a tendency on the part of the cities to extend service from municipal plants to outside areas for business profit, the charges being higher than they are within the municipal limits. So far the telephone service has been a monopoly of the Post Office department, but has been leased to a private corporation, the National Telephone Company, for operation. But this half-way method has been so unsatisfactory that the cities, notably Glasgow, are forcing Parliament to grant concessions for municipal telephone plants; and there seems to be a good prospect that this movement will result in a penny telephone system throughout the kingdom. The principle of the public ownership of monopolistic industries is recognized by Parliament as settled. The state has encouraged municipal action within these limits, and has in turn discouraged private ownership by the refusal of parliamentary concessions for a period of more than forty-two years, at the end of which time the municipalities have an option of purchase practi-

¹ The "Edinburgh Review" for October, 1900.

cally free from any obligation to pay for good-will. Accordingly, they are gradually occupying the whole field to the exclusion of private enterprise.

In this country the growth of the public ownership of water-works and lighting plants has taken place mainly during the last twenty years, and has been very rapid. Within that time the municipal ownership of electric-lighting plants has grown from nothing to about 400, and more than half of the municipalities of the country now own their water-works.

Now the same reasons by which municipal ownership is justified apply with equal force to the public ownership of railways, though the objections urged against public ownership in general are doubtless stronger in the case of the railways than in that of municipal industries. These objections are moral and economic in their character. The strongest argument, perhaps, in favor of the public ownership of street railways, water-works, etc., is the inevitable corruption of municipal government by the private corporate owners of these concerns; but this argument may be even more strongly urged against private railway and telegraph corporations for their corrupting influence over all Governments, municipal, State, and national. The contention of Mr. Loud, while chairman of the Post Office committee of the House of Representatives, that our Post Office system might be operated under good management at \$40,000,000 a year less than the present expenditure, has been urged as an argument in favor of the private ownership of the postal service. But in view of the charges that have been made, both in and out of Congress, of grossly excessive rates which have been paid by the Post Office department for railway service, which is explained, of course, by the old, old story of the improper political influence of railroad corporations, the complaint of the extravagant cost of the postal service becomes an argument for the public ownership of the railroads rather than an argument for the private ownership of the postal service.

Opinions of special students of sociology and economics touching these momentous questions are obviously entitled to great weight, on account of the peculiar disinterestedness as well as the ability and thoroughness of their investigations. Recent discussions of the trust and public ownership questions, which are of not distant kin, by economists of recognized standing, and fairly within the pale of orthodoxy, like Professors Ely, Jenks, and Bullock, are cautious and temperate, as we should expect them to be. Yet the spirit of progressiveness and adaptation to actual conditions which pervades them is significant,

and may be almost shocking to those over-solicitous souls, becoming very numerous even in this new country, who are so blinded by selfishness as not to be able to see that the attempt rigidly to preserve the regular order is in reality the most shortsighted and dangerous course they can pursue. Professors Jenks and Bullock have found that industrial combinations have been able to control production — that is, to restrain competition — to such an extent as to enable them materially to raise the prices of products. Professor Bullock points out, with fine sarcasm, the contradictory contentions of the trustees that trusts are necessary to stop competition which has been proven to be wasteful and generally pernicious, while they maintain that the spirit of the eliminated corrective agency, which they call "potential competition," is still skulking around somewhere, with power to act, and that it will certainly be evoked by the groans of the victimized consumer whenever the trustees twist the thumb-screws of monopoly tighter than "the traffic will bear."

In discussing this phase of the question some time ago, I remarked that from the standpoint of the competitive system the evils incident to trusts are an economic disease with epidemic characteristics, and that, like the yellow jack or the Philippine insurrection, while it seems to be dying out in one spot it may be breaking out in a dozen other places. And Professor Bullock hits off this "sweet by-and-by" corrective of potential competition by remarking that however effective it may prove ultimately, there remains what Mr. Dooley has aptly called "the annoyance of the meantime." I have lugged in the everlasting trust question for the purpose of showing that leading economic thinkers, no less than public opinion generally, refuse thus far to accede to the contention that the present tendency to industrial monopoly may properly be left without positive legal restraint or regulation.

Leading writers on public ownership, such as Dr. Albert Shaw and Professor Ely, lay much stress upon "the terrible corruption in cities which dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies." Professor Ely states as a serious objection to the principle of mere public control that

"as soon as public control becomes far-reaching the benefits of private property begin to disappear, and the more far-reaching the control the greater the diminution in the advantages resulting from private property. The owners of private property are then made responsible in their own pockets for failure or success, but they cannot pursue that policy which may appear to them expedient; they are made responsible for the results of a policy dictated by a third party."¹

¹ The "Cosmopolitan Magazine" for February, 1901.

From this condition public or political corruption follows, both from the public and the private side:

"Corporations have much to say about being 'sand-bagged.' There can be no doubt that there is something in their allegations. The recognition of the principle of control opens the door to all sorts of raids upon private property of the kind under consideration. . . . On the other hand, there can be no doubt whatever that corruption frequently proceeds from the side of corporations. . . . When these regulations are proposed corrupt measures are adopted to ward them off. . . . The property of private corporations is widely distributed by means of stocks and bonds. . . . It is said that in Philadelphia there are 75,000 persons who participate in the ownership of corporations of a monopolistic character furnishing what we are generally beginning to call public utilities. This is an immense force working against good government."

Professor Ely also points out that since all people are directly interested in the efficient service of public utilities, public ownership carries home to everyone the importance of good government, and arrays on that side the strong classes now so indifferent. He observes that municipal government in England has improved during the last fifty years under increased public ownership.

In a symposium of articles on the effect of railroad and other industrial combinations contributed by leading railway and trust "magnates,"¹ Mr. James J. Hill exclaims, with what we should call delightful *naïveté*, if his remarks were not in reality so inadequate and disingenuous as to be portentous of evil:

"There is no longer danger of an unjust squeezing of the public by the railroads through exorbitant rates. The law of the land distinctly provides that the charges a railroad makes for freight or passenger traffic must be 'reasonable.' . . . There was a time, perhaps, when railroads gouged people at non-competitive points, but that time has passed. Both business prudence and the law now regulate these things."

The Interstate Commerce Commission has had the temerity to issue an annual report whose key-note is a wail against discriminations and other injustice on the part of the railroads, which it is powerless to prevent, since the promulgation of this settler of Mr. Hill's. Specific findings of the Commission that the railways not only do "gouge the people at non-competitive points," but defy the orders of the Commission to discontinue "unjust squeezing," are a conspicuous part of that report. It seems pertinent to my purpose to adduce some of the complainant's testimony in this case of "The People vs. Hill et al." I quote from the Commission's report:

"Under the conditions now existing it is inevitable that frequent discriminations should occur, and endless acts of injustice be committed in the performance of rail-

¹ See the "North American Review" for May, 1901.

road service and the application of railroad charges. . . . The policy now pursued cannot and will not prevent an outcome of vicious discriminations. And, what is most unfortunate of all, these discriminations favor the few and place the many at disadvantage. They aid the strong who have no need of assistance, and handicap the weak with burdens which by comparison are always unjust and often destructive. The experience of thirteen years shows that there is no serious difficulty in securing upon the part of competitive lines the adoption and publication of rates satisfactory to the carrier. Hitherto with respect to traffic which is actively competitive it has been found impossible to secure actual observance of the rates adopted."

The Commission points out that whenever it is necessary to resort to the trick to thwart the exercise of its authority or intercession, the railway companies actually raise rates, without apparently changing them, by changing the classification of the commodities to be affected.

As I stated at the outset, the railway question is still so young that no policy of control has been matured or conclusively tried, though it seems fair to say that in England and in this country the method of public control under private ownership has been fairly tried and found seriously wanting. And of all the social failures or shortcomings in these great countries perhaps the most hurtful, disquieting, and difficult to contend with is the fact that after fifty years of attempted Government control in England and thirteen years — under the commission system — in this country the railways remain in virtual control of the Government. President Hadley's well-considered work on railway control recognized as a fact that English railway influence had virtually defeated the undertaking of Government control. There is, I think, unmistakable evidence that these conditions, which Herbert Spencer denounced fifty years ago and which President Hadley observed fifteen years ago, have continued to the present day. Charges are rife, and are doubtless well-founded, that English railway companies work in collusion to the extent of maintaining exorbitant rates, both freight and passenger, and that freight rates are so adjusted in favor of the long haul for imported goods as to discriminate seriously, if not ruinously, against local producers. But worse than this is the demoralizing effect of the political grip of the railways which chokes real reform or relief. The veriest wayfarer is able to see that like conditions exist in this country under both State and national Governments. Not only is this condition of railway politics taken for granted by the public, but there is a growing public feeling that the Federal Courts are a tender nurse of the traditional law's delay which wears out any complainant who has the temerity to lodge with them a cause against the railways. Even so important a party as the State of Nebraska has been successfully thwarted

for seven years in its attempt to enforce a maximum freight-rate law, and it is still trying with a delay of several years more in sight. The provisions of the law will be obsolete before they can be applied. At a convention of railway commissioners, held in Milwaukee last year, where the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the commissions of nineteen States were represented, it was unanimously recommended that power be given by Congress to the Inter-State Commission to fix rates. Session after session the Cullom Bill, which would confer on the Commission this power, and other powers intended to raise it from a negative to a positive quantity, has been kept safely pigeon-holed in the Senate committee. What is of the most serious import is not the blocking of the proposal to give the Commission power to fix rates, which is a matter of doubtful expediency, but the effective blocking of any consideration of the bill.

Under this somewhat lugubrious picture seems a proper place to write down a protest against the cry of pessimism which may be raised by those who regard it thoughtlessly. Now the real pessimist is one who not only perceives that there is much that is bad in the world, but insists that it cannot be improved. Perhaps the most unjustifiable of all beings is the contented, all-the-year-round optimist, most approved by society at large. He lacks individuality enough to have edges, as well as the mental and moral sense to perceive wrong, and the courage to combat it. The real optimist is one who sees a wicked world as it is, and sets about with courage and capacity to improve it. All reformers, including the Master Reformer himself, have been pessimists of this sort. They have first killed that they might make alive.

Let us advert again to the proffer of aid in the solution of the great monopoly problem made by the present arbiters of transportation and manufacture. I have already disclosed the stone which Mr. Hill offers in place of the bread the public craves and deserves. Railway monopoly, however complete, may not take injurious advantage of the public, because that would be against the law of the land! It was written in the beginning of civilized society: "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness." These stern commands have ever since been embodied in the codes of all civilized peoples and reinforced by dire penalties. Therefore, by Mr. Hill's reasoning, murder is no longer possible, theft is wiped out, and the pure pages of our court records are unstained by the color of perjury, notwithstanding the present protests of bench and bar that it never was so common or so unconscionable as now. And Mr. Schwab, head of the great steel

combination, reassures us by the dictum, "A monopoly in the iron and steel business is an impossibility."

But still another of the writers contributing to the same symposium, Mr. James Logan, manager of the United States Envelope Trust, cries down competition as the bane of production, and insists that combination is necessary to check it. He graciously admits, however, that "we need competition if we would grow, but it ought to be honest and intelligent competition." The law of compensation forbids that a man should be so many-sided as to be a wise moralist and a sound logician and economist as well as a great business manager; so that we do not expect Mr. Logan to perceive the logical and economic absurdity of his scheme of graduated competition. Competition in an effective economic sense could not exist "half slave and half free." Mr. Logan's concept of competition with a string tied to it, which he or some other anti-competitive magnate holds, is no less ridiculous than to regard people as living in a state of political freedom where their liberty is doled out by a ruler of absolute power. Let the trustee stick to his trust. If he does not, it shall be at the peril of exposing his incapacity for generalizing, the film over his moral vision, the poverty of his logic, and his amusing struggles in the meshes of the *petitio principii* and the undistributed middle. The contrast between this symposium by the giants of industry and the discussions of the same grave questions by the "theorists" and "idealists," such as those I have above named and quoted, shows that, now as ever, as social factors, the first are trailers after the second, who lead in the way of social progress and social justice, and whose foolishness of to-day will be the wisdom of to-morrow.

It has always seemed to me, however, that the great industrial combinations were an outgrowth of human nature, or, what is nearly the same thing, a logical development according with economic principles; and I see no serious crisis or cause for hysterical alarm impending from them. While to the speculative mind they strongly suggest that their full logical development would run into state socialism, yet within present practical bounds they drive us to thinking about what device or agency the social organization shall supply to take the place of the regulative agency of competition which their own arbitrary power has in a great degree supplanted. In the meantime, if the captains of these great combinations feel aggrieved at the sceptical reception which the public gives their disclaimers and protests of philanthropy and self-abnegation, they should reflect that, alas, ours is an irreverent and unbelieving generation.

In view of the uncertainty of the solution of this grave question, perhaps it would be the part of discretion for us to acknowledge humbly the very present fact of our industrial vassalage, and to pray with our lips, at least, to our august over-lords: "Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses; lead us not into temptation; for thine is the kingdom and the power." But in spite of the most discreet humility we may feel or affect, we find ourselves condensing the symposium into a question in the language of Jimmy Twitcher in the "Golden Farmer": "Vell, vot uv it? 'Spose I 'as heggs in my pocket, d'ye think I'd suck 'em? I scorns the himputation." Æsop has pointed the moral of human motive and action in every field, for the use of all generations of men. When, therefore, managers of railways or other monopolistic combinations which have the power "to gouge the people" protest that they will benevolently refrain from doing it, we instinctively turn to the fable of the cat and the mice. Pussy undertook to lure the somewhat wary mice within her reach by suspending herself from a peg, disguised in a meal-sack. The moral of the wise mice was: "Ah, my good madam, even though you shall turn into a meal-bag, we will not come near you."

The foregoing outline of the status of public ownership reveals not only that it is making rapid progress in the conservative English-speaking countries, but, also, that there is at hand an important break-up of the belief in *laissez faire* — of the notion that, as a sweeping proposition, the freer the competition the better, and that the less the extraneous or governmental interference the freer competition will be. The better class of economists and moralists and the more intelligent part of the general public are accepting the contention of the industrial monopolists that the competitive system as now operated is inadequate and inequitable, but not, as the monopolists contend, because competition is too free, but because it is too much under their restraint. Other people than economic students are beginning to see that the Jeffersonian end of the utmost equality and freedom of individual opportunity may be effectively sought only by means the very opposite of Jeffersonian means, namely, by governmental interference and regulation. They are separating the so-called natural monopolies into a class distinct from the ordinary individualistic industries, regarding the first as a general agency of production, to be used in common by the ordinary competitive producers; and the question they are now seriously considering is whether intensified public control or full public ownership and subversion to public use of the monopolistic industries is the more expedient.

It is interesting and instructive to contrast the formidable *a posteriori* facts of public ownership in Great Britain with the *a priori* arguments adduced against it by the philosophers with such an air of conclusiveness but a short time ago. In the presence of the wide-open policy of Government interference, or paternalism, as Herbert Spencer would then have called it, now so well settled in his own country, that great philosopher's protest, spoken as late as the fifties, sounds indeed like a voice from the tomb. Exclaiming in his "Railway Morals and Railway Policy" against the then incipient stage of parliamentary meddling with railway construction and operation he says that but for this

"there would have been no absorption of directors' time in carrying on railway wars and getting new acts of Parliament — a business which, under the existing system, has chiefly occupied the attention of boards."

Again, in his "Social Statics," after quoting, for the purpose of refuting it, Louis Blanc's declaration that "Government should be considered as the supreme regulator of production," and then Guizot's retort that "it is a gross delusion to believe in the sovereign power of political machinery," he proceeds thus:

"True: and it is not only a gross delusion, but a very dangerous one. Give a child exaggerated notions of its parent's power and it will by-and-by cry for the moon. . . . Between their [the people's] exorbitant ideas of what the state ought to do for them on the one side, and its miserable performances on the other, there will surely be generated feelings extremely inimical to social order."

And then, referring to conditions in France which Guizot was instrumental in bringing about, he says:

"Was it not natural that men, living under the regulation of legions of prefects, sub-prefects, inspectors, controllers, intendants, commissaries, and other civil employés, to the number of 535,000 . . . who daily saw it [the Government] dictating regulations for railways, inspecting and managing mines, building bridges, making roads, and erecting monuments . . . who saw it attending to everything, from the execution of public works down to the sanitary inspection of prostitutes — was it not natural that men so circumstanced should acquire exalted ideas of state power?"

But what of all this? Testing this speculative philosophizing by the inexorable logic of facts, we find that what it describes, though, perhaps, without due comprehensiveness, is now going on in the philosopher's own country, and that public sentiment there plainly favors its going on, conquering and to conquer the hands-off philosophy and confounding its philosophers along the same lines. So far from having produced social demoralization and "feelings inimical to social order," we are assured that the new public-ownership policy has resulted in greatly improved municipal government, and in still greater improvement in the condition of the people.

Capacity for coöperation is a measure of a people's capacity for progress and social amelioration. The phenomena of public ownership and of the great business combinations under private ownership are examples of the most extensive development of industrial coöperation. The first includes all the people of a state or subdivision of a state on equal terms. The second is limited to a small part of the people — men of large capital or credit in whose enterprises the general public is interested only indirectly as consumers, having no voice in their management. Where the people of the state or other political division are capable of carrying on the monopolistic or public utilities efficiently, it is obviously the ideal policy. The question has thus become wholly one of expediency; and such questions are being settled day by day in England and in this country on that very basis. The principle of coöperation by and for the whole people has been carried out so far in Mr. Spencer's own country that it presents an all but fully affirmative answer to the proposition of Louis Blanc, already quoted here, that "Government should be considered as the supreme regulator of production," a proposition which the great English philosopher uses as a text for his warning against the grave danger of Government control even of corporations. The Parliamentary Committee is even now studying the practical workings of the great English system of public ownership or municipal trading for the purpose of reporting on the expediency of its further expansion.

The present tendency in the leading countries of the world clearly seems to be toward the general public ownership of railways; though the adoption of such a policy by Great Britain and the United States is perhaps far in the future. In both of these countries there is the tremendously obstructive political influence of the railway companies themselves to deal with. And though Great Britain has the most democratic constitution of any of the great powers, and her policies respond more freely to public opinion than is the case in any of the other great countries, yet her institutions and policy include contradictions and inconsistencies which her traditional conservatism or inertia leaves undisturbed in their incongruous democratic setting. In the United States we have inherited this same slowness of political growth, and it is favored by our obstructive written Constitution, which is characterized by the Hamiltonian forethought of hindering legislation or amendment to the extent, it may be feared, of hindering healthy progress.

Moreover, by the prevailing test of expediency, it does not follow that because the wide-open policy of municipal trading may be good in Great Britain, or because the public ownership of railways is excellent for Bel-

gium or Prussia, these systems would be equally good for the United States. Nor does it follow that if the state operation of the Post Office in this country is efficient or popular, therefore the state operation of the railways is also desirable. For while a paternalistic or military-like establishment of a certain size, such as the Post Office department, is practicable and inoffensive in this country and Great Britain, yet the immense and complex organization of the same character which the public ownership of the railways would involve, and which is necessary, inoffensive, and practicable in a military country like Prussia, might be offensive and altogether impracticable in the more democratic English-speaking countries. In these countries this question will doubtless be long considered as that of a choice of the lesser of two evils, with the odds against the evil we know not of.

But I think that, according to the present evolution of the social organization, there will be a growth of public confidence and courage which will ultimately overcome the present somewhat overbalancing public opinion that our Government, which is representative of the whole public, is neither honest nor otherwise efficient enough to undertake safely so gigantic an enterprise as the ownership and operation of the railways. Public sentiment is no longer dismayed at the financial feature of the undertaking. Recent colossal capitalization of railway and other industrial combinations by a very small part of the whole people has swept away this once formidable objection, just as the actual fact of successful public ownership in other countries has demolished the sweeping adverse generalizations and quashed the *a priori* indictments of Mr. Spencer and countless philosophers of lesser note. While the exercise of so vast a power and so minute a social surveillance as would be involved in the Government operation of railroads would seem like a dangerous undertaking from a practical business point of view, and a serious interference with individual freedom in such democratic countries as the United States and Great Britain, yet it is at least an open question whether this objection is not fully offset by the unjust discriminations and other impositions which are incident to private ownership. With the spectacle, daily before their eyes, of great business advantages enjoyed at the hands of the railroads by the influential and the strong, and of their perennial free rides, with their sisters and their cousins and their aunts, to the ends of the earth, at the expense of the less fortunate masses, no people can long retain that sense or spirit of freedom and equality which is essential to contentment and even to the stability of popular institutions.

But it must not be assumed that public ownership would certainly do away with the injustice and political corruption which inhere in private ownership. We remember how designing capitalists so debauched the public administration of the lighting service of Philadelphia as finally to bring about its relinquishment into their own hands. In my home city, which in respect to size and other conditions may be regarded as a typical example for our purpose, for the first dozen years of the public ownership of the water plant the public suffering from an insufficient and unwholesome supply of water was intolerable; and the delinquency was entirely owing to the inefficiency and dishonesty of the city administration, which condition was in turn owing largely to the same sort of influence exerted with the same motive as in the case of the Philadelphia gas works. And our city is still wrestling with this influence, with the final result in doubt. It is significant, however, that in spite of their unfortunate experience the people are still overwhelmingly in favor of retaining control of the water plant. But when the principle and the system of municipal ownership come to be regarded as generally accepted and established, the influential element of the so-called upper class, which now plots for the bad administration of municipal affairs, will be, as Professor Ely has suggested, on the side of good administration. And it is altogether likely that budding municipal ownership in this country will be allowed to mature before the public undertakes the care of the national railway plant.

While the great extent to which all important countries have entered into the public ownership of monopolistic industries, including vast telegraph and railway systems, would seem to warrant the inference that this policy will soon be extended to railways in Great Britain and the United States, yet, for the reasons given, I conclude that this view is superficial. Besides the natural clogs I have pointed out, there remains the feeling that sufficient virtue may yet be found in the scheme of public control under private ownership; and the recent great railway combinations will doubtless lead to a more serious and thorough trial of this old expedient than it has yet undergone, though I can only believe that, after all, this is a temporizing or probationary experiment. On the other hand, we perhaps underestimate the tremendous impetus which these vast consolidations give to the movement toward public ownership.

ALBERT WATKINS.

EUROPEAN FEELING TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.

UP to a time as recent as our Spanish War the people of Europe regarded "Americans" with a kind of good-natured contempt, and affected to treat us like a bumptious boy who annoys his elders by assuming airs of equality. But the war showed them that the bumptious boy had been quietly taking his place in the front rank of the world powers, with a definiteness of purpose and a strength of will that promised to interfere seriously with their own ambitions. In consequence, Europe's indulgent contempt gave place to feelings of alarm, envy, and dislike. So pronounced were these feelings during our war that the Continent of Europe was for the time a somewhat uncomfortable place for Americans. As it became evident that we should win, respect for our power silenced criticism but strengthened dislike. To-day the American is treated with courtesy enough; but the occasions are not few when the courtesy seems grudgingly given, and the manifestation of it appears tinged with ill-will.

This feeling of dislike toward the United States is not confined to a few people, or to a single country, or to any particular class of society. One runs across it everywhere in central and eastern Europe. It is expressed in the speeches of public men, in the editorials and correspondence of newspapers, and in private conversation. The politician, the professional man, the business man, and "the man in the street" alike speak with bitterness more or less veiled of the progress and policy of America. The "American Danger" has assumed for the Continent of Europe a more immediate and ominous significance than the "Yellow Peril."

The antagonism thus shown toward us is due mainly to economic causes, although political ambition has something to do with it. The people of Europe are feeling keenly the pressure of our competition in business. They complain that we are crowding them in their home markets, and at the same time are shutting them out of ours by our high tariff. They contend that it is unfair for us to impose high duties on their products while they admit ours at low rates.

It is impossible to appreciate how great is the pressure caused by our invasion of the markets of Europe, unless one remembers that these countries are undergoing a change of industrial life. They have been trying, for twenty-five years and more, to diversify their industry, to supplement agriculture with manufactures. To do this they must have their home markets, and their alarm and resentment at our invasion of these is, under the circumstances, very natural. Certainly we are not in a position to criticise them, for it has long been our policy to keep our home market as much as possible to ourselves. The people of Europe say their difficulty would not be so great if we would lower our tariff and so admit them to our market on as easy terms as those on which they admit us to theirs. The argument is hardly logical, although I have heard it urged by a distinguished German economist. Of course, if the European producer cannot hold his own against us at home, no reduction of our tariff would enable him to compete with us on our own ground. But logical consistency does not determine popular feeling or direct national policy.

The people of Europe are looking to three measures to protect themselves against our overwhelming industrial superiority. These are: (1) Industrial and commercial education; (2) a general customs union; and (3) colonization. The first of these, certainly, is a means that deserves commendation from every point of view. The hope is that such education will offset, at least partly, our natural advantages. It is doubtless true that the tremendous grip which Germany has gotten on the world's industry is mainly due to her system of technical schools, whose foundation was laid a generation or more ago. The success of the industrial schools has given a spur to the establishment of a similar system for commercial education; and the opening of commercial high schools, or of commercial departments in existing polytechnical schools, is now a prominent feature of the European, especially the German, educational movement.

Curiously enough, the fact that we, too, can avail ourselves of the advantages of a system of technical education seems to be overlooked. The people of Continental Europe are strangely ignorant of what is doing in the United States, and even in England, in such matters. The fact that in the past twenty years so many Americans have sought their higher education in Germany has led to the opinion that German universities and technical schools are much superior to ours. That is no longer true. Indeed, there are some lines in which it is a positive disadvantage for an American student to get all, or most, of his

advanced education in Germany; and in the methods and appliances of technical education, especially, we have little to learn and nothing to fear from Germany. Speaking in a general way, it may be said that no American student need now go to Europe for "superior advantages" in technical education. Our own best technical schools have no superiors, and scarcely an equal.

The formation of a customs union to fight our competition is at present much discussed in certain quarters in Europe. The project appeals to the imagination, and should a workable plan be found for such a union it would very likely command enthusiastic popular support. The proposal is by no means a new one, but it is now receiving attention and support in quarters where, hitherto, it has not been seriously considered. Some such scheme was proposed as many as thirty-six years ago by a writer in the "Revue des Deux Mondes." Molinari revived it in 1879, with a proposal that France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland should combine. Professor Brentano has suggested such a union between Germany and Austria-Hungary; and voices have even been raised for a commercial *rapprochement* between Germany and France. So conservative a statesman as Goluchowski has advocated a customs union for middle Europe, especially for Germany and Austria; and there are some signs that these two countries, at least, are trying to find a common ground for action in this direction. Such a policy, it is reported, was advocated more or less openly at the meeting of the Austrian Industrial Commission last spring. Even in Italy and France the proposed movement against us finds response. Signor Zanardelli has spoken in favor of a unification of European commercial policy against the dangers of American competition, and so reputable an economic authority as M. Leroy-Beaulieu has also committed himself to such a scheme.

The plan of such a union, if it should ever be formed, will be to establish a low maximum rate of duty to apply uniformly among the members, and a higher rate to apply against us. This high rate would not be put on all our products, for some of them are necessities for Europe. The general opinion is that it will be sufficient to tax heavily a few of our more important manufactured goods. It is commonly believed by the politicians of Europe that if they do this they will have a "club," as they say, which will make us lower our tariff and admit their products.

Whether a European combination against us will ever materialize is doubtful. We are inclined to laugh at the proposal, and statesmen and

students of the situation think the interests of the countries concerned are too various to admit of common action. But we must not build too strongly on this supposition. Germany is already a great industrial state. Austria-Hungary can supply her with agricultural products in return for her manufactures, and there are many kinds of our exports which the two nations could do without altogether. The overwhelming influence of Germany might easily draw Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and perhaps Switzerland into such a union. If this occurred we should be at war, commercially, with countries whose aggregate population approximates double our own. That we should be able to hold our own in such a contest few Americans, at least, will doubt. But war, though it be only commercial war, is a poor way to settle differences. In this case it would be foolish, since we could prevent it by granting the slight boon of lowering our tariff to competitors whom we certainly can undersell. The opinion that we need not care what Europe does, because we ourselves can produce everything we want, is immoral and unscientific. It is immoral because it ignores our responsibilities as a member of the family of nations; it is unscientific because it involves the denial of the elementary doctrine that all trade is exchange, that you cannot sell without buying. It is foolish for us to be straining every nerve to hasten the development of our foreign trade if we are to adopt a policy of "supplying ourselves with everything we need." We cannot do both.

The rapid growth of the population of Europe makes our competition all the more severely felt. The increasing numbers cannot all find employment in agriculture, and the need for developing manufactures is all the greater on that account. But, as has been pointed out, our competition retards this development. Checked in this direction, some of the countries of Europe turn their eyes toward colonization as a means of relief for their surplus population. But they complain that here, too, we cut across their path. Our national policy forbids them to acquire territory on the American continent, the only place where there is any left that is worth having. We do not object, of course, to the settlement of Europeans in South America, or to the growth of European trade there. From the point of view of the people of Europe, however, this fact is not an answer to their complaint. Ordinary emigration is an economic and military drain, and they do not wish to continue to educate citizens only to lose them in the prime of life to other countries. As long as we were willing to relieve her of her defectives and incapables Europe felt less reason for complaining; but now that we refuse

to take any but those who are physically and industrially fit she feels that emigration is a loss without corresponding gain. In countries where every man must do military service, and where national existence depends on the size and efficiency of the army, such a loss of citizens is a matter of some concern.

To prevent it, and at the same time to find markets for their products, the Governments of Europe want colonization under the home flag. They want new territory in which their subjects shall retain their allegiance, while making the new land politically and economically a part of the home country. Politically, the German must remain a German; the Austrian, an Austrian. The new land shall be simply an extension of the home territory, to absorb the surplus population and supply the old country with the necessary new markets and an independent source of food-stuffs. The colonists would still be available as soldiers, and the industrial and military drain of emigration would be prevented. This is the dream of Europe in the matter of emigration. To be sure, this view of the nature and purpose of colonies is mediæval; for they are looked on merely as places to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country, and to be governed from the home capital. But the view accords with the continental idea of the relations of government to the people. For it is still true that on the Continent of Europe the people exist for the sake of the Governments, more than the Governments for the sake of the people. There is, of course, a good deal of government "for" the people; but there is much more "of" the people; and very little that is really "by" them.

The desire of the nations of the Continent for colonies has been strengthened by the recent experience of England. At the beginning of the South African war, continental opinion of the military strength and resources of England was very low. It was generally thought that her colonies would hold aloof if she became involved in war. The magnificent exhibition of loyalty on the part of the colonies not only surprised continental Europe and gave her such an increased respect for England's strength as to put a damper on the desire to interfere in the war, but it also stimulated the desire of several countries for a similar source of strength. Our own expansion, too, has acted as a stimulant. Moreover, something must be allowed for national pride and ambition. We are not the only people who want to "see our flag on every sea," and the spirit of nationality is very strong in Europe just now. The strength of a great empire inflames the popular imagination, and kindles pride in being a part of it. So we see Italian unity withstanding the hostil-

ity of the national church, and the "imperial idea" rapidly erasing sectional differences in Germany. Even in Austria-Hungary the mutual animosities of Czechs, Germans, and Magyars stop short of the dissolution of the empire, without which, after all, they know they would be in a worse state than they are.

But where is land to be found for such colonies as the nations of Europe want? The "colonial cake," as some one has called it, was divided long ago. The choice spots of the earth have been already fenced in, or at least staked out in claims, although not all have been occupied, still less exploited. The flag of Great Britain flies over many of the fairest parts; and against her, therefore, envy has ripened into bitterness and hatred in those continental countries in which the need or desire for colonial expansion is most keenly felt. We have thrown the ægis of our protection around the Western Continent. The Monroe Doctrine closes South America to colonization and so thwarts the ambitions of some European Powers after settlements in that region. Hence we, too, have incurred their dislike.

The feeling against us has lately grown stronger on account of our recent foreign policy. Our territorial expansion has brought under our flag lands that some of the nations of Europe wanted for themselves. That this is the true explanation of the feeling against us is admitted by many Europeans when pressed to be candid. They acknowledge that the strictures on our "land-grabbing" policy and on our "attack" on the independence of Cuba and the Philippines are a mere pretence. In Germany, at least, there are many people who frankly say that our occupation of the Philippines defeated their country's ambition to get the islands for herself. Europe would have checked our territorial expansion if she could. Despite official disclaimers, there lies behind the advocacy of a customs union a scarcely concealed desire for some political union strong enough to oppose our acquisition of territory, and to put the Monroe Doctrine to the test.

Of course, not all the peoples of Europe look upon us with equal dislike, for some are less affected by our growth and policy than others are. The feeling is probably strongest in Germany, since it is the interests and ambitions of Germany that we cut across most directly and severely. Germany has declared her intention of becoming a great commercial, as she has become a great industrial, power. The Emperor's catching phrase, "Our future lies on the sea," has been adopted enthusiastically by the German people as a motto, not only for their commercial, but for their political, programme; and they regard colon-

ization as necessary to success in both directions. Germany fain would be the arbiter of the peace of Europe, if not of the world. For this purpose she needs, or thinks she needs, an extensive system of colonies, a large mercantile marine, and a great navy. The latter two she is rapidly acquiring, but the United States and England block her way to the first. One German writer recently declared, with much bitterness: "We need new land for our peasants, but the Briton stands in our way in South Africa and elsewhere"; while another, in the "Neue Deutsche Rundschau" for last December, naïvely suggested that Germany would surely not play in China the wicked policy of annexation pursued by the British in South Africa and by the Americans in Cuba!

The truth is, that it is in the minds of the German people, whatever their rulers may say, to develop commerce and establish colonies wherever they can — peacefully, if possible, but forcibly, if necessary. They are strengthening their navy with that purpose. Since the best spots are already occupied by Great Britain, or shut off by us, they will found their colonies, if they become strong enough, on the ruins of the British Empire, or will try conclusions with us as to our power to keep them out of South America. When they are ready they will choose the way they think the easier. At present they incline to regard England as probably the likelier prey. It would be out of place here to show why success in either plan is impossible; but the future happiness and prosperity of Germany depend on her early realization of that impossibility. No friend of the German people can feel anything but regret for their state of feeling toward other countries, especially toward those which surpass them industrially. There is to-day no other people so overbearing and so full of conceit as the mass of the Germans at home. Their military success of a generation ago, their present splendid army, their rapid growth in industry, their fine educational system, with many other admirable achievements, seem to have turned their heads, and to have given them a regrettable spirit of arrogance and superciliousness that would be ridiculous if it were not dangerous.

But in spite of all this the promotion of the future peace and civilization of the world rests largely with Germany. It is impossible that the high ideals and fine traits of her people should not in time dispel the prejudice and vanity that make them so disagreeable to-day. On the whole, the trend of German thought and action is bound to be, in the long run, for progress by peaceful means. But to do her best service for the world, and to reach the proudest position for herself, she must cease to think of industry and commerce merely as means for the

furtherance of political ambition. When she does so, her industrial ideals will be so similar to our own that the two peoples will be able to join hands in promoting peace and prosperity.

Of the other continental countries it is not necessary to say much. Our conflicts of trade interests with Italy and Austria-Hungary should not be difficult of adjustment, so far as we can foresee; and neither country is in a position to have colonial ambitions whose defeat will be serious for itself. France has become so much of an appendage to Russia that her foreign policy is largely controlled by that of her ally. Our commercial interests do not clash seriously with hers, and her colonies lie in quarters in which we have little territorial interest. As for Russia, our relations with that Power are truly remarkable. The two countries stand for antagonistic ideals, both political and social. Doubtless, we have been able to remain on good terms with her for so long, because our interests and hers have not heretofore come into conflict. Russia plays us off against England, as she plays off France against Germany. Her recent behavior in Manchuria shows that, if occasion offers, she will treat us with the same duplicity that has long marked her conduct toward other nations. Our differences with Russia will not, of course, be over her territorial expansion as such. That lies out of the sphere of our interests. They will arise in connection with our trade interests in her new territory. The Russian policy is one of exclusiveness and state regulation of industry, while ours is for the "open door" and individual initiative. No union of these policies is possible.

In spite of a good deal of ignorance concerning us and our ways, and in spite, also, of their disagreeable patronizing fashion of treating us, the English really understand us better, and feel more friendly toward us, than do any other people. True, they have been a good while in learning to treat us properly, and we have a good deal to forget of arrogance and ill-will in the past. Still, the feeling of the people of Great Britain toward us could not be more friendly and less patronizing than it is now. They are our commercial rivals, to be sure; but, speaking generally, they have no thought of meeting our competition except by fair means, and in the spirit that the better may win. To keep on good terms with the United States under all circumstances has become a settled principle of British foreign policy. Both the Government and the people of Great Britain are ready to do anything in reason to get and keep our cordial good-will. If we will meet them in a friendly spirit, no differences that can arise will disturb the mutual good-will of the two countries. English industrial, social, and political ideals are akin to our own, and a good work-

ing understanding between us and Great Britain would do more for the world than a union of forces between any other two countries. If Germany would forget her prejudices and lay aside her impracticable political ambition, in order to join in such an understanding, the peaceful progress of the world would be assured for a long time to come. We should meet the English desire for a better understanding, and leave the way open for Germany to join in forming a triple alliance of the forces of peace and progress, as soon as the people of that country could get over their foolish and unfounded ill-feeling toward things English and American.

DAVID KINLEY.

THE DECADENCE OF OUR CONSTITUTION.

FOR more than a century the people of the United States have supposed themselves to be living under a rigidly written Constitution, which cannot be amended or modified except by the method set forth in the instrument itself. Half a century of political existence shows great modifications by the construction and interpretation of the United States Supreme Court. In view of many Supreme Court decisions, especially that of the late insular cases, the doctrine which is actually carried into effect seems to be that the prevailing public sentiment or the pronounced party policy of the Administration in power is invariably to be sustained, irrespective of the written Constitution; or, in other words, the Constitution can be changed by judicial construction — a doctrine which contravenes that announced by Chief Justice Marshall.

In Europe a constitution may be in great part unwritten, as is the case with that of Great Britain; or, as in many Continental states, it may be embraced in the municipal law. The great features of the British constitution, however, are written, such as the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1769, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement.

The United States, according to the common conception, is a Government in which the powers of sovereignty are defined and limited in accordance with the principles of a fundamental law called a written Constitution. In 1803 Chief Justice Marshall, in *Marburg* against Madison, declared that the Constitution was supreme, and that any act of Congress not in accord with it was void. In England Parliament is supreme, and its enactments, whether constitutional or not, are valid; hence, the British constitution is a constitution by fiction only. Under Chief Justice Marshall's decisions our Constitution was a verity. During his time the attitude of the Supreme Court was one of absolute independence as a coördinate department of the Government, and fundamental principles of constitutional law were formulated in opposition sometimes to the Administration and often to public sentiment. Since Marshall's time the Constitution has seemed to be losing its paramountcy,

because it has been amended by decisions of the Supreme Court which have often overruled former judgments. Judgments have been rendered by a divided court, sometimes by a majority of one, the concurring justices in the majority opinion holding irreconcilable opinions, but uniting in the result.

The new fashion was set by the Dred Scott decision, in 1856, when a pronounced party policy was sustained. In the same way the Legal Tender cases, in 1869-70, showed the subserviency of the Supreme Court to administrative necessity. It was held, overruling a former decision of the same case by the court, that the power to make the notes of the Government legal tender in payment of private debts was one of the inherent rights of sovereignty in all civilized nations, and that, as the Constitution did not expressly withhold it from Congress, Congress had the power so to legislate for the United States. That is, the *jus gentium*, the law of nations, recognizes such authority, and so the United States may adopt the doctrine. But we have been taught that Congress can exercise no power by virtue of any supposed inherent sovereignty in the general Government; because sovereignty resides with the people, and Congress can exercise such powers as have been given to it by the people, and no others.

The history of the Legal Tender cases is interesting. In 1866 an act was passed that no vacancy should be filled in the Supreme Court until the number of justices fell to seven. This act of Congress was to prevent the President from appointing new justices. In 1869 the number was eight, and was fixed at nine by Congress. One justice resigned, thus making two vacancies, which were filled; and then the court overruled the decision in the first Legal Tender case, thereby making United States notes legal tender.

In 1876 the judgments in the Granger and the Munn cases held that persons and corporations engaged in public trades can be placed under restrictive legislation without being remunerated by compensation—a position as to vested rights which differs from that taken by Chief Justice Marshall. These cases reveal that current of opinion which runs against what are called monopolies and the powers of incorporated companies. The decisions would have conformed to the result of a plebiscite if one had been taken, and show the tendency of the Supreme Court to follow public opinion.

The Income Tax case of 1895 is another striking example of the persuasive power of public sentiment on the court. The Income Tax Law was first upheld as constitutional by a majority of one. Upon a

rehearing one of the majority changed to the other side, thereby causing the former opinion to be overruled. To use a modern socialistic word, the proletarians, to this day, do not understand why a graded income tax is unconstitutional. The same can be said as to many constitutional lawyers. But it would appear that the exigencies of a pronounced party policy and administrative necessity demanded a reversal of the former decision, notwithstanding that another decision of long standing had to be overruled where certain words of the Constitution had been construed.

The most striking illustration of the way in which the courts bend to administrative policy and public sentiment is seen in the insular cases — the De Lima case and the Downes case. The minority in the Downes case assert that the majority opinion conflicts with that of the De Lima case. At any rate, the conclusion forces itself that the United States may enter upon a colonial policy. In 1856 Chief Justice Taney said, in the Dred Scott case, that there was no power given by the Constitution for the establishment and maintenance of colonies by the United States; that a power in the general Government to obtain and hold colonies and dependent territories for which it might legislate without any restriction would be inconsistent with its own existence in its present form; that the people of the United States never gave the general Government power to organize and maintain colonies; and that to do so would be unconstitutional and inconsistent with our republican form of government.

The insular cases swept this doctrine aside as an *obiter dictum*, or an anachronism. In these cases the Supreme Court has affirmed the doctrine for which Lord North contended during the Revolution which separated the Thirteen Colonies from the British Empire. Lord North's doctrine was that Parliament had plenary power to govern the colonies. The Supreme Court has now affirmed the possession by Congress of the same unlimited power over the dependencies of the United States. Lord North contended that though the American colonies were not represented in Parliament, they might nevertheless be taxed, and duties might be imposed upon their commerce. In the insular cases the Supreme Court has decided that the people of the "Crown Colony" of Porto Rico may be compelled to pay such import and export duties as Congress may see proper. This was Lord North's view in 1764, when the question of taxing the American Colonies was being discussed. Accordingly, the doctrine of Lord North was wrong in the eighteenth century, as the Revolution demonstrated, but it is right in the beginning of the twentieth century, as the Supreme Court has so decided.

But the other coördinate branches of the Government have wheeled into line with the Supreme Court. About two years ago Congressman Roberts, of Utah, was excluded from Congress under precedent and not under the Constitution. The Constitution provides for uniform customs, but reciprocity is practised without constitutional sanction. The United States has paid compensation for the murder of Italian and Chinese aliens within State jurisdictions, thereby encroaching upon State sovereignty. That such action is in accordance with the *jus gentium*, the law of nations, does not admit of doubt. But the Constitution does not authorize the general Government to invade a State and settle its private affairs. It would be a difficult task to find constitutional authority for the creation of the Electoral Commission of 1877 — composed of five United States senators, five United States representatives, and five associate Supreme Court justices — to settle the electoral votes of Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, and Oregon.

In 1898, during the Spanish war, the President declared that no privateering would be resorted to by the United States. Now the Constitution declares that Congress has the power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and sea." Can the President perform the duties of Congress? In 1823 President Monroe announced the Monroe Doctrine. The question arises: What clause in the Constitution gave him the right to declare such a policy? No nation recognizes this doctrine as international law.

Again, what clause of the Constitution authorized President Cleveland to call upon Congress to provide at once for an independent American Commission to fix the true boundary line between Venezuela and British territory? And what clause gave Congress the right to comply?

In 1899 the International Peace Convention met at The Hague. When the Arbitral Convention was signed by the United States representatives, they made this declaration in writing:

"Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in, the political questions of internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment, by the United States of America, of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

None of the signatory powers made any comment or took any action on this reservation of the Monroe doctrine. It cannot be upheld by the provisions of the Constitution, but, like other things, it is set up outside of the Constitution. Again, what provision in the Constitution author-

izes this Government to enter foreign territory to dig canals for the benefit of all civilized nations? The Nicaragua Canal, when completed, will not be an internal improvement; it will not even be contiguous to our domain.

The Constitution provides for the making of treaties by the President and the Senate, and such treaties are the law of the land. Thereby legislation is placed in other hands than those of Congress, which is an apparent, if not real, contradiction. The Constitution also provides that all revenue bills shall originate in the House of Representatives, and that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law. This being the law, how could the President and Senate agree to pay Spain the sum of \$20,000,000 for the Philippine Islands without the consent of the House of Representatives? Of course, there are precedents for making such treaties in the cases of the Louisiana purchase, the cession of Florida, and other instances. In such cases is Congress bound to appropriate money to pay the indemnity? If it is, then the Lower House is also an agent to assist in making treaties. Then, the provinces of the President and the Senate and that of the House overlap each other, which is contrary to the words of the Constitution in the delimitation of their powers. If Congress refuses to make the appropriation, the treaty must fail. Supposing that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is abrogated, and the President and the Senate make a treaty with Nicaragua and Costa Rica to construct the Nicaragua Canal, and then Congress refuses to make the appropriation, what is the result?

The question arises: Is the Constitution of such a nature that it must be construed and interpreted to meet the exigencies of the times in a manner subservient to popular sentiment and progressive history? Has the Supreme Court plenary powers to modify the Constitution, by construction and interpretation, to meet the demands of civilization? Have the executive and the legislative departments potentiality to ignore the Constitution when expediency seems to require it?

The Constitution is supposed to be a great instrument. Gladstone, in a panegyric on our Constitution, said: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man." But a Japanese statesman, visiting this country, pronounced our Constitution to be too old and incapable of meeting the exigencies of the times. Carlyle says a constitution will not march, and the constitution that men will live under is the one which images their convictions — their faith as to this wondrous universe. The Supreme

Court has been called "the living voice of the Constitution." Has this voice so construed and interpreted the Constitution as to image the convictions of the people?

There are several reflections to be drawn from the attitude of the Supreme Court during the last half-century and from the action of the other departments of Government. According to the general conception, the Constitution under which we live is written with rigid provisions. But the Supreme Court has modified this instrument by construction and interpretation. Former decisions are frequently overruled by a divided court, and often by a bare majority, displaying, at times, a conflict among the justices concurring in the result. To the layman it seems that the Constitution is to be obeyed or not obeyed as the circumstances of a particular crisis in our history may suggest.

The United States is a world-power, and has been one for a half-century. If she is to keep up with progressive history, why shall she not exercise all the powers that other nations exert? Is it not the perfection of judicial and political sagacity to meet the exigencies of our cosmopolitan environment in the march of civilization? Shall we not wheel into line and follow the *droit commun*, the common law of all civilized peoples?

Are the construction and interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court, and the disregard of it by the executive and the legislative departments of the Government, the kinetoscope which displays the march of the Constitution? Is this constitutional iconoclasm preparing the way for the progress of our institutions? And if this constitutional mutation continues for another century will not our Constitution be a legal fiction?

In conclusion, let us join with Chief Justice Fuller, who said of the Supreme Court, in a discourse delivered before the Illinois Bar Association two years before his elevation to the Bench:

"The ability and integrity of its members are such that any conclusion which it announces will be conceded by everybody to express the honest conviction of its members."

Or we may unite with Marquis de Marbois in his "History of Louisiana," where he speaks thus of the Supreme Court:

"It is a power which has no guards, no palaces, no treasures, no armies, but truth and wisdom — its splendor consists in justice, and the publicity of its judgments."

DARIUS H. PINGREY.

THE PARIS BOURSE.

By moonlight, says Mr. George Moore, the Paris Bourse is as a dream of old Greece. At other times, however, it is as the nightmare of concupiscence. The architecture is confusing and indefinite. It has a little of the Madeleine — the Madeleine desecrated — something of L'Odéon (the Corinthian columns), a bit of La Gare Saint-Lazare, and a great deal of Les Halles Centrales. The complete title of the architectural farrago is "Le Palais de la Bourse;" and it has recently become the heart of Paris, as Les Halles Centrales have always been the stomach of the French capital.

Its antecedents do not consist wholly of figures — or of facts. There is one important fact in its history that has remained contestable: the fact of its birth. When the Bourse was born is a thing shrouded in that misty part of history popularly known as tradition. Back of the fourteenth century all is nebulous.

Before the time of Philip the Fair, money was personified in the despised and despoiled denizen of the ghetto. Business, not being understood, was suspected. The primitive fiscal operations of that period were regarded as a species of sorcery. The mystery in which the enhancement of capital was veiled allied the process, in the minds of the masses, with Satanic alchemy. Hence no precise date is available. Historians conjecture that authorized brokers did business in the twelfth century on the Pont-au-Change. More confidently, it is known that three hundred years later money-changers congregated around St. Jacques' Tower — to-day the headquarters of the weather bureau — among whom was a Jacques Cœur. Cœur divined the future of commerce with an intuition cognate to that which enabled Columbus to affirm the existence of another world. Utilizing his ability in reorganizing the disorganized finances of the kingdom, he subsequently founded Levantine trade, exploited mines, perfected the loose system of taxation, filled the national treasury with a sum larger than that at the disposition of the king, provided the nation with funds with which to ransom its invaded territory, and, last and most important of all, invented the now invaluable system of commercial statistics. France welcomed this new order of finance,

but she proscribed the financier; and no wonder, since industry, commerce, finance, and speculation were terms that spelled servility and equivocal dealings. The horizon of the time did not recognize a world that bought, sold, and produced. It was an epoch when knighthood was in flower; a chivalrous age whose sole idea was the lance; a period when money was merely a thing with which to pay ransoms or to buy armor. Summarily, money was a very humble quality throughout that long age of iron, and it fled to the arcana of Israel, hid in the houses of the burgher caste. Here, with the Israelites and the middle classes, it grew silently — in the eyes of the ignorant multitude a latent and mysterious process, not unlike the development of minerals in the earth's bowels.

Philip the Fair was the first to give brokers a standing in law. Down to 1724 numerous laws or ordinances were promulgated from time to time to regulate the business generally — to fix the number of authorized brokers and to establish the rate of commissions — but the changers and speculators had no fixed habitation. Their meeting-places, always out-of-doors, changed frequently. In 1794 the speculation in the shares of the Mississippi Company had lifted brokers to such prominence that they were legalized as an Association and assigned to the Hôtel de Nevers, between Rue Vivienne and Rue Richelieu. The membership was limited to sixty, and the members paid a nominal sum into the state's coffers for the privilege of handling securities or commodities. But the very circumstance that brought the Bourse to legal recognition caused the authorities to order the doors of the institution to be closed several times. The followers of John Law who filled Rue Quincampoix with their clamorous cupidities pending the speculative craze in Mississippi demanded, when they faced ruinous losses, that the Government exterminate the Exchange. The Directory closed the doors of the Bourse, but it could not prevent its members from coming together in groups in different parts of Paris. The Consuls, perceiving that they could not control the Bourse, decided to regulate it. The hall was reopened in 1796, but the Committees of Public Defence and of Finance — the circumstances considered, one may joke not poorly at the juxtaposition and the similarity of powers of the committees — reduced the number of brokers to twenty-five. Then, as now, the cry of monopoly was heard, and the Government was forced to extend the privilege of membership to the number of eighty. Four years later this was increased to one hundred; but nearly half of the seats remained vacant, so that in 1816 the membership was again limited to sixty.

During that period the present Bourse was built. The Government's grant proved insufficient, so that the *Compagnie des Agents de Change* (Stock Exchange Association) contributed 3,000,000 francs toward the completion of the building. Besides making the lien between the Government and the licensed agents more authoritative, the voluntary contribution placed the Bourse at the disposition of the members free of rental.

But the official seal which the Government confers is not devoid of pecuniary consideration. Each of the sixty brokers is bound to deposit with the Minister of Finance 250,000 francs, a sum amenable to the broker's creditors in the event of failure. The depositors, however, receive 3 per cent per annum from the Government for the use of this money, which makes the transaction, in these days of low rate interest, a highly desirable investment on the part of brokers. When the stipulation was made the advantage was with the Government, for at that time, in the previous century, money commanded anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent interest, according to the amount and the exigencies of the loan. Concisely put, for the use of this sixty times 250,000 francs the Government granted in perpetuity a monopoly inestimable in value. It was in a day of extreme impecuniosity in the Finance Minister's office that this highly valuable privilege was accorded. Then a seat on the Bourse was not quotable; it was practically worthless. To-day it may be sold for nearly \$500,000, the highest price by far of any ticket issued by exchanges of international importance. The wide difference is easily estimated when it is stated that a membership on the New York Board, commanding about \$70,000, is next in value to that of the Paris Association.

The blue card of admission represents such a large fortune — large for France — that very few single individuals own a ticket outright. In instances innumerable, as many as twelve partners have an interest in the credential of admission. But in permitting this multilateral ownership, the Government insists that at least one capitalist own one-quarter of the *carte de Bourse*, and that he alone may do business on 'Change. There are other provisions governing the small and compact association. Candidates for membership must not be under twenty-five years of age, must have complied with the law regulating military service, and must be Frenchmen. The last clause is a curious refinement which was interpreted to the exclusion of the Jews late in the previous century, and still obtains. It was assumed that a Frenchman was necessarily a Christian. This postulate accepted, the conclusion is easy that a Jew, not being a

Christian, is not a Frenchman, hence cannot be a member of the Bourse — or that, in the commercial rearrangement of eighteenth-century theology, none but of the faith of Christ may be money-changers in the temple. It was the insistent enforcement of the theological provision, far more than the obvious monopoly of the Society of Sixty, that created opposition. The Jews, though not numerically strong, were comparatively influential in financial affairs when the laws governing the Bourse were enacted. At first they transacted business through their Gentile confrères; but they soon wearied of paying the exorbitant commissions, especially as such a charge precluded an equality of chance in operations in certain securities.

Accordingly, they gathered their then limited forces, and formed a rather loose organization of independent brokers. They were undisturbed until 1819, when they were driven from the Bourse by a law which the "regulars" succeeded in having passed. The statute was subsequently abrogated, and the outsiders were permitted to return under certain restrictions. Four years later there was another dispute, which ended in the temporary suspension of the independents. It was not until 1844 that the unrecognized body assumed any sort of conspicuous position. From that year, the railway-building period, they grew in importance. The securities of these corporations were handled exclusively by the curb-brokers; and as their business augmented they were subject to every manner of transient embarrassment on the part of the *agents de change*, or "regulars." It was not until 1859, however, that a decisive clash ensued. The authorized agents brought suit against their competitors, and the courts imposed a fine of 10,500 francs on every unauthorized broker. The latter faction thereupon reorganized themselves on more formidable lines, and added to their specialties foreign securities that had never appeared in the French market.

Their legal status was tested in 1881, when a bank of commanding position, the Union Générale, collapsed. Its failure is one of the dramatic incidents in Zola's "L'Argent." The official agents had sold large blocks of the institution's shares to members of the unofficial organization; but it was discovered that there had been a fraud in the issue. The independents sued the legal members, and won the suit. It may be parenthetically observed that the crash and the subsequent litigation revealed the innate integrity and the fundamental strength of the governmental brokers. Their losses were tremendous, but they held together and met every franc of their obligations — an exemplary proceeding which their opponents failed to emulate in the several fiscal crises that

followed from time to time. This failure to follow a good example enhanced the legitimacy of the regulars' tenure and weakened that of the opposition, particularly as the latter had added to its list a group of mining stocks in which the public suffered severe losses.

With their position grown stronger and that of the open market coterie weaker, the *agents de change* determined upon a decisive battle. At the moment of this decision they were fortunate in having M. Cocher, the Minister of Finance, with them. M. Cocher had been a member of the Bourse; he was *au courant* with the social and political involutions and the perplexingly developed fiscal intricacies of that institution; he was an uncompromising legitimist in the understanding that the brokers sanctioned by the Government should be omnipotent. He created, in 1898, a measure that implied, practically, the destruction of the independent syndicate. The bill was introduced by M. Fleury-Ravarin, a deputy, and bears his name. In addition to the tendencies already indicated in favor of the authorized brokers, the last attack on the independent body was particularly opportune in that it was supported by a peculiar prejudice then markedly virulent. Stress was laid upon the point that of the 86 firms which constitute the outside association, 52 out of a total of 116 members were foreigners or naturalized aliens, and that, among the silent partners of these active members, 138 of 349 were or had been citizens of other countries. There were then 190 foreign or foreign-born persons engaged in the business, against 275 Frenchmen. But the hidden spring in the antagonistic action consisted in the significant coincidence that of the 349 out-of-the-pale brokers the more part consisted of Jews. MM. Rochefort, Drumont, Guérin, and kindred political agitators violently voiced the prejudicial sentiment then and even now held. The radically prejudiced press shouted that the credit of France was at the mercy of a clique of German-Jewish brokers. This and the circumstance of rampant protectionism were sufficient to enlist public opinion to the support of the Fleury-Ravarin bill.

Briefly, the law prohibited "foreigners" from acting as jobbers; it forbade any person not an *agent de change* to act as a dealer in officially quoted securities excepting as to French *rentes*, and it left them to deal only with the limited number of shares not on the Government roster. The "free" market in common with the official had dealt, previous to the enactment of the law, in a swarm of securities listed officially and far easier of negotiation with the independents. Among these were Turkish bonds, Rio Tintos, Spanish fours, and gold-mining shares. The average speculator and investor preferred to place orders with the

outsiders, owing to the greater ease of placement, the lower brokerage rate, the total absence of formalities, and the greater rapidity of the transaction.

But under the 1898 arrangement the independent broker was reduced to the level of a runner or mere agent for the official members; and every person acting as an intermediary in transactions relating to officially quoted securities was obliged to produce a stamped *bordereau*, or invoice, emanating from an *agent de change*, on whose behalf and as whose agent he had nominally to act. The independents had but one recourse, and they took it: they emigrated. The larger number went to Brussels, some went to London, and a few — a very few — to Germany.

The upshot was the immediate deterioration of the Paris Bourse. Within a year the business on 'Change was reduced one-half. The mining market was totally ruined — it was transferred almost wholly to London — while the trading in foreign securities was divided between Brussels and Berlin. The *agents de change* perceived their mistake, but dared not acknowledge it. They were, however, drawn to an acknowledgment by the strictly banking element — made up mainly of Hebrews, who are an influential force in the Crédit Industriel, Société Générale, Crédit Lyonnais, Comptoir d'Escompte de Paris, and private institutions of the character of the Rothschilds — which also directed the attention of the Government to the declining state of affairs in the Place de la Bourse. The end was a compromise, in February of this year. The entente, whilst maintaining the monopoly of the *agents de change*, asserted by the Fleury-Ravarin bill, nullified the evil effects of that law. The new arrangement gave the independent broker an officially recognized and legal existence; it raised his share of brokerage commission and allotted him special space inside the Bourse. On his part, he bound himself not to divide any portion of his brokerage commission with his clients.

This arrangement was made for a better understanding between the official and the now semi-official broker; each section of the market remaining in its own sphere of operation. The *agent de change* is practically a ministerial officer in the same way as a notary or a solicitor. Indeed, he is more akin to a special kind of notary, since his office is to register stock and share transactions and to certify to their authenticity by giving them his official sanction. For this, there is a fixed scale of brokerage fees, varying very much in the same way as a notary's scale of charges varies according to the importance of the sum mentioned in a contract he is called upon to draw up. The very nature of the office of the *agent de change*, the responsibility he incurs, and his pecuniary lia-

bility for the acts of his fellow members oblige him to show a reserve which prevents him from soliciting business from the public. In the circumstances it is difficult for him to enlarge his clientèle. He plays, to all appearances, a purely mechanical part in the stock-exchange transactions; but it is a part which, to be honestly undertaken, requires the utmost integrity and the closest prudence. He may not induce his customers to speculate in such and such a stock, and he may not bid for fresh clients for fear of compromising his position. Conversely, the unofficial broker may solicit new business and do whatever he deems expedient to stimulate transactions.

Such are the respective positions of the commissioned and non-commissioned members as contrived by the recent arrangement. The prestige of the *agent de change* has increased. The other, though in a manner independent and doing business on his own account, nominally becomes the manager, the runner, the beater-up of trade for the *agent de change*, of whom, in a way, he becomes the associate, and from whom he is to receive a fair proportion of the brokerage fees. Nor is the alliance limited to this. Hitherto the outsider's credit has been strictly of a personal character; for he has been a mere hanger-on, an unrecognized, though none the less important, dealer. He has now secured a legal standing, so that his business will possess a commercial value, and may be carried on as a firm which may be handed down to his heirs or successors. The body of which these gentlemen are members, and which in every intent and purpose now makes the Paris security market, is "free" or "liberal" in a technical sense merely. Applications for admission are carefully examined. An applicant who wishes to handle bonds must show a cash possession of 100,000 francs; for stocks, 500,000 francs; for both, 600,000.

With its internecine troubles settled, the Paris Bourse presents a peaceful aspect — theoretically. Enter the Place de la Bourse or Rue Vivienne or Rue Réaumur, and a terrific tumult assails the ears. A heated clamor mounts into the air. It is not unlike the roar of a wild equinoctial storm, rolling and swelling like some unchained fury. The surge and swell emanate from a mob of men in an immense hall encircled by the Corinthian pillars. The range of noises is from the screaming falsetto to the deep bellow of the basso. Still the thunderous sound cannot come altogether from agitated mouths. It must proceed partly from the movements of these men, whose manner is unlike anything one may witness in New York, London, Berlin, or Vienna. The faces register every degree of esuriency. Here there is no repose as in London,

no self-command as in New York, no ceremonious dignity as in Berlin and Vienna. Everything and everybody are unrestrained.

At the first glance the mad mob seems thrown together pell-mell. But it is divided, and the divisions are rigorous. In the centre there is a circular railing called the "Corbeille." This is the exclusive habitation of the *parquet*, as the *agents de change* are designated collectively. Contiguous to the circle there are two round stands known as the "petites Corbeilles." The first is occupied by 60 clerks, one for each *agent de change* who makes cash trades. The other is the station of the same number of employés who occupy themselves with transactions in French funds for future delivery — *negotiations à terme sur la rente*. In propinquity to these circles is still another filled with *remisiers*, people who solicit orders for the *parquet* — in our expressive parlance, drummers. Prior to the compromise of February, the independent brokers were relegated to the narrow space among the Corinthian pillars, exposed practically to snow, rain, and heat. They were known as *coulissiers*, as a whole forming the *coulisse*. To-day they occupy the north end of the Bourse. Whilst a *coulissier* was not permitted to enter the sacred precinct of the *parquet*, the male public generally has had access to any part of the building. Ladies are not admitted even to the galleries; an exclusion that is a discord in the universal chorus which sings the Parisian's praise of gallantry. In the second reflection this extraordinary regulation appears one of strenuous self-defence. The Frenchman, being so susceptible to the attraction of the attractive sex, probably prohibits their presence that he may not be rendered *distract* pending the session. As a compensation for this Oriental ban any man, an expelled *agent de change*, a *rastaquouère*, may mingle with the brokers "on the floor," a privilege irreconcilable with the exclusiveness of Wall Street or of Capel Court. The building is public property, hence it is accessible to all save those who really engender public opinion in France — women. The accessibility has its advantages for anyone who believes that an honest broker is honest only when he is under surveillance. The client may give an order and survey its execution.

There are many other curiosities on the Paris Bourse. Among these are the posters and legends on the inner walls. If a member does not agree with the political or religious views of his confrère, he is permitted to post his dissent upon the walls of the Exchange by displaying Rochefort's or Drumont's latest philippic or Forain's most recent cartoon. A striking curiosity also is the situation of the telegraph department. In times of panic instantaneous communication with the bourses of Europe

may be had by climbing interminable stairs and groping cautiously along a blind serpentine hallway. A negative oddity is the absence of a telephone. Still more so in the negligent sense is the lack of a stock ticker. There are no instruments in France that record market prices. The function of the Yankee invention is performed by messengers who carry quotations to all parts of Paris. I say all parts of Paris advisedly, since the world of money is not concentrated as in New York and Chicago, London and Liverpool, Berlin and Frankfort, Vienna and Budapest. Banks and brokerage houses are scattered throughout Paris. They are everywhere — except in the environments of the Bourse. Where a foreigner expects to find them — in the Place de la Bourse, Rue Vivienne — there are noisy *cabarets*, cramped, buzzing, simmering restaurants, and motley shops. These places, however, are overwhelmingly influenced by the Bourse. The Exchange dominates its environments. One may go into any shop, *cabaret*, or restaurant at any time of the day — or evening, for that matter — and one will hear of nothing but stocks and bonds, and bonds and stocks. The most voluble are the most unsuccessful, and the voluble are the most numerous. Except, perhaps, around the Casino at Monte Carlo, there is no army of monetary *ratés* as large as that which gathers around the Paris Bourse.

Few spectacles are more affecting than that of such men — once, doubtless, prosperous in legitimate pursuits, with a healthful view of the world and possessing in full that inestimable gift of life, *le bonheur d'être* — so shattered in character and degraded in morals; always mental and often physical wrecks; men with broken volition, with lost purpose, with professions they can no longer exercise; with strenuously acquired commercial experience which has been hopelessly vitiated by the terrible dissipation of thwarted speculation; men whose sole idea and possession is a "system" of playing the market which they themselves can never play — like the Vieux Professeur at Monaco who, *moyennant une faible rétribution*, will cast you a beautiful horoscope with his infallible diagrams and apparatus. Men — but they are not men. They are ghosts — pitiable, miserable apparitions who haunt the purlieus of the relentless, inexorable monster that destroyed them.

These, with a few old women, are the dregs and the lees of the Paris Bourse, and they are known as the *pieds humides* — wet feet. The old women carry old hand-bags, and in the old hand-bags are "securities." The insecurities are as cheap and as degraded as the dealers in them — the engravings issued by insolvent corporations, by corrupt companies, by counterfeit concerns that were never intended to develop beyond their

charter, and by South American mining companies that never yielded an ounce of ore. Yet this worthless mass of paper finds a market occasionally. Sometimes a bank or cognate financial institution fails. Among its assets are found the contents of the old hand-bags. Usually these were bought not long before the failure. The failure is not explained by the contents; the contents are explained by the failure. Probing deeper we discover that the officers have speculated, not in hand-bag rubbish, but in the officially listed securities, and, when bankruptcy was inevitable, purchased the refuse to "give themselves a countenance."

Notwithstanding the *pieds humides*, and despite the assaults of the Rochefort-Drumont faction, France's respect for the Bourse is not less real because it is unacknowledged. This hidden esteem is quite conceivable. Frenchmen have a good memory, and in their heart of hearts they are not ungrateful. They remember what the Exchange did for the country when appearances indicated that Germany had crushed France out of all political significance. When Paris was still smoking from the shells of the outside and the firebrands of the inside enemy, the strong members of the Bourse were busy with a plan of financial restitution. When other nations had lost all hope of France's retrieval, the Exchange demonstrated its faith in the country. On the darkest day of that dark period subscriptions were opened — in the corridor facing the Rue Réaumur — for the bonds that covered Germany's severe exactions and for the obligations that made for a renaissance of the capital. The first and largest subscribers to the five-milliard loan were the *agents de change* and the *coulissiers*. There is another thing which the Frenchman has in mind. He knows that whatever the Government, whatever the political aspect, the Bourse never dissembles. The market will not lie. The quotation list is incorruptible. The roster of prices has never been an obsequious courtier to this or that régime. Just as Rochefort, Drumont, Guérin, and Millevoye hate the Bourse, so have all radical despots looked askance at that institution. Force and persuasion have not controlled the lists, and the influence of intrigue has ever been fleeting.

While the Paris Bourse is neither saint nor hero, it is the only power, aside from saints and heroes, that the kings and mobs of France could not compel to express a sentiment contrary to its conscience of commerce. When the Exchange expresses an opinion it is in a language understood by all — that of francs and centimes. Napoleon feared it, Robespierre held it in execration, and Prudhon — the monsieur famed for his knack of saying infelicitous truths in moments of absent-minded candor — said that the Bourse in critical periods was the final refuge of honest views.

Even the terrorists could not intimidate the then comparatively small and weak financial corporation. The Exchange flatly refused to hold sacred the assignats issued by the Convention. The excessive supply of arbitrary money brought the inevitable depreciation, and a few financial heads were inevitably brought to M. Guillotin's knife. (The terrorists decreed a penalty of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, twenty years for the second, and death for the third, for the tendering or receiving of assignats at less than their face value.) The Convention might take several heads from the Bourse, but it could not compel it to take money considered fundamentally fraudulent and indiscriminately circulated. The members of the Exchange knew, and they were not afraid to proclaim their knowledge, that the property upon which the assignats were based was unlawfully seized by the state; they knew, and they dared say so, that even if the gross and egregious confiscation were subsequently sanctioned by more responsible Governments, the currency issued upon such property was dangerously in excess of its actual value. Robespierre could not make his political might a financial right. The money thus issued continued to sink in estimation, and the ignoble end was bankruptcy.

From that day the Paris Bourse has made itself felt. It has impressed Frenchmen quite as effectively as the cannons of monarchies or the fragments of pavements of insurrectionists. The latest demonstration of its power has strengthened its prestige. I refer here to the Franco-Russian alliance. This entente had its origin in the efficacious offices of the Bourse. The youngest of us may revert to that evening at the Peterhof when the grandson of Nicholas I, Alexander III, an implacable enemy of the French Revolution, of a sudden changed his mind and consented to hear, hat off, the "Marseillaise," the hymn proscribed the night before by the Chief of Police. Russia wanted money and wanted it badly. She had made a tour of Europe and found her credit disabled everywhere save in the French capital; and here the fulfilment of her application was made contingent, by the men of the Bourse, upon a certain martial reciprocity which culminated in the extant understanding between France and Russia.

It was the result of a second Russian loan which occasioned the first night session held for some time. French *rentes* fell to par. The heavy liquidation was not due to any intrinsic weakness of the national security. Frenchmen sold their own bonds in order to take on the new Russian security, thus blending patriotism with business. Night sessions are not a recent innovation. They have been held by the *coulisse* in periods

of great activity for over half a century. The "call" begins at eight o'clock and continues about two hours. It is held, not in the Bourse building, but in the hall of one of the most important banking institutions of Paris, a circumstance which leads to the correct conclusion that in no country are the relations between the leading banks and the Exchange so close as in France. The banks, in a broad sense, are the drummers of the Bourse. They solicit orders directly for the Exchange. Circulars of advice are sent out daily, giving a detailed opinion of the market, and there is a constant stream of runners carrying orders between the banks and the Bourse. The relations between the Exchange and the banking institutions are, indeed, far more interdependent in Paris than in London, Berlin, Vienna, or New York, albeit the interdependence is in no way dangerous to the monetary establishments. The circumspect intimacy, rather, is hugely beneficial to the Bank of France, the Crédit Lyonnais, and like institutions. The business of the first mentioned connotes the prosperity of the rest; the total volume of payments made and received in 1900 amounted to the stupendous sum of 149,247,102,800 francs, and the turn-over of operations productive of profit attained to 18,663,048,500 francs.

But, to be sure, the affluence of the Bourse and the banks depends on the welfare of the nation; and France prospers, but not by paying the usual price — spiritual paralysis. She prospers because of what Carlyle calls her true intellect. Her intelligence and her wealth are broadly distributed.

E. FRIEND.

THE MONASTIC DANGER IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

IF the charge of monasticism were brought against the higher education of a few generations ago, it would be easy to call attention to many features which would give at any rate a *prima facie* support to such an accusation. By its exclusion of women, its compulsion of celibacy upon members of the foundation, the minuteness of its disciplinary regulations, the distinctive dress prescribed for its students, even its characteristic type of architecture, the college of the past presented obvious indications of kinship with the monastery. It would need no violent effort of the imagination, on the part of a visitor to Oxford, to picture groups of cowed figures walking in slow procession through the cloisters of New College or to suppose that the tolling of the Christ Church curfew was bringing to a close daily tasks of meditation and service. Even the sight of dancing in the Examination Schools, or of tutorial perambulators in the Parks, or of electric-light bulbs on college staircases, or of any other mark of intruding suburbanism, does not altogether dissipate the lingering impression of old-worldliness. It is not so very hard, after all, to think oneself back to the period which survives even to the present time in such names as Logic Lane, Holywell Street, and Friars' Entry.

But the spirit of the latest of the Renaissances has cleared away, it will be said, every trace of mediævalism from such universities and colleges as are in working order to-day. In Spain, perhaps, there may still be places of superior instruction where Latin is the common speech and the dialectics of the Schoolmen remain the ideal of true learning; but at any rate in America, which is practical if she is anything, there is no toleration for any form of education that is not vital and vivifying. There can be no more opportunity for the restoration of mediæval methods of training than for the revival of the megalosaurus. The large proportion of colleges which are of almost contemporaneous establishment — for some of the oldest in date of foundation have been as good as re-created by quite recent endowments — may be quoted as a guar-

antee that the higher education of this country cannot fail to be essentially modern. Can it be supposed that, with respect either to equipment, curriculum, administration, or general tone, there can be found any signs of the influence of such monastic conceptions as might naturally be expected to persist, in some measure, in colleges which draw their origin from William of Wykeham or Cardinal Wolsey?

The monastic spirit, however, is not narrowly limited in its means of expression. The history of religion, in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic countries, supplies ample illustration of its facility in inventing disguises; and recent literary and educational developments show that intellectual monasticism is as ingenious as the religious variety in making itself out to be its own opposite. In his recent collection of the lectures delivered during his Oxford professorship, Mr. W. J. Courthope applies the name to a tendency which distinguishes a class of books not usually suggestive of cowl and cloister. He points out that, in the contemporary literature of every country in Europe, life in poetry is no longer looked for in that perfect balance between the universal and individual elements which is the essence of all classical art. Instead of reflecting in an ideal way the active life of the society in which it is composed, poetry becomes the expression of the peculiarities of the individual poet. "There is at work in modern society," he tells us, "an eccentric or monastic principle," which leads men to pervert metre into a luxurious instrument for the expression of merely private ideas. In his protest against the exaggeration of the individual element to the neglect of the universal, and his plea for a broader view of the aim of poetry, Mr. Courthope says:

"Many of the spiritual forces in our society — notably reaction from materialism, vulgarity, commonplace — impel the imagination toward a state of transcendental monasticism, thrusting the mind inward upon itself, and urging it to the contemplation of its own ideas without considering them in relation to the ideas of others. Poetical conception so formed will, by its own innate force, command attention and respect from those whose spiritual experience has been in any way similar, and yet, as it has been framed without reference to the wants of human nature at large, will necessarily lack the main element of enduring life."¹

Mr. Courthope adds that, in his opinion, this is the danger that threatens the position of Robert Browning, who so absolutely excludes the reader from his choice of subject, and so arbitrarily, in his treatment of his themes, compels his audience to place themselves at his own point of view, that the life of his art depends entirely upon his individuality. Accordingly, in spite of his genius, his influence upon future generations,

¹"Life in Poetry: Law in Taste," p. 58.

which may be less inclined than our own to surrender their imaginations to his guidance, is by no means secure.

Thus monasticism in literature does not necessarily take the form of devotion to the illumination of missals and to the transcription of ancient manuscripts. Every little set of *précieuses*, every coterie of Omar Khayyám worshippers, is a monastic circle. The disgust at the vices of the open world which led some of the best men of former generations to withdraw themselves into the desert finds a modern parallel in the disdain which is felt for the popular judgment by writers and critics whose standards are not recognized among the multitude. Our connoisseurs forget that, if the general taste is mistaken and crude, the remedy is to be sought in its cultivation, not in their own segregation into a class of superior persons. It is only the test of time and use that can distinguish between true principles and fads.

The fact that we can thus discover evidences of essential monasticism in contemporary literature of an entirely non-ecclesiastical type suggests the possibility that the same tendency may exist in forms of education that are supposed to breathe the free spirit of democracy. An incidental reference of Mr. Courthope's, in his concluding lecture, points the contrast between monastic and non-monastic ideals of education :

"From very early days, Oxford and Cambridge assimilated with their system of mediæval education all the ideas that flowed in upon them with the rise of the New Learning. But they did not, like the later Italian Humanists, regard art and learning as something to be pursued for its own sake, and without reference to the active life of the state. On the contrary, as the college system expanded, the ideal of civic education grew always stronger; the universities shared to the full in the sympathies and interests which were moving the mind of the nation at large, and instead of developing into monasteries devoted to the purposes of knowledge and research, they became rather schools for preparing the minds of youth for the discharge of public affairs. Oxford and Cambridge, having participated to the full in the internal struggle caused by the Reformation and the Civil Wars, continued to send from their seminaries the men who presided over the business of the country as judges and statesmen; poets and essayists went forth from the seclusion of their colleges to apply the stores of knowledge, there derived from the study of antiquity, to the problems of living thought. This bracing political atmosphere helped to invigorate the studies of the universities themselves, making the scholar sympathize with the civic spirit of the great classical authors, and vivify the literatures of Greece and Rome with analogies drawn from the society about him."¹

Mr. Courthope regrets to observe that, at present, although the public service in England is still largely recruited from the national universities, a certain reaction against the atmosphere of democratic politics

¹ "Life in Poetry: Law in Taste," p. 486.

— he refrains from mentioning Mr. Chamberlain by name — is impelling academic society to pursue the aim of self-culture apart from the main impulse of social action in the state. He contends that the universities should show themselves to be animated with the public spirit of the *πολιτικὴ παιδεία*, the civic training, that was given in the city states of Greece in the days of their greatness and liberty, and that their educational aims should be brought into conformity with the laws of the country's social being as disclosed in the course of her national history. These aims would then "be seen to be equally remote from a narrow utilitarianism and from the pursuit of art and science as ends in themselves."

The problem of striking this happy balance is not easier to solve by being transported across the Atlantic, in spite of the apparent advantage of social conditions which are not hampered by prescription and tradition. The American educator begins, comparatively speaking, with a clear field; but it requires all his care to keep his ideals and practice "equally remote from a narrow utilitarianism and from the pursuit of art and science as ends in themselves." On the one hand the temptation is great to minimize and slur over all that part of education which does not immediately result in the acquisition of some mechanical or commercial or professional skill. When a young man has before him a working lifetime of only forty years or so, it is felt to be a grievous waste that he should spend upon his preparation an hour more than is required by his necessary studies in the technique of his craft. He has no time to lose. The day of his superannuation already looms in menace across his horizon, and he cannot afford to delay by taking thought for such trifling matters as the formation of sound mental habits and the cultivation of pure and ennobling tastes. While he was occupied in such pursuits his rival would have mastered a hundred new dodges for catching dollars. Accordingly, one of the most popular types of education is that which expresses itself in such advertisements as "Spanish in ten lessons," "Stenography while you wait." It is a type that has spread far and will spread farther, until people discover to their amazement that there is some truth in the old proverb that the longest way round is sometimes the shortest way home.

The reaction against this policy of haste and superficiality brings with it, however, perils of its own. Antipathy to the degradation of education involved in its appraisalment by the standards of the market and the counting-house is in danger of leading to an aloofness which affects to ignore the principle that education, at its highest and best, is

a preparation for life. If utilitarian theories of education err, it is because they unduly narrow the true conception of utility. The parent who wishes his boy to be taught nothing but what is "practical" is, in principle, profoundly right: a training that bears no fruit does naught but cumber the ground. It is by his interpretation of the "practical," by his understanding of the demands of life and the means by which they may be met, that the true teacher distinguishes himself from the quack.

Hence, to overlook the close contact into which the individual will inevitably be brought with the affairs of his fellows is to be guilty of a serious failure to grasp one of the fundamental requirements of any real education. The student with whom the teacher has to deal is not destined to spend his existence *in vacuo*, or even — the next thing to it — in a hermitage of intellectual anchorites carefully shielded from every sound of vulgar human speech. Whether he is his brother's keeper or not, there is no getting away from the fact that he is his brother's brother. The impossibility of isolating him from his kin, or of emancipating him from his own share of responsibility for whatever in his environment is the result of human effort or neglect, puts the solution of the problem of his education beyond the reach of the intellectual recluse as well as of the intellectual cheap-jack. No one who regards the affairs of the extra-academic world from the point of view of either a dilettante or a cynic can reasonably hope to achieve any real and permanent success as a teacher.

If this be so, it may be pardonable to hesitate before accepting the usual complacent view of the tendencies of contemporary higher education in America. Is not the number increasing of colleges which are making it their great ambition to become "monasteries devoted to the purposes of knowledge and research" rather than "schools for preparing the minds of youth for the discharge of public affairs"? Perhaps it has been too readily assumed that the incorporation of "modern" subjects in the course of studies would in itself secure the desired contact with actual life. There might, of course, be mediævalism in Latin, but surely bacteriology must be closely relevant to the needs of our own times. The science of bacteriology — yes; the teaching of bacteriology — not necessarily. To a practising physician a knowledge of this subject is evidently of the greatest value; but its inclusion in the course of study pursued by a non-professional undergraduate must be justified on entirely different grounds from those which give it a place in a technical school of medicine. It would be quite possible for a college to banish from its cur-

riculum the classical languages and literatures, with every other branch of old-fashioned scholarship, and place upon its staff representatives of all the sciences that have sprung up during the last fifty years, and at the same time to be hopelessly monastic, as far as its educational work was concerned. And, after all, it is for purposes of education that a college exists. Its efficiency must ultimately be measured by the quality of the men whom it sends out into the world, not by the degree in which its professorial body approximates to a miniature edition of the Royal Society.

To say this is not to ignore or underestimate the importance of inquiry and research. No serious danger appears as yet of too much time or money being spent, in any part of the world, in the attempt to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of the Tabernacle of Learning. There is scope indeed for all the investigation of all the specialists. There are sciences that are still in their infancy, and periods of history that are still enveloped in mist. Barren as many learned inquiries and experiments may seem at the moment, the time comes sooner or later when there is discerned in all of them some valuable contribution to human knowledge. In the most surprising ways the unselfish pursuit of learning for learning's sake has led to inventions and discoveries that have increased even the material welfare of the race. But, however necessary these investigations may be, it is not the province of the college, as a place of higher education, to make them. Of course, every professor who has a real love for the subject which he teaches will maintain the freshness of this interest by such researches as he is able to undertake on his own account. He will understand well enough that he must grow that he may live. But if he becomes so fascinated by pure enthusiasm for his subject that he loses concern for the development of his pupils and becomes unwilling to take the trouble of studying their individual requirements, it would be better both for his college and for himself that he should withdraw to some congenial retreat where the problems which absorb his energies would not be complicated by the existence of the undergraduate.

The author of the delightful "Diary of a Freshman" scarcely exaggerates when he describes a professor who "is said to know more about fen-drainage in the thirteenth century than any other living person except one dreadfully old man in Germany who's beginning to forget about it." Now it is well for the world that whatever is knowable about fen-drainage in the thirteenth century should be known — by two persons rather than by one, inasmuch as there is then less risk of its being

blotted out of the book of human remembrance. But by twenty or two hundred rather than by two? I am not so sure. Still less do I feel confident that an American whose proclivities have led him to find his chief delight in the mental habitation of the waste places of the Middle Ages is likely to be well fitted to cultivate in the youth of to-day the qualities that will be of chief value in the development of the Americanism of the future.

As the function of the college is to prepare for life, and the undertaking of learned researches is one form of life, it follows that the college will sometimes include on its roll of students the name of an embryo investigator. If so, it is responsible for putting his natural capacity into such a condition that he will be fit to attempt his special work. It will leave to his own initiative his later researches into mediæval fen-drainage, but it will supply him with the tools he needs for his delving. It will teach him how to read and to think and to reason; how to observe and to record his observations. But it is only one in a hundred that will thus dedicate himself to the confined life of the cloister. The remaining ninety-nine will be destined to labor in the midst of the crowd. As business men or members of the professions they will form part of the work-a-day world. Their character—and this is equally true in the case of the specialist—will contribute either to the well-being or to the ill-being of the commonwealth. The college has them under its influence during a very susceptible period. Without fashioning them into one mould, it can leave upon them enduring impressions. If it so pleases, it may communicate to them a sense of detachment from the life of their fellows, or, on the other hand, may inspire them with high ideals of sympathy and mutual responsibility. Just now it has a special call to convince its alumni of the duties of practical patriotism, and to quicken within them the ambition to add something to the forces engaged in the purification of national and municipal politics. The task of draining the noisome civic fens of the twentieth century affords an opportunity for many careers.

It is a reason for surprise that America, with all her reputation for being practical, should have allowed her institutions of higher education to drift so far out of touch with national legislation and administration. It may, perhaps, be demonstrable that the English universities have not been as conspicuous as they should have been in the history of research; but they have at any rate made constant contributions to the main stream of public life. The result has been the creation of traditions of public service which have made impossible in England the flagrant

abuses that disfigure the politics of the United States. The most eminent scholars and men of letters do not consider it incongruous to seek election as representatives of the people in Parliament. For instance, the list of members of the present House of Commons contains the names of Sir Michael Foster, Sir Richard Jebb, Mr. John Morley, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, and Mr. James Bryce. Imagine a condition of things in which it would be possible for such men as Dr. Ira Remsen, Dr. W. W. Goodwin, or the late Mr. John Fiske to become candidates for Congress! In addition to the eminent men above mentioned there may be found in the House of Commons, by the score, members who have prepared themselves for a political career by a distinguished career at the universities. Indeed, until comparatively recent times, it was the exception for an M.P. not to be a university graduate. Yet in American newspapers one may frequently see interesting little paragraphs in which it is solemnly set forth that a certain proportion of college graduates is actually to be found on the list of those who are entrusted with the government of the country. That such a statement should be regarded as an item of news is not without significance.

In England, again, the Higher Division of the permanent Civil Service is recruited almost entirely from the most successful university men. It is quite the usual thing for a Cambridge wrangler or an Oxford first-classman to go straight from the university to a clerkship in the Colonial Office or the Board of Trade, not because he has a "pull," but because he has acquitted himself well in an examination open to the youth of the whole country. This system makes unnecessary in England the expedient which is in America the most striking exception to the general aloofness of the colleges from public affairs — namely, the occasional appointment of a college president to a diplomatic or other mission abroad. No British Prime Minister would ever think of taking away the head of an Oxford or Cambridge college from his proper work to send him on any kind of national business. In the higher ranks of the permanent Civil Service he can easily lay his hand upon men who possess the combined qualifications of culture and knowledge of affairs. With the exception of the Governor-Generalship and a few other high offices to which direct appointment is made from men of experience in home politics, the government of India, civil and judicial, is carried on entirely by men who have entered the service, from the universities or the best class of secondary schools, through the open door of a competitive examination. The administration of local and provincial affairs in the home country is carried out to a considerable extent by university

graduates and professional men — clergymen, physicians, schoolmasters — who devote much of their time to service on county, district, or borough councils, or on school boards, without any remuneration direct or indirect. The better class of journalism is largely in the hands not of university men only, but of university men whose distinction while at Oxford or Cambridge showed that they might reasonably have anticipated brilliant careers in the realm of scholarship if they had shrunk from the rough-and-tumble obscurity of work upon the daily and weekly press. Hence, the public opinion of the country, however mistaken and deluded it may sometimes be on individual questions, is as a whole perpetually irrigated by streams from academic sources. This connection between the universities and the government of the nation, illustrated in so many ways, is wholesome alike for politics and for education. It saves politics from becoming materialistic, and education from becoming monastic.

It may, perhaps, be suggested that the missing link between public affairs and higher education may best be supplied by the multiplication of courses of instruction in sociology. Experience scarcely encourages the hope of profitable results from this method. In fact, the chair of sociology, instead of being a means of reconciliation, has rather become the storm centre in American universities. The truth is that this science is as yet in too indeterminate a stage to be a fit subject for academic instruction. If the teacher in this department confines himself to the exposition of such doctrines as are universally admitted, the range of his lectures will be narrow and their educational value small. The moment that he attempts to deal with problems that are still under discussion he treads on dangerous ground. A professor may hold what view he pleases respecting the existence of ballad poetry among the Romans and no one will remonstrate, but he cannot espouse any theory about trusts without giving offence in some quarter or other. The students themselves are the gainers by the postponement of this study until a later period. It should be enough if, while they are at the university, they acquire that general culture and especially that basis of sound historical and philosophical knowledge which will enable them in adult years to grapple with these problems of practical life for themselves. And certainly it is impossible to attribute to the teaching of sociology the closer connection between higher education and public life in England, for the simple reason that in English universities and colleges a chair of sociology is absolutely unknown. Even political economy is studied by only a very small proportion of undergraduates.

If the secret exists anywhere within the limits of the curriculum itself, it will be much more likely to be found in the choice of the ancient classics. It was not by accident that these studies came to be called "the humanities." They may, of course, be degraded into a machine for the production of a narrow specialism; but such is not their characteristic operation in the hands of enlightened teachers. Mr. Courthope calls attention to the fact that the English ideal of classical education differs alike from the æsthetic ideal of the Italian humanists, who deified the ancients as absolute lawgivers in the sphere of abstract form, and from the scientific ideal of the German universities, which regard the dead languages as one of the many departments of abstract knowledge. "We in England," he says, "on the contrary, look on the classics as a great school of taste, and we consider the education of taste itself as a means to a practical end." It is this political spirit of the national temper — the word "political" being used in its wide Greek sense — which, in Mr. Courthope's opinion, has given a special character to the study of the classics in the English Universities since the days of Erasmus and Colet, of Cheke and Ascham. He quotes from Döllinger, himself distinguished among teachers who have pursued a different ideal, a notable testimony to the efficiency of this system of education:

"These renovated and improved editions of the old and unfortunately extinct German bursaries (*Bursen*), the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, have many a time as I observed their working on the spot awakened in me feelings of envy, and led me to long for the time when we might again have something of the kind; for I could plainly perceive that their effect was to make instruction take root in the mind, and become a part of it, and that their influence extended beyond the mere communication of knowledge to the ennobling elevation of the life and character."¹

It would be extravagant to suppose that the qualities which won this commendation from the German historian were entirely the result of the attention given to the teaching of the classics or of the particular methods of teaching adopted in this case. Something must be set to the credit of the traditions of English university and public-school life in matters that lie outside the class-room. Whatever may have been the history of their development, to-day the studies and the traditions act and react on one another. The reading of the classical authors cultivates the taste and widens the intellectual horizon; while the "political spirit" brought to the task enables the student to interpret the message of Thucydides and Plato to modern times, and prevents his scholarship from dissipating itself in minute philological or philosophical sub-

¹ Quoted in "Life in Poetry: Law in Taste," p. 28.

tleties. It is not easy to say how far it is desirable that these traditions should be followed in a new country, or how it is possible to reproduce what is wholesome and strong in them without taking also those phases which do not deserve to be continued or propagated. But at any rate it is most necessary that, however eager their ambition to gain distinction by producing brilliant specialists, our colleges shall remember that they were established not so much to extract and consecrate, from out of the multitude, an intellectual *élite*, as, in the significant words of Isaiah, to "raise up the foundations of many generations."

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

WRITERS IN THE OCTOBER FORUM.

REPRESENTATIVE HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1856. Was taken West by his parents in 1863. Graduated from Northwestern University in 1874 and from Harvard in 1876. In 1877 received the degree of A.M. from Harvard for post-graduate studies in International Law and Constitutional History. Was admitted to the Illinois bar, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1879. Has since practised in Chicago. Was elected a member of the 55th Congress as a Republican from the North Side District of Chicago, and was reelected to the 56th and the 57th Congresses. Made in the House of Representatives the first argument offered in the first session of the 56th Congress in support of the absolute power of Congress to regulate and dispose of territory acquired by the United States, basing his position upon the historical precedents established by the purchase of Louisiana and the sale of Texas.

DR. P. MAXWELL FOSHAY, a physician of Cleveland, Ohio, was born in 1867. Graduated M.S., M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1892 was Secretary of the Rochester Academy of Science. In 1893 assisted in the organization of the Cleveland Medical Society, and in 1897 served as its Secretary. Since 1896 has been editor of the Cleveland "Journal of Medicine." Is a member of several medical societies, and has been a contributor to various medical journals. Is at present Secretary of the Ohio State Medical Society, and President of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio Hospital for Epileptics. During the present year served as one of the three members of the Committee on Reorganization of the American Medical Association.

MR. E. FRIEND was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1864. Was educated at the University of Vienna. Came to the United States in 1882. Entered journalism in 1886, and has contributed to German, British, and American periodicals. Was dramatic critic and later editorial writer in Chicago. Since 1896 has been financial editor of the "Chicago Daily News." Spent some time in Paris last year in the study of French conditions.

MR. HERBERT W. HORWILL was born at Sandown, England, in 1864. In 1882 entered Wadham College, Oxford, with an open classical scholarship, and graduated in 1886, after taking high honors in Moderations and Litteræ Humaniores. In 1887 won the Chancellor's prize at Oxford, and the gold medal in classics at the M.A. examination of London University. Is a Nonconformist minister, but without pastoral charge for reasons of health. Is now engaged in literary work in New York. Has contributed to several leading English and American publications, mainly on educational topics.

PROF. DAVID KINLEY was born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1861. Came to the United States at the age of eleven, and settled in Andover, Massachusetts. After graduating from Phillips Academy, in that town, went to Yale and was graduated in the collegiate department in 1884. Then became principal of the high school in North Andover for six years. From 1890 to 1892 studied in the department of history and political science at Johns Hopkins University. During the latter year was also assistant in history and instructor in political economy in the Woman's College of Baltimore. In 1892 went to the University of Wisconsin as fellow and assistant in economics, and there received the degree of Ph.D. In 1893 was called to the University of Illinois, where he is now Professor of Economics and Dean of the College

of Literature and Arts. Has published a book on "The Independent Treasury of the United States," and has contributed articles from time to time to the various periodicals.

MR. R. E. C. LONG is a well-known London journalist, on the editorial staff of the "Review of Reviews," and a contributor to other prominent British publications. Has resided for some time in Russia, and is personally acquainted with many leading public men—including Count Tolstoy, M. de Bloch, and several high governmental personages—in that country. His present article is written from facts collected by him in Russia, and not hitherto published abroad.

MR. A. MAURICE LOW was born in London, and educated in London and Austria. Has been for several years the Washington correspondent of the Boston "Globe" and the London "Chronicle," and writes the monthly article on American affairs in "The National Review."

PROF. DARIUS HARLAN PINGREY was born in Andover, New York. Is an alumnus of Alfred University. After graduation, engaged in educational work in New York and Pennsylvania until 1867, when he became an assistant shorthand reporter in the United States Senate. Resigned that position and went to Illinois the same year. Was superintendent and principal of city schools until 1878, when he was admitted to the bar of the State and of the United States. Then opened an office in Bloomington, Illinois. Is the author of four legal works which are recognized as standard by the bench and the bar. In 1894 received the degree of LL.D. from Alfred University. In 1898 became a Professor in the Law School of the Illinois Wesleyan University. In 1899 wrote for the "Chicago Legal News" a series of articles on "The Status of our New Acquisitions" which attracted the attention of American and European jurists. Is a member of the Illinois State Bar Association and the American Bar Association.

MR. ALBERT GARDNER ROBINSON was born in Winchester, Massachusetts, in 1855. On leaving school entered commercial life. In this he remained for some twenty-five years, until the beginning of the Spanish-American war, in the spring of 1898, when he accepted a position as correspondent for the New York "Evening Post." In that capacity he served in Porto Rico, going out with the earliest detachment of troops, and remaining until after the taking of formal possession, at San Juan; in Cuba, where he watched the initial steps of the government of intervention; in the Philippine Islands; and in South Africa.

MR. ALBERT WATKINS was born in Worcester, England, in 1848, and removed to Wisconsin the following year. Graduated from the University of Wisconsin in both the academic and the law departments. Subsequently became interested in, and editor of, the "Democrat," of Mineral Point, Wis., the "Tribune," of Sioux City, Ia., and the "Daily State Democrat," of Lincoln, Neb. Was always a strong advocate of "sound money." Was postmaster of Lincoln from 1885 to 1891. Opposed Mr. Bryan on the silver question as early as 1892, and quit the Democratic party in 1896 on that issue. Was a delegate to the Indianapolis Convention of 1896, acting as a member of the sub-committee on platform, and taking an active part in drafting resolutions.

MR. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST, a native of New York, is one of the best-known and ablest writers on political subjects at the National capital. For a number of years has occupied an editorial position on the Washington "Post," in charge of the Congressional and political work.

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The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1901.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ANYONE who has studied the character of the Emperor of Germany and the character of the President of the United States must be struck by the resemblance that exists between these two leading actors on the stage of great affairs to-day. They are wonderfully alike in a great many things — in their superabundant vitality, their fearlessness, their seeming disregard for public opinion, and their many-sidedness. William of Germany knows much of statecraft, the army and navy, and politics, and not a little of art, science, and literature. President Roosevelt knows politics, books, and what many readers of many books never learn — men; his knowledge of military affairs is more comprehensive than most people give him credit for, as he has studied the art of war from the best writers of the science; and he has the knowledge of naval affairs that comes from having been at the head of the Navy Department when the roar of great guns wrote the only page in modern naval history.

There is another striking similarity between the two men. William of Prussia came to the throne as the successor of two men in whom all the world had confidence — men who stood for all that was wise, cautious, and lovable. His grandfather had died crowned by the aureole of success, having created a nation, and having emerged victorious from a campaign that amazed the world. His successor was young, virile, hasty, untrained in statecraft, intolerant of counsel, heedless of advice. He believed in himself and in his country, whose magnificent resources the world was then dimly beginning to appreciate. President Roosevelt, on his part, succeeds a man whom the world had learned to regard as

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very wise, very cautious, and very gentle in his methods of government. President McKinley, like the first German Emperor, had turned the eyes of all the world on his country by its military achievements. The world had recognized the United States as a great factor in the economic equation; the war with Spain made it understand that here was a power with such tremendous latent military possibilities that, if it cared to exert them, it could swing the balance as it chose. Not only had the United States money and resources; it had something more, that something without which money is valueless; it had the men, men who had shown their courage and intelligence, who had fought as well on land as on sea.

Mr. Roosevelt, like William, suffered at first from comparison. When President McKinley died there was a moment of fear. We can look back now and see how groundless were our fears; but at the moment they appeared very real. Wisdom was to give place to inexperience, caution to rashness, peace to war. The war with Spain had brought the United States into the front rank of the great powers, and here was a man suddenly placed at the head of affairs who, like his royal brother of Germany, believed in the sword, and longed for the opportunity to show how finely tempered was the blade. No wonder the world waited for what was next to happen.

The world is always looking for the dramatic. It forgets dialogue, but always remembers a tableau. The colonel of the Rough Riders, watching his men take their baptism of blood at Las Guasimas, leading them up San Juan hill, sharing with them the privations of the trenches in front of Santiago — that was the vivid picture people could remember of Theodore Roosevelt. They forgot that with him war was merely an incident. For a few months he had worn khaki because he had conceived it his duty to offer his sword to his country; and with that adaptability which is the sixth sense possessed by Americans, he had gone about his business of soldiering as naturally as if it were the only business he knew. But the public forgot that against his few months of military experience were the years he had spent in learning life, in studying men and affairs, and in fitting himself for government by reading and writing history. Roosevelt, the man on horseback, the beau ideal of the cavalry commander, a dashing, superb figure, one that would have delighted the heart of Carlyle, was real and vivid enough to catch the emotional crowd. Roosevelt the essayist, the biographer of Benton and Morris, the historian of the West; Roosevelt who had waged war against Tammany, who had taken a corrupt, inefficient, and brutal police force and had taught it honesty, efficiency, and decency; who had courageously made the

civil service law a thing to be respected instead of a thing to be mocked at by designing politicians — this was the dialogue of the play, to be forgotten before the act was over; but the climax, the Man on Horseback, was to be remembered long after the curtain went down.

Once again draw the parallel between the German Emperor and the President. When William II came to the throne, one of the first things he did was to dismiss his old and tried Chancellor as indifferently as any other servant who has outlived his usefulness. William dropped his pilot overboard when all the world thought that never did ship of state need an experienced pilot so much as did Germany at that moment. It was his announcement to the world that he was his own master. It was the audacity of genius or the sublimity of ignorance, and no one then knew exactly which. Everyone knows now. The firebrand that was to set all Europe ablaze has more than once quenched the flame, and his great political sagacity is now generally admitted. Mr. Roosevelt, confronted with an equally grave emergency, forced to act almost on the spur of the moment, showed the same courage and the same wisdom.

The policy of McKinley had been accepted and endorsed by the country. Under that policy there had been prosperity and contentment: the United States was happy at home and respected abroad. Mr. Roosevelt made that policy his own; he made the men who had helped to construct that policy as the advisers of President McKinley his own advisers. This step showed not only wisdom, but courage and confidence in himself. A foolish man would have been indifferent to the delicate balance on which at that moment hinged commercial solvency, and would have tipped the scale by justifying the worst fears of the pessimistic; a timid man would have hesitated, temporized, sought counsel, and swung with the latest current of advice from selfish and interested counsellors; a man who mistrusted himself would have feared the inevitable comparison in the eyes of the cabinet between McKinley and himself; and the cabinet, being so close to the President, would have the best opportunity to weigh the living against the dead. That he did not hesitate, that at the most critical moment of his life he acted with decision and wisdom, and that he showed himself willing to accept counsel were the highest proofs he could give to the country of his sincerity, his prudence, and his understanding of the responsibilities which had come to him when he took the oath of office as President of the United States.

A few words removed all doubts. Fears were dissipated. Men trembled no longer. The pulse of commerce, that for a moment had

been interrupted, resumed its normal beat, rhythmically registering the steady flow of capital through the arteries of business. The United States, a young giant for the moment dazed, was as sound, as healthy, as vigorous, as full of courage and ambition as ever. The morrow could be faced with hope and serenity.

The man of action, the man who does things rather than talk about them; who has courage, determination, and that tenacity of purpose which is a more valuable quality than genius; and, above all, who has character, who creates an ideal and clings to it — such a man is generally set down by his fellows as being impetuous, hasty, ill-balanced, intractable, in short, a dangerous man to place in a position of responsibility, because he is usually misunderstood. His enemies have never been able to accuse President Roosevelt of dishonesty, of petty methods, of unworthy practices; they could not charge him with being unlettered or narrow; there is no blemish on his private or public life. But they could dub him impetuous; which is a convenient but intangible charge, and requires no specification. Under analysis the accusation resolves itself into this: when he has considered it necessary to correct an abuse, when as a public officer, having a public duty to perform, he has deemed it essential to fight, he has never hesitated about taking the offensive. But he has always fought fairly. In the words of his intimate friend and warm admirer Jacob Riis, he has never "struck below the belt. In the Governor's chair afterward he gave the politicians whom he fought, and who fought him, the same terms. They tried their best to upset him, for they had nothing to expect from him. But they knew and owned that he fought fair. Their backs were secure. He never tricked them to gain an advantage. A promise given by him was always kept to the letter." It is that quality of fairness that has won him the respect of his enemies. Even while they feared and disliked him, they were forced to admit that he would take no unworthy advantage.

Run over his career and you notice at once how dangerously impetuous he has been. Typical of this "impetuosity" is the round robin he signed which was sent to the War Department. Santiago had fallen; there was no necessity for maintaining a large force in Cuba; and yet the flower of the American army, Shafter's army corps, was in the trenches before Santiago, with yellow fever hideously grinning at them. Red tape and bureaucracy were responsible. Roosevelt wanted to preserve the lives of his men, and there were two ways to do it. One was to send them to Porto Rico, for which everyone was anxious; the other was, if their services were not needed in Porto Rico, to send them home.

Washington potted and dawdled and talked; Roosevelt acted. The troops were sent home.

Another instance of his "impulsiveness" was when he wrote to the Secretary of War urging that the Rough Riders be sent to Porto Rico rather than the volunteers, because his regiment was "as good as any regulars, and three times as good as any state troops," who, he pointed out, "were armed with black powder, Springfields, or other archaic weapons." Malice thought there was a chance to injure him, and this letter was published in the hope that it would prejudice the volunteers against Roosevelt and damage him politically. No harm was done; on the contrary, the country liked this kind of plain talk, and agreed with him that it was folly to send troops armed with Springfields burning black powder against Spaniards armed with Mausers and smokeless powder, especially when the Rough Riders, well armed and thoroughly efficient, were eating out their hearts in disappointment because they were not permitted to take part in the campaign.

When he was elected Governor of New York his best friends feared that his impulsiveness would cause him to clash with the politicians, while his enemies were so sure that he would quarrel with everyone before he had been in the executive mansion six weeks that they scarcely took the pains to disguise their joy. As Governor he was a very "dangerous" man — dangerous to the politicians who looked upon the public service as something to be exploited for their own benefit. His "impulsiveness" in reforming the administration of the canals, in enforcing the merit system, and in securing the passage of a law taxing franchises proved how dangerous it is to put an impetuous man in a position of public responsibility: yet the people of the State of New York exhibited no undue alarm. The passage of the franchise act is typical of the man. The corporations strenuously resisted it because it made them bear their share of taxation, and they used all their political influence to induce the Governor not to press the matter. The Republican leaders warned him of the political danger he ran by incurring the hostility of great financial interests. He was uninfluenced by all this clamor; he refused to be swerved because he was threatened. But while he lived up to high principles he did not sacrifice himself. He made some enemies — no man can be Governor of New York and not make enemies — but he did not antagonize his party or drive from his side the men who were influential in party councils. He maintained his independence and showed that he possessed a natural quality of leadership.

Why President Roosevelt should be regarded as an impetuous man

is, I confess, somewhat of a mystery to me. I have had some little opportunity of seeing him under various circumstances, and of judging whether he has acted hastily or simply with determination because he has the courage of his convictions. But one thing should not be forgotten, and that is the influence of blood, the strongest influence in forming a man's character and controlling his actions. He has in his veins the blood of a long line of Dutch ancestors, a race noted rather for their phlegm than for their impetuosity. He has the American vitality, initiative, and resourcefulness, tempered by Dutch caution; in him congenital traits are strongly marked. He is an idealist and yet intensely practical; both characteristics denoting his Dutch ancestry. The love of home and of family, the devotion to religion, the clinging with passionate vehemence to an ideal, combined with much good common sense, distinguish the Teutonic races from the Latins, whose emotions, easily aroused, are equally evanescent. The foundation of the President's character rests on this substratum of Dutch caution, a very solid foundation, on which has been builded the superstructure of American thought and American influence, which give the American the nervous energy that makes him enough like the other English-speaking peoples to emphasize the difference. This practical side of his nature is shown by the fact that he has done things — done them in the very thick of the fray. As he said to a friend, who expressed surprise that he should give up literary work to reform the police department of New York: "I thought the storm centre was in New York, and so I came here. It is a great piece of practical work. I like to take hold of work that has been done by a Tammany leader and do it as well, only by approaching it from an opposite direction. A thing that attracted me to it was that it was to be done in the hurly-burly, for I don't like cloister life." No, decidedly, Mr. Roosevelt is not the man to meditate in a monastery when there is work to be done in the world.

The White House exercises a restraining influence upon its occupant. Every man who has sat in the chair of Washington has grown to the measure of his responsibilities. No man has left the White House who has not broadened; whose horizon has not been widened; who has not taken a more philosophic view of life; who has not come to understand, if he never understood it before, that nations have their obligations to other nations exactly as individuals have their obligations to society. The presidency has always left its impress upon the President. No man is exactly the same after being President as he was before he was elected; nor can anyone wonder at it. President Roosevelt, with all his vitality,

his cyclopean power of work, and his overflowing good spirits slightly tinged with a cynicism which makes him estimate both praise and criticism at about their true value, will not pass unscathed through the severest test that can be applied to any man. When he leaves the White House he will be graver and more sedate than he is to-day.

Although the youngest President, Mr. Roosevelt has a more comprehensive and intimate knowledge of the country than had any of his predecessors. It is somewhat remarkable that although Americans are a nation of travellers, although most Americans know from personal observation a great deal of their own country, the majority of Presidents have spent their lives, prior to their election, in the section of the country in which they had their homes; and the number who have known anything of foreign countries can, I believe, be counted upon the fingers of one's hands. President Roosevelt is the notable exception. A man from the East, his birth and position entitling him to admission to the best in its society, he knows the West as only men can know it who have lived there and come into intimate contact with its people. There is no section of the country that the President does not know; there is no class, from cow punchers to savants, among whom he has not his friends. He has seen much of Europe; he has travelled there and met its people; and he is no stranger to their ideas. He is one of the very few Presidents possessing a proficient knowledge of foreign languages. He is the only President who served an apprenticeship in one of the great departments. There have been men who went to the White House from the head of an Executive Department, but I do not now recall the case of an Assistant Secretary becoming President. His years of service as a Civil Service Commissioner and later as Assistant Secretary of the Navy have given him a knowledge of the minutiae of departmental affairs which will be of the greatest value to him now. The advantage which some of his predecessors possessed of having had experience in the House or Senate, and understanding from actual observation the idiosyncrasies of Congress, has been denied him.

Congress is the malignant influence in his horoscope. I venture the prediction that if President Roosevelt has trouble it will be caused by the Senate and not by the people. The Senate has gradually enlarged its powers until it has come to regard itself as a council of state as well as a legislative body, and in its capacity as a council of state seeks to control the actions of the Executive. Since the Senate has pronounced obsolete the doctrine that it has no greater powers than those vested in the House of Representatives, the relations between the Senate and the

President have not always been of the most intimate character. In fact, it can be said that during the last twenty years Mr. McKinley was the only President who never had any friction with the Senate. But Mr. McKinley had a peculiar genius for managing men, and a subtle tact in dealing with the Senate. He was such an accomplished diplomatist that he was able to avoid all clashing, principally because he was content not to try to force any line of policy to which the Senate objected. An instance of this was his skill in not taking issue with the Senate on the question of reciprocity. Although he believed in the wisdom of reciprocity, as his memorable speech at Buffalo showed, and refused to permit Mr. Kasson, the special reciprocity commissioner, to resign when the Senate refused to ratify the treaties which he had negotiated, he made no effort to secure the ratification of those treaties when the Senate refused to consider them. A man with less *finesse* or more obstinacy, who held himself in less careful restraint or was more indifferent about preserving the most cordial relations with the Senate, would have forced the issue, which would probably have led to a rupture with the leaders of his party in the Senate. Mr. McKinley had the additional advantage, possessed by no President in recent years, of having the confidence of the Senate, which had the highest respect for his wisdom and caution, and for the ability he had shown in the management of the war and of the great issues that followed.

Mr. McKinley could do many things that President Roosevelt cannot do. Age was in favor of the late President. The leaders of the Senate are men well advanced in years, and they accepted from a man of their own age advice which they will not accept from one who is their junior. Mr. Roosevelt will not be so docile as Mr. McKinley. Mr. Roosevelt will, of course, take counsel with the Republican leaders in the Senate; he will endeavor to secure their support for the policy which he advocates; he will make every effort to maintain the most friendly relations with them; but if the Senate attempts to interfere with the prerogatives of the President or to overstep the constitutional line dividing the legislative from the executive, the President will not be the first to yield. It is not in the nature of the man to do so. If a thing is to be done, and he believes it to be right, he will do it, and he will be indifferent as to what the Senate may think about it. There is a good deal of the Andrew Jackson about him; and if he should read the Senate a lecture, as Jackson did, it would not be surprising.

President Roosevelt's administration will be an interesting one, and not the least interesting feature will be the relations between him and

the Senate. That the Senate will endeavor to extend its power, to increase its influence, and to continue to be the dominant force in the government, no one who knows the Senate and the men who control it, or who has narrowly watched its course during the last few years, can for one moment doubt. Mr. Roosevelt will not be content with being merely the agent to execute the decrees of the Senate. He will respect it and he will treat it with the consideration that properly belongs to it under the Constitution; but he will also exact from it the constitutional deference that the Senate owes to the Executive. If he does not, if he surrenders to the Senate, if he is content with being merely its agent and allowing it to shape his policy to suit its views, one will be surprised and, perhaps, not a little disappointed. This will be the great test of his character, the proof whether he is the impetuous man some people have imagined, or whether he is the determined, positive, courageous man some of his friends believe him to be — cool enough to do nothing rash, tactful enough to yield non-essentials when concession is necessary, wise enough to understand human nature and mould it to his own purpose.

Many Presidents have had a "kitchen cabinet" which has been more powerful than the regular cabinet; most Presidents have had an intimate friend who, according to popular belief, has been the real power in the White House. People have asked who is to be the premier of the kitchen cabinet or the Warwick of the administration. The answer can be readily given. His name is Theodore Roosevelt.

A. MAURICE LOW.

PRESERVING A STATE'S HONOR.

"WELL! we have held the bridge; we have saved the honor of our State for two years more at least."

This was the greeting of probably the most distinguished Republican in the State of Delaware to the chairman of the Democratic State Committee, in a hotel lobby at Dover, on March 8 last; and, as they congratulated each other on the result of a political fight just ended, no one would have supposed that for years they had strenuously opposed each other as chairmen of the executive committees of hostile political parties. The Republican had gained distinction and the title of General as a dashing cavalry leader in the Civil War; and honorable service in Cuba, Porto Rico, and China had made him a Major-General. He had just retired as Delaware's member of the National Republican Committee, and had served as chairman of the Republican State Committee.

The political party to which he belonged was nominally in control of both Houses of the Delaware Legislature; and the last Joint Assembly of those two Houses had just met and adjourned, on the last day of the legislative session of 1901, after one ineffective formal ballot, having failed to elect a United States senator to fill either of the two existing vacancies. His party had failed to gather the fruits of a victory heralded as a great Republican success in the State election of 1900. The State would be entirely unrepresented in the Senate of the United States for two years at least; yet the Republican and Democrat congratulated each other as comrades in the fight just ended.

Both men were strong partisans, and each had received the votes of his party's representatives in the Legislature for senator. Neither had expected or even hoped to be elected, nor would either of them have opposed the election, if possible, of any honorable member of his political party, reasonably fitted for the place, to either vacant senatorship. Politically strong antagonists, neither asking nor giving quarter in fair political contests, chosen often to oppose each other, yet fighting now together in a common cause, to avert dishonor from their State, supported each by his party organization, and unitedly by all that was sturdily honest, upright, and virile in the State—only startlingly strange

political conditions could have produced such comradeship. Even a few years ago it would not have been conceivable that the intelligent people of a sovereign State of the American Union would applaud the successful efforts of those who had prevented the State from having its constitutional representation in the Senate; yet the good citizens of Delaware, irrespective of party, rejoiced and congratulated each other, and still do, over the outcome of the contest in their Legislature, which leaves them unrepresented in the Senate at Washington.

The conditions of political life to which this result may be attributed were not produced in a day or even in a year, and it may not be unprofitable to review the causes of their existence.

Delaware, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts, which are its three counties, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. From granite hills in northern New Castle a rolling country extends southward to the flat, rich farming lands of Kent, the middle county, while still farther south the light and sandy soil of Sussex supports a population of almost pure English descent, which is essentially Southern in its characteristics, differing greatly from the people of the upper portion of the State. Above the Christiana River, in upper New Castle, which is practically the southern boundary of the city of Wilmington, manufactures flourish, and on them the population mainly depends; below that river agriculture almost wholly supports the people. Until the adoption of the new Constitution, in 1897, each county had equal representation in the Legislature—ten members to each county—although New Castle had a greater population than both the others combined, and all candidates for the Legislature ran throughout the county. Under the Constitution of 1897 the State was divided into senatorial and representative districts. The number of State senators was increased to seventeen and of representatives to thirty-five, which gave the agricultural districts about forty senators and representatives out of a total of fifty-two.

The professional and farming classes in Delaware have been mainly Democratic, while the manufacturers, believing religiously in protective tariffs, are generally Republican. The latter have become comparatively wealthy, while agriculture has declined from several causes, chiefly the competition of the West in grain and cattle, and the opening up of competitive lines of rapid transportation with the South, by which lower freight rates have enabled Southern produce to compete successfully with Delaware fruit and vegetables in Northern and Eastern markets. Delaware had been a Whig State, but long before the war she was safely Democratic, and Republicanism was never indigenous to her soil. Of

course, there were Republicans throughout the State; but they were chiefly resident in upper New Castle, where the manufacturing interests predominated. Though a border State between the North and South, having many close connections with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which it adjoins throughout its entire length, its closest relations, business and political, were with the other Middle States, and its political sympathies in accord with theirs.

Delaware's senators were chosen by men elected by the farming classes; and while opposed to protective tariffs, and coming from a State where a few slaves were held, they always opposed disunion. The more wealthy manufacturers in the northern part of the State, however, whose material interests were not advanced by the State's delegation in Congress, were, of course, in close touch with those concerned in like enterprises in the neighboring city of Philadelphia, and the adjoining part of the State of Pennsylvania; and with the aid of such white Republicans in the lower counties as could be obtained, efforts were now and then made during the twenty years succeeding the war to "redeem the State," as they were fond of calling it, from the Democrats. The comparatively large negro population of the State could be counted on to vote the Republican ticket to a man, and did so; and during this period it was not a venal or corrupt vote, but simply ignorant and absolutely controlled by the questions settled by the war. Of course, when the Pennsylvania manufacturer joined his Delaware brother in a crusade for the benefit of his material interests on the national question of tariff rates, such funds as could be used were forthcoming; and no venal voter escaped when such a crusade was in progress.

The sturdy independence of the Delaware Democrats in Congress, and their lack of appreciation of the blessings of high tariffs, had always been more or less of a thorn in the side of the prosperous Pennsylvania manufacturer; and from time to time many Philadelphia wallets were relieved of their surplus "to redeem Delaware," and to put into operation in this State that form of government of which all Pennsylvanians are just now so proud. The trusted agents of the contributors occasionally paid off mortgages which had oppressed them; but these onslaughts upon Delaware were not otherwise particularly profitable. The venal voters had not increased sufficiently to control the situation; the Republicans were never able to capture the Legislature of the State; and with the exception of electing a Governor in war time—who died in less than two years, and thus returned the office to the Democrats—and a congressman twice, their raids were entirely unsuccessful.

Two evils, however, grew out of them: (1) They accustomed the Republicans in the State to appeal to outsiders for pecuniary assistance, and caused them to welcome joyfully anyone who came into the State and showed a disposition to take part in our politics; and (2) no voter who wished to sell himself remained virtuous from lack of a market.

At the risk of subjecting myself to the charge of claiming to be a prophet, I clip the following from the newspaper report of a speech made several years ago:

"A community cannot be brought in daily touch with the blighting influences of corruption without feeling it, without lowering, temporarily at least, its moral tone. . . . The worst indictment I could draw against the Republican party and its managers would contain as one of its chief charges that of elevating to high place within their organization strangers among us who, without any thought of the future, without any reverence for our past, endeavor by fair means or foul to accomplish their political purposes. Let a man come to this State claiming to be a Republican, able to wear good clothes, and to contribute to Republican campaign funds, and he will be welcomed with open arms. . . . This custom has brought to the Republican Party its own punishment. Seeking to turn against their political enemies the corrupt tools furnished to their hands they have hurt themselves. . . . It is the blight of carpet-baggism which the Republicans of this State have brought upon us that has cursed us, that has unsettled the decent amenities of our politics, that has upset our civic affairs, and has proved their own undoing. A different kind of carpet-baggism possibly from that in the Southern States, which wrecked their finances . . . but the Republicans of Delaware have propagated and encouraged a new species of the same political weed — the commercial carpet-bagger with a telephone residence in the State."

The natural result of these efforts to "redeem Delaware" from the Democrats by means of campaign funds raised outside of the State, or by the contributions of such of the few rich men who came here as were encouraged to take part in politics, was, of course, to increase the purchasable vote to some extent; but never until the sustained and continued efforts to corrupt the electorate had been persisted in at every election for a period of years did the venal vote become a factor to be reckoned with at our elections, and this condition has come about only in the last ten or twelve years. In the year 1892, when first I was chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of New Castle County, there was no suggestion from the representatives on that committee from the different hundreds and election districts that money could be corruptly used against us in more than two or three of the election districts of the whole county. Since that time, however, the number of venal voters has so increased that it is doubtful if there are a dozen precincts out of the whole ninety-five where money has not been used by the Republicans for the purchase of individual votes.

Studied efforts have been made by those who have been corrupting

our politics to have it believed that for a long time money has been used corruptly in politics in Delaware. This is not true, unless the general knowledge of those of us who have taken an interest in politics since boyhood is at fault. In the nature of things it cannot be true to any extent, so far as the Democrats are concerned, for our people are not and never have been wealthy. Not very many of them in the agricultural districts belong even to the "well-to-do" class. It may seem strange to people in the larger States, but in the State of Delaware we probably have not ten persons who are really millionaires, and I know of only one south of the Christiana River, in the agricultural districts, who is probably entitled to be so classed. The conditions of life with us are not hard. Habits are generally simple, and entertainments are usually inexpensive. Candidates for office, almost without exception, had only small incomes or relied for a livelihood upon the produce of what land they owned; and there was no source from which a large campaign fund could be raised even if one could have been used corruptly. The Democratic office-holders received only modest salaries and were honest, and not a dollar was ever lost to the State from a defalcation.

The only way in which any money worth mentioning was ever used in connection with politics in Delaware, until a few years ago, was that a custom had grown up of paying the poll-tax, usually about one dollar, to obtain a tax receipt for any one too poor or too careless so to qualify himself to vote. There was probably a good deal of this done, and it required a few thousand dollars each election to do it; but neither the man who paid the tax nor the man whose tax was paid violated any law or had any notion he was buying or selling a vote. It resulted in no personal benefit to the voter, and in no pecuniary or personal benefit to the man who paid the tax, except that the latter secured for his party candidates a vote, which otherwise would have been lost.

Undoubtedly, the fact that people would pay taxes to qualify a man to vote had a tendency to create in the voter's mind the impression that his vote was valuable; but the tax was paid, just as the wife of an ardent supporter was presented with a silk dress, or his small son with a pair of boots, or the man himself had sent to his house a barrel of flour after he, as a political lieutenant, had been very energetic in bringing voters to the polls in a hot political contest. Customs of this character may, of course, grow to be evils and may naturally lead up to serious abuses although they may spring from pure, disinterested, and generous instincts, and may be absolutely devoid of corrupt motive; but until recent years any evils arising from the corruption of the voters might be

compared with those of the present time as a slight cold from which one man suffers might be compared with an epidemic of yellow fever. The trifling gift made to the man who had actively and earnestly worked for party success in a political contest, or to a member of his family, was nothing more than the recognition of the friendliness and earnestness of a political follower; and the custom had in it something that was patriarchal. I remember distinctly as a lad having pointed out to me in Sussex County, as a specimen of the political degenerate, a man who was said to have been the first man who ever sold his vote; and I may add that that man had come from another State.

Conditions, however, changed as time went on. It may be that the friendly recognition of earnest political work, and the payment of taxes to enable the poorer people to vote, fixed in the minds of some of these people the idea that a vote had a pecuniary value, and familiarized persons who had no evil intent with the idea of accepting money or gifts from those active in politics. The material conditions of the agricultural community also changed gradually as the political raids for the "redemption" of the State increased in frequency; and the farming classes, while the necessities of life increased—in the sense that modern conveniences of living began to be thought necessities, and musical instruments and better furniture began to appear in farm-houses—found their incomes and surplus earnings diminishing.

Agriculture was becoming less remunerative, and the agricultural communities of Delaware, without competitive lines of transportation, have been compelled to rely upon a single railroad, which exacts upon their products just "such a rate as the traffic will bear." This impoverished them at a time when every source of revenue needed to be turned to account. The perishable fruits and vegetables, which constitute a large portion of the produce of Delaware farms, must be delivered in the large city markets without delay. And while the farmers are compelled to pay exorbitant freight rates to market their produce, it must compete in city markets with that sent from other sections favorably located on competitive lines of transportation; and such produce from the South has been hauled past the very door of the Delaware farmer at a less rate than he could get on the shorter haul.

The farmers and truckers of the Peninsula have thus been impoverished, and their surplus earnings have gone into the railroad treasury. The more active and pushing of the young men have abandoned the farms for town and city occupations; while those who have remained, often discouraged and rendered hopeless of bettering their condition, have not

in all cases held up to the same standard of independence under temptation which characterized this portion of the community for so many years. When the whole story is written it will be appreciated how great an injury to public morality may be done through corporate greed. Thus the material condition of the population became worse, while organized efforts to accomplish political results with money became more frequent and determined.

I have said that some years ago the negro vote was not a venal one. That condition has changed. Delaware stands now almost alone, being possibly now the only State in the Union dominated and controlled by the negro vote; the Southern States generally having overcome this misfortune by constitutional or statutory provisions or other means. This vote constitutes with us nearly twenty per cent of the whole, while the largest Republican majority ever obtained was never ten per cent of the total vote. The negroes are regularly taught and drilled to vote the Republican ticket, and not fifty in the whole State fail to do so. There are possibly a few negroes who vote the Democratic ticket, but my personal knowledge does not enable me to vouch for this.

This mass of ignorant voters has now been made venal and corrupt by the factional quarrels in the Republican party; and practically every negro vote in the large majority of Republican legislative districts is secured on election day by the Union Republicans, by which name the dominant faction of the Republican party is known. The negro vote need not amount to the actual majority of the electorate to produce intolerable misgovernment. If it is a potential factor it is sufficient to produce conditions of governmental disorder which may threaten the State; and when it can determine, by its solidarity, the result of elections, the evils produced increase in geometrical progression.

Without the negro vote the Republicans in 1900 would have been most woefully defeated. Not a single Republican could have been elected to a State office, and the majority of about 3,000 in favor of the Republicans would have been changed to a majority of over 5,000 for the Democrats. In the Legislature of fifty-two members the Republicans had twenty-nine votes; but negro votes elected the majority of these, and without the negroes the Republicans, notwithstanding the practically unlimited amount of money at their disposal, could have secured not more than fourteen members.

The conditions of Delaware politics up to and including the early eighties would have pleased and satisfied any student who was at all practical in his views, and not an idealist striving for the impossible.

In 1884, however, on the practical retirement of Mr. Bayard from the field of State politics, to become Mr. Cleveland's first Secretary of State, his share of the control of Democratic management devolved upon others less active, wise, conciliatory, and temperate; and factional strife in the party became acute.

One of the crusades before described for Delaware's "redemption" was organized in 1888, when a most serious and unfortunate factional fight was distracting the Democrats. The least needed amount which could be utilized is said to have been furnished by an eminent Pennsylvania Republican; and for the first time the Republicans in 1889 found themselves possessed of a bare majority of the Legislature on joint ballot. They were themselves, however, divided into hostile factional camps; and it seemed likely that a split might result, and that no choice of a United States senator would be made, or, if so, only after great political turmoil.

However, conditions had produced the occasion, and, as always, the man arrived in due time. A stranger, who some years before had bought a country place near the Pennsylvania State line, which he has himself said he thought was in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and not in the State of Delaware, alighted from a railroad train at Dover after midnight, shortly before the Republican caucus for senator was held, and announced himself a candidate for the place. This announcement coming from a rank outsider who was absolutely unknown, except to possibly a couple of dozen Delawareans, was received with derision, and after much wrangling Anthony Higgins was elected, the first Republican senator from Delaware. The Democrats, taught wisdom by defeat, patched up their quarrels and won the elections of 1890 and 1892; but in 1889 the stranger above mentioned had conceived the notion of getting a senatorship "just for a ribbon to stick in his coat."

Possessed of comparatively great wealth, he had succeeded in forming the nucleus of a personal party, and its affairs have been attended to with such industry as almost to destroy the political life of one of the great national parties in this State, and to effect what not even an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, ratified by forty-four of the forty-five States of the Union, could legally accomplish.

Twelve years of audacity in the field of Delaware politics have made this Frankenstein of Delaware Republicanism well known throughout the whole country. Fortunately for our own party his political operations were begun under the guise, or disguise, of Republicanism. That party was an unhealthy organization, torn apart by factional jealousies,

and he proceeded to acquire its franchise, good-will, and assets with a cheerful pertinacity truly remarkable. Slowly and insidiously at first shares in this moribund association were acquired. In 1894, when the Republicans for a second time, helped by the political tidal wave of that year, succeeded in obtaining a majority on joint ballot in the Legislature, this new aspirant for political honors was able to hold four members in personal allegiance to himself, and with these he held up the Republicans, prevented the election of a senator, and produced the first of the series of senatorial vacancies.

Undaunted by the abuse heaped upon him for this act, he continued to undermine the opposition in his party, acquired a greater interest, and when a controlling interest in the property was secured in 1896, he at once asserted his ownership of the plant. The minority bolted, and appealed for protection to the Republican Convention at St. Louis, which threw him out of court. He gave notice of a motion for a rehearing, came back to Delaware, where dissensions on national questions were distracting the Democrats, persistently continued his political operations, and refused again to allow his followers in the Legislature to vote for any one but himself at the session of 1899. Three members of that Legislature who had been elected as Democrats were even "persuaded" to vote for him for senator on the last day of the session, and others were "dissuaded" only by threats and fear of personal violence. These men were at once denounced as traitors, and the party committees read them out of the Democratic party. Thus for a second time a vacancy in the United States Senate was produced; the first one he had caused in 1895 having meanwhile been filled by the Democrats, who carried the election of 1896.

The most respectable element in the Republican party of the State had forsworn association with this new leader. He had prevented the election of a Republican senator in 1895; had enabled the Democrats to carry the State and elect a Constitutional Convention, a Governor, a Legislature, and a United States senator in 1896; had produced a second senatorial vacancy in the Legislature of 1899, by refusing to allow his personal followers to vote for any of the dozen Republicans the others voted for; and yet at the Philadelphia Convention of 1900, the genuine Republicans of Delaware, who had upheld for years the standard of their party, were refused seats in that Convention, and by the admission of the Union Republican delegates to the National Convention, the raid upon the Delaware organization of the Republican party was officially crowned with success.

The results of the election of 1900 and of the legislative session of 1901 are well known. On every ballot for senator the so-called Union Republican members were required to vote for the organizer, owner, and master of their party for both senatorships. With grim humor someone said: "He thinks he's twins and wants them both." Never has there been another such exhibition of servile subserviency in American politics.

All the opposing members of the party to which he claims to belong stood ready to vote for practically anyone connected with their political organization who could justly lay claim to mere respectability. Even reasonable qualifications were not demanded, and the Regular Republicans actually varied their votes from day to day among some twelve or fifteen persons to indicate that any of them would receive their support for either one of the two senatorial vacancies. They would not vote for Democrats or agree to divide the senatorships with them, but were willing to vote for practically any Republican, excepting one man only. The personal organization, however, masked as a political party, obeyed its master's orders, and the Republicans of Delaware found that the letters of marque issued to political pirates by the Philadelphia Convention had not changed their methods of warfare from those of 1895 and 1899, and that they would rake a consort fore and aft and sink her unless permitted to seize all prizes, and unless their captain was allowed personally to enjoy alone all rewards of victory. They would not even permit the election of one senator to fill the shorter term. But they had finally met determined men, and in baffled desperation, imitating their old-time prototypes of the high seas, they scuttled the ship.

During all those anxious days the Democrats in the Legislature stood together and voted as one man to prevent their State's disgrace. They were doubtless tempted in all ways conceivable. Foolish advice and corrupt suggestions were poured into their ears; but not a break occurred in our party, and the people of the State applaud them, as well as the seven Regular Republicans, without stint.

The Union Republicans, becoming the dominant faction of the Republican party, have succeeded in electing a majority in the Legislature and in the local governing bodies in the several counties, as well as the Governor, and the responsibilities of success attach to that organization, or rather to its controlling head.

The record made by those who have thus acquired political power is worth reviewing. When, immediately after the election of 1900, it was known that the chief of the Union Republicans would not have a clear

majority of personal followers in the Legislature, contests of Democratic seats were trumped up in every county in the State. The flimsiest pretexts were sufficient. Finally they were boiled down to two. The seat of one representative in Kent County was contested on claims which should have been made before two of the judges of our Supreme Court sitting as a canvassing board with sufficient judicial as well as ministerial powers. The contest was delayed until the Union Republicans had obtained control of the ballot-boxes in certain districts with every opportunity for changing the ballots. Then a contest was started to throw out a Democratic representative. The Regular Republicans joined the Democrats in refusing the case a hearing.

The contest over a senatorship in New Castle County began before the Elections Committee of the State Senate. At the first or second sitting of the committee a witness for the contestant broke down under cross-examination, confessing that fictitious affidavits had been prepared for presentation to the committee. Fearing that the true facts, which were in the hands of the Democrats, would be offered at the next hearing, and spread before the public, the contest was, in panic-stricken haste, abandoned, and some hitherto respectable reputations were damaged beyond repair.

As soon as the Republican State government was installed, the worst fears of our people as to the absolute disregard of laws and constitutional provisions began to be realized. Laws intended to secure fair and uncorrupted elections were repealed, and all doors opened to aid fraud and corruption. Hostility to honest elections could not be carried farther than in the new Voters' Assistant Law, which provides that the Union Republican Governor shall appoint voters' assistants for both parties from the names each submits to him and permits any voter to take such assistant into the voting-booth to mark his ticket for him. The law was not passed hurriedly or ignorantly; for when the Democrats enacted the Australian Ballot Law, in 1891, it contained provisions for voters' assistants, who, however, were appointed by committees of the political parties without compelling the party in opposition to submit names to a hostile Governor from which to select voters' assistants. Under the old law, voters' assistants became active instruments of fraud and corruption, and for that reason were abolished by the Democrats in 1897, and no one could enter the voters' booth with the voter, except when absolute blindness or the loss of both arms physically disqualified the voter to stamp his ballot.

With full knowledge of the practical effect of the voters' assistants,

and to make it impossible for purchased voters to deceive them, the Republicans re-enacted the law in a worse form. Officials may now inform the purchasers of votes whether the "goods have been delivered." There has never been a more shameless scheme to encourage corruption than the enactment of this law. In furtherance of this purpose, the color and age columns of the registration books, by which a voter may be identified, when offering to vote at the election, were abolished; and anyone can understand how difficult and almost impossible it is to distinguish between the negroes and prevent them from repeating at registrations and elections, when neither their color nor their age can be asked or known for the purpose of identification.

The constitutional provisions requiring bids for public printing and supplies are disregarded by Republican officials, and contracts given to favored members of their party at prices which will pay them for their political work.

While Democrats were in control of the State and county governments, there never was a default in the payment of either the principal or interest on a public obligation of the State or any of its counties. The Union Republicans had no sooner obtained control of the county government in Sussex County than interest on its bonds was allowed to default, and no interest has now been paid for two and a half years.

Officials have been increased in number and salaries have been increased in amount. State officers, where they were holding-over Democrats, have been legislated out of office by the repeal of laws under which they were appointed, and immediately new laws to the same effect have been enacted and Republicans appointed under them. No special regard is shown for any law if not in accord with the political necessities of the moment, or if it can be evaded by the neglect or refusal of the officials thus elected, whose duties require them to enforce its provisions.

In one county the whole panel of both grand and petit jurors, selected by new Republican officials in an illegal manner, and amid charges and countercharges of misconduct, has been quashed; the jurors have been dismissed by our courts, and new men selected by the judges to take their places. It is said that in another county Democrats have been entirely excluded from jury panels, though two-thirds of the white men of the county are Democrats.

In one branch of our government, however, our trust remains absolutely unshaken. Our judiciary now stands the only certainly uncorrupted and incorruptible barrier protecting our rights and liberties

against organized and partially successful political outrage. Fortunately, no evil word, even of suspicion, has been or could be uttered against the members of our Bench. They were appointed by a Democratic Governor from both political parties for twelve years in 1897 under the provisions of our newly adopted constitution, and thus one branch of our government is probably until 1909 beyond the possibility of pollution. With a tool of the Union Republican leader for Governor, able to appoint our judges, and with his servants in control of the State Senate to confirm appointments, the worst conditions of South Carolina and Louisiana in reconstruction times would probably be repeated here.

"But there must be two sides to the question" is so common a remark when charges like these are made against an individual, organization, or party, that I shall give the other side in the exact words of the recognized organ of the dominant faction of the Republican party, printed since this article was requested. No lawyer or layman can construe this as a plea of "not guilty." It is a confession and defiance:

"Nowhere else has Republican leadership been so sincere in its devotion to party principles, so persistent in loyalty to party friends, so courageous and liberal in its efforts to redeem a State as . . . in the State of Delaware. . . . Those who alone deny this are the men and people who contented themselves with the pittance of Federal patronage that comes to this State through Republican national victories, who failed in every attempt at political leadership, and whose often proved incompetence made them objects of contempt with their opponents. . . . The truth is that the bolter Republicans who are backing and promoting this country-wide slander were so poor in money and spirit, and so incompetent in leadership, that they allowed the State to be given over to the Democrats . . . until they could not, even if they would, ransom it and make it free. . . . These Republicans and all others of the State know that, under the leadership of the bolter leaders, the State Republican Party was a political mendicant; that at every campaign period they are running around holding out their hats and hands for political alms to enable them, not to win the State, but to make fight enough to allow a claim of recognition and patronage distribution. . . . The only senatorial representative the Republicans ever elected bought his way—or rather it was bought for him at the polls—with money that had been begged for that purpose in another State. While this kind of politics was going on these bolters were begging money of Mr. Addicks for political purposes, and were perfectly willing to take all he would give them to buy their way into office, but he must not aspire to either office or leadership. . . . That price had to be paid. . . . The Democrats were beaten in this way in 1894 and 1896 simply because the party under its new leadership had money sufficient to do the work. . . . The Republicans have won in every election since. The Republicans have elected a majority of every Legislature since 1894. The State Government is Republican throughout. This, in ten years under Mr. Addick's leadership, is to be set against thirty-four years of failure—absolute, beggarly failure—under the leadership of the so-called bolter Republicans.

It is this ransoming of the State from the thralldom of dishonest, vicious, and corrupt politics upon the Democratic side, and the poverty-stricken incompetence of the bolter Republicans on the other side, that these slanderers of Mr. Addicks, and

the State of Delaware, call 'buying a State.' . . . These being the fruits of 'buying the State' it is evident that it ought to have been 'bought' long ago. It would have been bought long ago if the bolters could have raised the money necessary, and then could have backed it by competent leadership."

This was not an ordinary newspaper utterance, but is entitled to be printed as "the other side." It is the official answer and defiance of the Union Republicans through their political mouthpiece.

When a Regular Republican member of the General Assembly was asked to further the election of the leader of the party, the member replied: "What you ask me to do is to change my code of morals. Would you ask and expect me to change my religion to become a Catholic or Protestant or an infidel if you thought the change would benefit the Republican party?"

The people of Delaware are very jealous of the good name of their State and of the character of her public servants. They have held the senatorships to be the most honorable dignities they could confer upon those they wished honorably to distinguish. Doubtless, the ability of her senators has varied; but until the influence of the existing condition was felt, a high standard of civic excellence and personal integrity was maintained in the public mind by which to measure aspirants for these honors.

The names of Van Dyke, Bassett, Rodney, Read, and Clayton are as honored and beloved by Delawareans as those of their later leaders who are still remembered personally by this generation. The story is still told of Rodney's ride to give Delaware's deciding vote for Independence, of McDonough's and Kirkwood's heroism. It is remembered, too, that in Delaware the stars and stripes were first unfurled and baptized in battle; and that in every war more than our State's proportion of the country's defenders have volunteered when called to her defence. The strength of these traditions has enabled us to maintain the standard of ability for which the country generally has not hesitated to credit us, and increases our resentment at the attempt to degrade our State's good name.

So we stand. No voice may speak for Delaware in that highest legislative body in the world created by the Constitution of the United States, which she, instructed and led by her patriotic sons of Revolutionary times, with clear foresight, was the very first to ratify. No power but her own will could make vacant those senatorial chairs to which we point with pride as silent but irrefutable witnesses to the purity, incorruptibility, and steadfast honor of our people, willing to withdraw

from the high places of distinction rather than barter their State's good name. These chairs may remain a long time vacant; this fight will go on until we are victorious or overpowered. We have been accustomed to claim great credit for our State because she has honored those who have by their valor, worth, integrity, courage, and ability reflected back that honor upon her, and have written their names high among their contemporaries upon the roll of patriots and statesmen; and no one has cared, after time has mellowed the feeling personal clashes have produced, whether they were Federalist or Republican, Whig or Democrat. But now we are in a dogged, determined, hand-to-hand contest for a semblance of clean political life, and there need be no fear that there will be a surrender by the respectable elements of society in Delaware.

Party politics, in the usual sense, are almost abandoned here in the face of the threatened dishonor of our State's good name. Family feuds and personal animosities and ambitions are sunk in this time of common peril; and if we do not maintain our position, if the strain becomes too great, let the other States of this Union beware, for their time has almost come. They may have more territory and wealth; their people may outnumber us; but man for man they are not more courageous, more honorable, more upright, less mercenary, or less self-seeking, nor do they love their State more, than those who in Delaware for twelve years have stood together for the preservation of a State's honor, and will so stand to the end.

No one could be a stronger advocate than I of the doctrine that the citizens of each State should unhindered manage its own affairs; yet in this Union, an injury or a danger to one, and she almost the weakest, is and should be the concern of all. That the good people of this nation may know and understand in some small measure the conditions which threaten us in Delaware, and through our failure will threaten them, this article is written; and we cherish the hope that all those everywhere who believe in good government will join us in the prayer, still officially appended to many of our proclamations, "God Save the State."

WILLARD SAULSBURY.

SUGAR AND THE NEW COLONIES.

IN an article published over two years ago,¹ I pointed out the prominent part that would be played in the problems pertaining to the new colonies by the political and economic aspects of the sugar industry. I showed the intimate relation existing between the future prosperity of these tropical countries and the treatment to be accorded their chief article of export, and argued that the path to success in colonial government was to be found in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical cane-sugar industry.

The march of events since has demonstrated, to a degree surprising even to the writer, the accuracy of the predictions then made. The public prominence that questions relating to sugar now occupy throughout the world is remarkable. It is a most curious and interesting fact that no other food product used by man enters so largely into the domain of state and international politics. Sugar has enjoyed the dubious distinction of being "mixed up with politics" from the days of Napoleon down to the time of the sugar trust. Whether the industry as a whole has gained or lost by the association is an open question. This much seems to be certain, however, that there is no immediate prospect of a change of condition in this respect; for the plot thickens from year to year and almost from month to month, in the shape of new bounties, new schemes for bounty, and fresh tariff restrictions, with the resultant crop of international complications, countervailing duties, and reprisals. Outside of colonial matters it is only necessary to instance the recent contention between the United States and Russia, caused by a question of sugar bounty, that has involved the two nations in a controversy, of which the end is not yet in sight, and which may have very far-reaching consequences. Still more interesting among recent developments has been the imposition of a duty on imported sugar by England, marking as it does a relaxation of the free-trade policy to which she has clung so doggedly, a policy of which the results have been recently so graphi-

¹ "The Opportunity of the Cane Sugar Industry," in the "North American Review" for March, 1899.

cally depicted in an article by Mr. Robert T. Hill,¹ showing how seriously the British West Indies have suffered from the blight which has befallen their chief industry.

In my article previously alluded to, I merely desired to point out the fact that the sugar-cane industry was the main factor to be considered in the problem of successful colonial government then confronting our country. Hence I assumed that the new colonies would be considered a unit, and that the same treatment would be accorded to all alike. I included Hawaii, then in the possession of the United States and enjoying unrestricted free trade; Porto Rico and the Philippines, just about to become colonies, but with their commercial status yet undetermined; and Cuba, the political and commercial status of which was still more uncertain, but which I felt sure was bound to become, sooner or later, an American dependency.

The development of a general colonial policy, however, with equal and impartial terms toward all the transmarine possessions, was rendered impossible, as we all know, by various conditions, but chiefly by the constitutional limitations of our form of government. Hawaii was left undisturbed in her favored position of entire freedom from tariff restrictions, attained by merit of priority solely; Porto Rico has only recently been granted co-equal standing, after over two years of probation as a political football; the Philippines are next in line for congressional attention; while Cuba, most important of all, is evidently doomed to see the game from the outside for an indefinite period, quite uncertain what status the constitutional interpreters and statesmen will award her, but well impressed with the fact that she must accept whatever is granted, and be very, very meek about it.

Public recognition of the importance that must be attached to sugar in questions relating to the colonies has naturally grown very rapidly during the last two years. The public has seen that the greater part of the prosperity enjoyed by Hawaii is due to the stimulus of her sugar industry by the free market accorded the product; the struggle over the Porto Rican tariff, which so nearly disrupted the dominant party, was seen to be caused by the domestic sugar interests; while the importance of the same issue in our future dealings with Cuba is sufficiently manifest in the numerous editorials and articles in the newspapers and magazines, one of the most significant being from the pen of the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senator Lodge says:²

¹ "The Broken Necklace: a Lesson in the Government of Distant Colonies," in the "Century Magazine" for May, 1901.

² In "Collier's Weekly" for June 29, 1901.

"With the strongest political considerations combine, therefore, marked commercial advantages in the policy of giving Cuba a reasonable preference on her two great staples. . . . We must give to Cuba a preferential duty on her sugar and tobacco. . . . If we assure a market to Cuba for sugar we shall solve the Cuban problem, and the next session of Congress ought not to pass without action in this direction."

But even as sugar is the hope and main reliance of Cuba in her march toward prosperity, so is it also the chief danger and obstacle in the way of her becoming more intimately associated with the United States. The domestic sugar interests, in their opposition to the extension of free trade to Porto Rico, developed, in alliance with the growers of tobacco and fruit, a struggle that surprised the entire country even to the Chief Executive, whose recommendation, expressed so unqualifiedly as a "plain duty" and endorsed so heartily by the press, nevertheless underwent a modification to the extent of a fifteen-per-cent "duty" in the end. The strength shown by the allied opposition in that contest was all the more remarkable when we consider that it was really only a preliminary skirmish, and was so regarded by the sugar producers. The issue was important to them in the way of a precedent only, the small production of the island being no menace to the domestic product. Consequently, the display of strength was made because of the bearing the result would have upon the real contest still to come. The guns of the opposing combatants were pointed at Porto Rico, but over the sights they saw the larger target just beyond. That the fire from their batteries will be redoubled in energy when the guns are trained upon the real enemy cannot be doubted.

Since the first battle their political strength has been much augmented by means of the growth of the beet industry and its extension into new States. Recent statistical publications show that beet sugar is now produced in twelve different States, while cane sugar is grown in three others; making fifteen sugar-producing States. If to these are added the tobacco-growing States, it will be seen that at least half the States of the Union are arrayed upon the side of the allied interests. To be sure, the issue is by no means a vital one in most of these States. Of the twelve beet-growing States six have but a single factory each. One State, California, produces over half the total beet-sugar product, and Louisiana practically all the cane sugar. But the establishment of a single beet-sugar factory within the boundaries of a State, or even the publication of the polarization of a few experimentally grown sugar beets, is sufficient to convince the citizens that a great sugar-growing future is before them, and that they must oppose all legislation which might tend to

dispossess them of it. The tobacco interests are by no means so aggressive. Tropical competition threatens certain grades only of their staple, and to most growers the movement must appeal simply as a "sympathetic strike" appeals to the workmen engaged in it. The interests of the fruit growers, moreover, lie really in the direction of cheaper sugar; though this fact, together with the rights of the consumer in the same direction, seems to be entirely lost sight of in the selfish fight of the sugar growers.

Thus an alliance of agricultural interests — always powerful with Congress — of widespread geographical extent, and well organized and equipped for such a contest, will oppose during the coming session any reduction of duties upon merchandise imported from Cuba or the Philippines. The opening note of this campaign was sounded in an interview given to the press by Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, early in the summer. In this statement the Secretary, after recounting the growth and progress of beet growing in this country during the last few years, gives it as his firm belief and opinion that in a short time the domestic industry, if not interfered with by hostile legislation, will produce all the sugar consumed in the United States, rendering us independent of foreign-grown sugar. This is a most remarkable prediction to be made by one so high in authority, and presumably well informed in all matters relating to an industry which has been under the special surveillance of the Department of Agriculture for so many years. The most superficial study of the statistics of the subject will suffice to show the absurdity of the claim. The bulletin of the Twelfth Census on the manufacture of beet sugar, prepared by Mr. G. L. Spencer, an employee of the Department of Agriculture, gives the production of beet sugar during the last season as 71,427 tons, thirty factories having been in operation. This is an increase of 31,028 tons over the production of the previous year. The consumption of sugar in the United States for the corresponding years, as shown by reliable statistics, was, in round numbers, 2,220,000 and 2,071,000 tons, respectively, giving an increase in consumption of about 150,000 tons.

Thus it appears that the rate of increase in consumption is nearly five times the rate of increase in production. It would be necessary to double the number of factories to meet the increased consumption for one year, and it would require nearly 1,000 factories of a like capacity to produce all the sugar consumed in the United States at the present time. The building of the factories, involving, as it would, the expenditure of two or three hundred millions of dollars, would be the smallest part of the task in these times of abundant capital; their equipment with

the necessary number of specially trained technologists and artisans would be more difficult; and when it is considered that ten tons of beets and an acre of land — with the labor of three men throughout the growing season — are required for the production of each ton of sugar, the impossibility of any such rapid expansion of the industry as would be implied in the near production of our own supply is at once manifest.

In strong contrast with the utterances of the Secretary of Agriculture are the views of his subordinate, Mr. Charles F. Saylor, Special Agent, in his report on the "Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1900." He says:

"While capitalists as well as farmers manifest a deep interest in the future of the sugar industry, they have been, no doubt, somewhat restrained by the uncertainty attending the future of our new island dependencies, which are themselves largely sugar producers. On this subject little need be said. The writer speaks not only as the result of careful consideration of all the available data on the sugar industry in these dependencies, but as the result of personal visits to Hawaii and Porto Rico, and has no hesitation in asserting that were the opportunities for developing this industry in these new territories to be extended to their utmost capacity there would be nothing in this to discourage our domestic sugar producers. For years our domestic sugar consumption has been increasing even more rapidly than the increase of population, until during the past fiscal year our imports of sugar attained the enormous total of nearly 2,000,000 tons. For generations to come, then, it will be necessary for the people of the United States to import considerable sugar over and above what we are likely to produce, and of this importation the combined production of our new island dependencies will not do more than supply a part, and let us hope a large part."

It is to be hoped that this wise and temperate judgment, coming from one qualified by both study and experience to pass upon the question, will obtain wider circulation and credence among those who preside over the councils of the dominant political party. There is every indication, from the views expressed by prominent party organs, that a repetition of the family quarrel over the Porto Rican tariff will occur during the coming session of Congress. Different journals are advocating diametrically opposed policies toward Cuba. On the one hand, it is urged that Congress is not justified in neglecting the interests of the army of agriculturists engaged in raising beets, tobacco, and fruit in the United States for the sake of people who are, after all, essentially foreign to us in habits, customs, and ethics. It is contended that our nation has already gone to the full limits of a most Quixotic burst of generosity in spending millions of dollars and sacrificing scores of lives to liberate Cuba from the oppression of Spain, and that no possible reason can exist for the further nurture of a people which may repay the benefaction by dealing a death-blow to some of our most cherished national activities.

Other organs, equally prominent in shaping Republican policies, argue that every consideration of fine feeling, courtesy, and sympathy for a weak and oppressed people — all the sentiments, in fact, which guided our national action in declaring war against Spain — absolutely demand that we supplement the work of rescue by deeds of parental care and kindness.

What will be the outcome of this confusion of counsels? Is it not evident that the question must be settled upon some middle course, some compromise standpoint, some wise and statesmanlike basis of agreement? And cannot this be arrived at without a repetition of the Porto Rican episode, with its harvest of public irritation over the step-motherly treatment accorded a dependent people by a great and generous nation? Cuba must one day be ours, an integral part of our country, sharing in all the benefits and advantages of our Republic. It is inevitable. We are, as a nation, as much responsible for the future of Cuba as for that of Hawaii or New Mexico. But it can be asserted with equal emphasis that the end in view is not to be accomplished by the early annexation of the island, or by the immediate extension of free trade to her commerce. Fair treatment does not demand it, and, more particularly, wise and paternal treatment will not sanction it. Rome was not built in a day, and the assimilation of a people so different from our own is no less difficult to-day than it was in the days of the "barbarians." The simile is doubtless a poor one, since no great gulf of civilization separates us from the Cubans; but times have changed, and a difference in industrial development constitutes a great barrier to the amalgamation of people to-day. To precipitate a policy in the direction of Cuban annexation might very readily defeat its own philanthropic purpose, wholly apart from any consideration of danger to our own citizens.

Laying aside, therefore, all thought of annexation or free trade in the immediate future, the friends of Cuba should endeavor to secure from Congress such tariff concessions as can be reasonably granted without immediate danger to domestic interests. The decisions of the Supreme Court have at least cleared the atmosphere, and dissipated much of the legal fog that obscured the pathway of Congress in the treatment of colonial matters. Upon the Congress will be thrown the full duty and responsibility of the government of the new possessions; and this plenary and unhampered power should be the very best of reasons for a wise and judicial treatment of the subject, unbiassed by party considerations, and with due regard for the best interests of both parent and protégé.

In the matter of a sugar differential there is ample margin for a com-

promise rate between the two extremes of no concession whatever, as at present, involving the payment of a duty of about one and one-half cents per pound, and absolute free entry, as enjoyed by Hawaiian and Porto Rican sugar. Even under present conditions the industry in Cuba is slowly reviving. The acreage has been increased twenty-five per cent, and the yield for next season is estimated to reach between 600,000 and 700,000 tons. The entire abrogation of the duty on Cuban sugar would mean practically a free gift of more than the crop itself is worth. This would be ruinous to growers in this country, and they are fully justified in vigorously opposing it. On the other hand, a concession of the amount of reduction allowed the British West Indies by the terms of the proposed reciprocity treaties — $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent — would be simply a matter of the plainest equity, and the very least that should be considered by the friends of Cuba. A differential of 25 per cent, involving a reduction of about four-tenths of a cent per pound upon sugar of average polarization, could not be regarded as anything more than a very modest demand; while a reduction of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, or a half-cent per pound, would allow Cuba but one-third of the advantage granted to Hawaii and Porto Rico, and would cost less than \$1,000,000 in duties.

These figures would seem to afford stepping-stones to an agreement between Cuban and domestic interests which should cause the latter no alarm for the future. Even if the present Cuban crop were doubled — necessarily a work of years, for sugar production is incapable of a very rapid rate of expansion — there would still be a margin of 1,000,000 tons' consumption for the domestic industry to cover. Prompt action in the direction indicated, taken early in the session before the grinding season begins, with the assurance of friendly support which such action should carry, would be of great benefit to the Cuban industry, and highly preferable to the tedious waiting and uncertainty which a protracted contest for greater concessions would entail. National action with reference to Cuban commercial relations should undoubtedly originate in the Lower House, like any other measure affecting the revenues; and, unlike those half-hearted and condemned measures called reciprocity treaties, should have the full authority carried by the concurrence of both branches of Congress with the consent of the Executive.

Aside from its political aspects, the greatest speculative interest attaches to the question of Cuban development in regard to its bearing upon the future relations of the two great branches of sugar growing — cane and beet. As this phase of the subject has already received considerable attention, I shall here touch only upon some of the more recent

developments with reference to the problem. The most material of these developments is the continued increase and extension of beet-sugar production in Europe. The total output has increased nearly 1,000,000 tons in the last two years. There is so much said in the daily press about the importance of the beet-sugar industry in this country that the general public has come to regard it as a large and growing institution; but it plays a very insignificant part both as to size and growth, even when compared with the smaller of the European beet-growing countries. Even Spain and Italy, not usually regarded by Americans as very enterprising nations, overtop us in beet-sugar production; the former having, in spite of her disastrous war, increased her output to 117,000 tons, a total far beyond her own consumption. In Germany the production has nearly reached the mark of 2,000,000 tons, while Austria and France each produce well over 1,000,000 tons. In view of the increasing flood of export sugar, it is small wonder that the older countries are again agitating the subject of an international agreement for the repeal of bounties, an effort that has hitherto proved quite barren of results.

Much attention has been lately paid by the sugar journals to work that has been done in different parts of the world, notably in Java, for the improvement of the sugar-cane plant, not so much in its sugar content as in its vegetal vigor. According to plant physiologists it has greatly degenerated because of having been propagated for centuries from eyes or cuttings, losing thereby much of its vigor, and becoming subject to several plant diseases, which would probably not have attacked it but for its enfeebled constitution. These deductions, which are undoubtedly of some weight, have been seized upon and exploited by beet enthusiasts as sounding the death-knell of the tropical cane as a sugar-producing plant. It would seem, however, rather a subject for congratulation than a cause for regret on the part of the friends of the cane. If a plant has maintained its usefulness and has been grown so extensively for so long a period without becoming entirely extinct, what can be expected of it when rejuvenated by an accession of vigorous qualities through the medium of seed-propagated stock, a measure of improvement now rendered easily attainable by the discovery of the fact that the plant still bears fertile seed under fortuitous conditions?

Interesting arguments, not only in connection with the struggle for supremacy between cane and beet, but also as bearing upon what the future holds in store for tropical lands and peoples, will be found in two recent articles which reach directly opposite conclusions upon the latter subject. The practical and pessimistic view is taken in an editorial in

a leading commercial paper of New York, which has been widely quoted. It is entitled "The Fate of the Tropics"; and the writer, after showing that the synthetic production of indigo has deprived tropical countries of one of their smaller monopolies, gives statistics showing the great growth of beet-sugar production in recent years; and he concludes that the tropical sugar industry is likewise moving toward its end, leaving the dweller in the tropics minus an occupation and doomed to destruction. In an article entitled "The Tropical Renaissance,"¹ Mr. Sylvester Baxter reaches an exactly opposite conclusion. After showing that the tropical diseases — malaria, yellow fever, and plague — have lost their terrors since recent discoveries have demonstrated that they are communicated to man through the agency of animals and insects, and are thus easily susceptible of control, he reasons that there will be a large influx of the white race, with its energies and civilization, to the lands which were the cradle-place of man and are still best adapted to his growth and development. Thus will be brought about a shifting of the centre of civilization toward the equator, where favorable conditions of plant growth yield the maximum of return for the minimum of labor; and the colder climes will be abandoned to inferior races, as they were during the ages of the supremacy of Mediterranean civilization.

To the practical-minded person these speculations may seem idle and illusory; yet economic movements, the agencies which preside over the destinies of nations, are becoming year by year more important, and more deserving of careful study and skilful forecasting. The eye of the economist passes over the lines and limitations drawn by political controversies and selfish interests. He beholds the fair isle of Cuba lying at the feet of the continent, awaiting only the magic touch of capital and enterprise to develop into its true and rightful position as the sugar-bowl of the Western Hemisphere. When that time comes, the armies of American agriculture, under the waving banners of the corn-tassel and the cane-plume, emblems of starch and sugar production, will hold the food markets of the world against the combined hosts of Europe.

CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

¹ In "Harper's Magazine" for July, 1901.

THE GOVERNMENT AND GOOD ROADS.

IN a country as large as that in which we live, with the greater part of its producing regions widely separated from the markets which they serve, the matter of transportation is one of vast importance. This applies particularly to our agricultural products; for while a great portion both of our manufactured output and of our farm growth must be moved long distances by rail or water before reaching a market, practically all of the latter must also be transported for greater or less distances over the public highways. The question of marketing these agricultural products, amounting in the United States to \$1,000,000,000 annually, on terms that the dealer can afford to pay and the grower to accept, often reduces itself to a question of cheap and quick delivery — in other words, to a question of economical transportation.

As far as the railways and steamship lines are concerned, this problem has been dealt with very intelligently and satisfactorily. Skill and money have been applied without stint to the provision of enlarged means of conveyance, improved ways, and increased power. These influences, under the stress of strong competition, have reduced long-distance freight rates to a reasonable level.

There is one phase of this transportation problem, however, which has approached no such satisfactory solution. That is the matter of wagon road haul. As has already been said, while the greater part of our farm products travels by steamship, canal, or railway for a portion of the journey to market, virtually all of them are conveyed for some distance over the public highways. It is unfortunate that this is often the most expensive part of their journey. It has been shown by mathematical demonstration that it costs more to move a bushel of wheat or a ton of hay ten miles over the average country roads of the United States than to transport the same burden 500 miles by railway or 2,000 miles by steamship. It has happened many times in different parts of the country that farmers have let crops go to waste because the cost of hauling them to the nearest market or railway shipping-point over wretched and ill-kept roads amounted to more than could be realized

for them afterward; whereas, if good roads on which heavy loads could be hauled had been at hand, the same crops could have been marketed at a small profit to the producer, while the economic gain resulting from their application to useful purposes would have been very considerable.

To those who follow the trade reports of the newspapers, the announcement of a rise in the price of some staple, "due to inability to market the crop on account of the impossible condition of the country roads," is familiar reading at certain seasons of the year. It has happened that the success or failure of a skilfully manipulated "corner" has depended likewise upon the dominance of King Mud, and that the bottomless state of rural highways, making country trade dull and wholesale collections slow, has been responsible for a serious stringency in the money market.

Of course this is only one phase of the influence of our public roads upon the prosperity not only of individual communities, but of the whole country. There are reasons of political and social importance that afford equally powerful arguments for the necessity of good roads; but the industrial side of the question has been dwelt upon here to show that good highways are of public advantage as well as of utility to individuals or neighborhoods. For this reason the means of providing them are entitled to the attention and assistance of the law-making bodies of the States, the nation, or both.

The determination of the extent to which the various powers of the local, State, and national Governments should undertake this work, and of the share which should be borne by each is a matter of great importance. Without plan, system, and concerted effort it is impossible to accomplish any great public task. The absence of any definite policy or unity of action on the part of our various public authorities in the past has been one of the greatest barriers to our progress toward good roads. What has been everybody's business has come to be nobody's business, and it is very largely due to this that the United States has probably the worst system of public highways of any civilized nation of the first class. Of course there have been many other causes, but this deserves to rank as one of primary importance.

It is encouraging to be able to say that we seem now to be in a fair way toward outlining a definite policy and a feasible working plan for the betterment of our road system. The various governmental authorities, from Washington down to the country township, are taking up a share of this work, which, as it will redound to the common good, should properly be carried on by common effort.

Nobody maintains to-day that it is the duty of the Federal Government to undertake the work of constructing adequate public roads or to bear the expense of it. In the early days of the Republic the plan of a system of great national highways constructed by the direct authority of Congress received much attention, and several roads were built by the Federal Government. With the development of the great systems of canals and railways, however, the wagon-way lost its preëminent position as a means of transportation and communication, and the policy of road construction by Federal direction has been abandoned for more than half a century.

Following the example of the general Government, the States, with few exceptions, ceased their efforts at road-building or even at the intelligent supervision and direction of it. A lax system was generally adopted by which the tax for the maintenance of the public roads was levied in the form of labor. The work of road-making or repairing was performed at odd times, in haphazard fashion, and under the direction of overseers who seldom held office for more than a year at a time, and who possessed no special knowledge to fit them for the task. It is obvious that with such a system, or lack of system, no coherent scheme of road improvement could be put into effect. Indeed, there is no doubt that in many cases the work performed in this manner left the highways actually in a worse condition than before.

Within the last decade there has been remarkable progress in the direction of awakening public interest to the importance of good roads and in bringing into practice more sane and practical methods of dealing with the public highways. The inception of this movement was due to individual effort, but it soon became strong enough to attract the attention of the State and national Legislatures. Several States framed laws which provided for the gradual construction of good roads through a system of State aid and supervision, and in 1893 Congress again took up the subject as one deserving of legislative attention. In that year a small appropriation was made, to be expended under the direction of the Department of Agriculture in the dissemination of scientific information on the subject of road construction among States, communities, or individuals desiring it. Congress set aside \$8,000 for this purpose during each succeeding year until 1900, when the amount was increased to \$14,000. During the present year we have \$20,000 to spend, and it is hoped that the appropriation will be gradually increased to keep pace with the requirements of the work.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the Government of the United

States is fairly committed to the cause of good roads, and that its policy will continue along the conservative lines on which it has developed during the last eight years. This policy is radically different from that taken up in the early days of the nation. It is not likely that in the near future Congress will appropriate money for the building of any great through highway or system of highways. That side of the work is to be left to the States or counties more immediately concerned. The function of the Federal Government, as at present defined, is to aid the work by the investigation of methods and materials, the distribution of literature, and the giving of expert advice, to those who desire it, through special agents who are trained road-builders. This plan provides opportunities for a large amount of work which could not be performed so well through any other medium, and still does not interfere in any way with the proper functions of State or county governments in actually providing good roads.

This is a wise and thoroughly practical arrangement. As the jurisdiction over highways is vested in State and local authorities, and as the greatest benefit from their improvement is realized by these more immediate communities, it seems proper that they should bear the principal cost of actual construction. On the other hand, we know that no great system of permanent highways in any country was ever built up and maintained without the aid and support of the general Government of that country. By making the Government the advisory or directing member in this partnership, more uniform and successful results may be obtained than would follow from the individual, unrelated efforts of different States or communities.

As at present organized, the Government's share in the work of providing good roads is performed by a division of the Department of Agriculture known as the Office of Public Road Inquiries, in charge of a director, associated with whom are an assistant director and a number of road experts designated as special agents. Considerable didactic literature has been published by the office in the form of pamphlets, which are distributed free to the citizens of the various States upon application. During the last year the task of the office has been increased by adding three important features to the work. First of all the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson, has divided the country into four parts for the purpose of this work, and has appointed a scientific special agent for each division for the purpose of making examinations of the road-building materials of the section and reporting to the Government the natural conditions and available road-making materials therein.

In addition to this, he has established at Washington a physical and chemical laboratory for the purpose of testing scientifically the road-building material of every section of the country, as it may be discovered or proposed for use in highway construction. By means of these scientific tests we are able to determine accurately the hardness and durability of all road-making materials, and so avoid the costly mistakes into which different localities often fall by using an unsuitable substance for the purpose of hardening the surface of a highway, when perhaps more suitable material could be secured in the same vicinity at no greater cost. This scientific work is carried on, without cost to the people, in any locality which wishes to have tests made showing the value for road-making purposes of any material in the vicinity. Any citizen desiring to have such tests made may address the Office of Public Road Inquiries with his request, and specific directions will be forwarded to him from the office, showing how to proceed and what sample of material will be needed. The most scientific information obtainable anywhere in the world touching this subject can be obtained without cost by any citizen in the United States who will apply to his Government in the manner indicated above.

This didactic method of teaching has been supplemented by object-lessons. In 1900 and during the current year many object-lesson roads have been produced in various parts of the country under the auspices of the Office of Public Road Inquiries. As the director of that office I have produced object-lesson roads, each a mile or more in length, at Port Huron, Michigan, Saginaw, Michigan, Traverse City, Michigan, Springfield, Illinois, and Topeka, Kansas. In my last report I recommended that the sum of \$45,000 should be appropriated by Congress to enable me to construct an object-lesson road in every one of the forty-five States. This recommendation has not been carried out as yet; but I believe it was favorably considered by a majority of the members of Congress, and I hope that it will ultimately be acted upon. Failing to get the necessary appropriation to carry on this work as I think it should be done, I was glad to join with the National Association of Good Roads in the great enterprise of building object-lesson roads in several of the Southern States in cooperation with the Good Roads train and the local communities where the train stopped. By this united movement a great impetus has been given to the cause of good roads in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

A brief account of the work of the Good Roads train may perhaps be of interest. It was in operation during the months of April, May, June, July, and August, of the present year, through the Missis-

Mississippi Valley, from New Orleans to Chicago. The Illinois Central Railroad furnished the train, including nine cars for machinery, one car for laborers, and one combination dining and sleeping car for road experts, officials, and press representatives. The railroad company also provisioned the train, and furnished part of the skilled and common labor. The machinery was donated by the manufacturers, who also supplied experts to operate it. I accompanied the train on its initial trip from Chicago to New Orleans, and through a portion of Mississippi, delivering addresses at several conventions. I left the train at Jackson, Mississippi; but Mr. M. O. Eldridge, my assistant, joined it there, and represented the office during the remainder of the trip. Road Expert Charles T. Harrison of this office accompanied the expedition.

The Good Roads train visited the following places, where sample roads, varying in length from half a mile to a mile and a half, were built, and where the officers of the National Association organize permanent local and State associations: Flossmore, Illinois; New Orleans, Louisiana; Natchez, Vicksburg, Greenville, Clarksdale, Oxford, Grenada, McComb City and Jackson, Mississippi; Jackson, Tennessee; Louisville, Hopkinsville, and Owensboro, Kentucky; Cairo and Effingham, Illinois. About twenty miles of earth, stone, and gravel roads were built, and fifteen large and enthusiastic conventions were held. The numbers attending these conventions and witnessing the work were very large, in nearly every instance being more than 1,000 persons, and in some cases 2,000. Among those present were the leading citizens and officials, including governors, mayors, congressmen, members of legislatures, judges of the county courts, and road officials. This was undoubtedly the most successful campaign ever waged for good roads. The expedition has been of great service to the cause, especially to the people of the Mississippi Valley.

The many requests that come to the Office of Public Road Inquiries in Washington for literature describing methods of road construction, for analyses of material, and for the advice and assistance of our special agents prove that there is throughout the United States a lively and rapidly growing interest in the good-roads question. In satisfying this interest where it exists, in creating it where it does not, in disseminating practical information, and in giving practical instruction, the Government is doing a small share toward the improvement of the public roadways. That the advice and assistance which it offers are coming to be more and more in demand is an encouraging sign for the future of this important factor in our material prosperity.

MARTIN DODGE.

CRISPI AND ITALIAN UNITY.

HISTORY has been called by a French writer "a collection of conventional fables." Pliny, of old, uttered a similar saying. There seems occasionally to be a great deal of truth in that satirical remark. Quite recently, in the many obituary notices of the prominent Italian statesman, Crispi, we have seen him almost invariably spoken of as the organizer of the Sicilian insurrection of 1860, which brought about the establishment of Italian unity, and which may be said to have led indirectly to other events of colossal importance in European history. Crispi, no doubt, had his notable part in that rising, even as he had had already in the Sicilian insurrection of 1848-49. But, as a matter of fact, neither he nor — as many may learn with astonishment — even Garibaldi had planned the revolutionary movement of 1860, though the famous leader of the Red Shirts, the courageous defender of the Roman Republic of 1849, carried that movement to its final triumph by the overthrow of Bourbon rule at Palermo and Naples.

The true facts are the following. I can state them with all the greater certainty, for I was connected by intimate friendship with Mazzini — "the Apostle of Italian Unity and Freedom," as he has been called — from 1859, and with Garibaldi from 1860, down to the death of both. More than this, I was personally present at the first secret deliberations in London concerning the proposed Sicilian rising, which virtually made Italy.

Here I may mention that, before Napoleon III addressed his famous speech to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner, on New Year's day, 1859, Mazzini, who had always excellent information at his command, was able to communicate to me the whole of the French plan of campaign, including even an intended early conclusion of peace after the first victories over Austria. It was on the eve of that speech, which some months afterward was to be translated into warlike deeds, that I met Mazzini in the house of the aged Mr. Craufurd, who had previously held a diplomatic post, as a representative of England, at Florence. There was also present my friend Aurelio Saffi, once the colleague of

Mazzini in the Government of the Roman Republic. I have before me the notes of the remarkable details Mazzini then gave. These notes I made immediately on coming home, so extraordinary did the communication in question appear to me. Without going into a fuller statement, I may say that Mazzini foretold the speedy outbreak of war, saying that merely the wresting of Lombardy from Austria was the object, and that peace would shortly be concluded if the Government at Vienna, after a defeat, declared itself ready to enter into negotiations. Everything turned out as he foretold.

To that war, initiated by the "Man of December," who had murdered the Roman Republic and then murdered the French Republic, Mazzini was opposed. He feared from it the substitution of French influence for that of the Hapsburgs, as well as a loss of Italian territory. He said to me in Mr. Craufurd's house, in the presence of Count Saffi, who as a Republican had dropped his title of nobility: "Garibaldi has conditionally accepted Cavour's offer to gather the revolutionary elements under the Sardinian banner. I myself have been asked by the Working Men's Association at Genoa whether this procedure was to be accepted. I immediately answered, 'No!'"

Mazzini also feared at that time that between Napoleon and the Czar of Russia intrigues were going on which would endanger the security of Europe. For all these reasons he, and a large number of Italian exiles, disapproved of an alliance between the French despot and the Piedmontese Government at Turin. In Mazzini's weekly organ, "Pensiero e Azione" (Thought and Action), a declaration was published by way of protest against such an alliance. It was signed by himself, Saffi, Maurizio Quadrio, Crispi (the later Italian Premier), Alberto Mario, Rosolino Pilo (who in 1860 first became commander of the insurrectionary forces in Sicily), Filippo de Boni, Vitale de Tivoli, and many others.

Their views were shared by me. I had occasion then to publish a series of leading articles in a London Liberal paper, which had been steadfast in its opposition to Napoleon III and in its warm sympathies with the democratic cause all over Europe. These articles Mazzini was glad to use, in an Italian version, in his "Pensiero e Azione."

Garibaldi, as before mentioned, took a different course. He entered the service of the King of Sardinia as a general of volunteers, but soon found himself much hampered by Bonapartist and Cavourian influences. It was evident that the real object in enlisting the "revolutionary element" under the Sardinian banner had been to neutralize and paralyze it, seeing that, irrespective of its Republican leanings, it aimed at the

absolute unity of Italy. Now, the scheme of the French Emperor was, merely to aggrandize Piedmont in the North, while he was to take Savoy and Nice;¹ to plant in Tuscany a French satrapy in the person of Prince Napoleon; to restore in Naples and Sicily a Murat dynasty; to leave the Papal States intact; and to establish a kind of French suzerainty over a loose confederation, composed of all these various Italian States, by appointing the Pope as the President of the confederation, and declaring France to be the Protector of the Pope.

Both Garibaldi and Mazzini, though personally in those days not on the best terms — as I had occasion frequently enough to observe — were the sworn antagonists of this scheme. In truth, it has unfortunately been the policy of France since olden times to keep countries near her borders in a state of loose confederation, and jealously to counteract all their efforts at stricter national union. Royal, Imperial, and even Republican Governments in France have ever pursued, on that point, the same policy. The Roman Republic, at whose head Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini had stood in 1849, was overthrown by President Louis Bonaparte, with the assent of the Legislative Assembly of a Republican France.

When the peace of Villafranca was concluded, Mazzini and his friends exerted themselves with might and main to turn the state of things into a better course, to forward the true movement for unity, to overcome Cavourian hesitation or antagonism, and to cast out the nefarious Bonapartist influence. Cavour, it must be remembered, had by origin and education more of the French than of the Italian character. Even as regards language he was more fluent in French than in Italian. To a union of the South with the North of Italy he was at first quite opposed, for both racial and constitutional reasons. All the more easily was he amenable to insinuations from the Tuileries. In fact, it is be-

¹ From a letter which appeared in the "Kölnische Zeitung" as early as January, 1852, it may be seen that Louis Napoleon had formed his plans even then. The Paris correspondent of that paper, who received frequent communications from the Elysée, wrote as follows: "If I am correctly informed, and I have every reason to believe so, Louis Napoleon intends, even as at home, so also abroad, to introduce an active policy instead of the merely negative one, as it was until now. . . . The President proposes to urge the solution of the Eastern Question, and, in doing so, to be on the side of England. He then will claim England's assistance in Italy, where, in alliance with Piedmont, he means to intervene against Austria. The Republic (France) is to be aggrandized by Savoy and Nice; and Sardinia is to be indemnified by Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, Modena, and Lucca. For the carrying out of this plan no war will be shrunk from, whilst England will have to take care that the Italian war does not develop into a European one."

lieved that, originally, he would not have minded in the least the introduction of a Murat dynasty in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

For three months Mazzini was secretly in Italy, endeavoring to urge statesmen and commanders of troops forward on the path of the movement toward full national unity. Hidden in the house of a plain man of the people, named Dolfi, a baker, who was earnestly active in the national cause, Mazzini entered into correspondence with Baron Ricasoli, who was at the head of the Administration of the States of Central Italy, and who later became Prime Minister, after Cavour. When Mazzini returned to London he showed me the official proof of this communication with Ricasoli. It is not that that moderate constitutionalist statesman favored the plans of the ex-triumvir; but, at any rate, he did not approve of the subserviency shown by Cavour to the French Emperor.

To the astonishment of many of his friends, Mazzini wrote a public letter to King Victor Emanuel offering his cooperation for the foundation of full Italian unity. For the sake of Italy, he said, he would be ready, after the deed had been successfully done, to return into exile, and to die there in the Republican principles of his youth. Confidentially, through an intermediary, he proposed to the King that he should give his tacit assent to a movement in Southern Italy, and that either through Ricasoli, or through Farini, he should send a word to Garibaldi to that effect. In case Austria interfered by force of arms, Victor Emanuel was to declare openly in favor of the planned insurrection in the Two Sicilies. To bring about such a rising in the South, Mazzini said, would be "an easy matter." Of this secret proposal to Victor Emanuel, Garibaldi was not informed.

It is stated that the King was much impressed by the public letter of Mazzini, in which the chief of the Republicans had appealed to him in these words: "Be dictator during the war; King of Italy afterward if you choose; and may God bless you and the nation united by you!" Thereupon Brofferio, the famous lawyer and historical writer, was asked to propose to Mazzini that he should see the King in person. Mazzini was ready to do so on condition that Victor Emanuel would give pledges for the immediate junction of the Central Italian States to the Kingdom of Sardinia without consulting the French Emperor; that he would support a rising in Southern Italy, if one should occur there; and that, finally, Venice should be wrested from Austria by the combined forces of the army and of revolutionary volunteers. This promise the King would not make, and the interview did not take place.

Meanwhile Mazzini had given out publicly the watchword: "*Al Centro, al Centro, mirando al Sud!*" (To Central Italy, with the South as the aim!) To Garibaldi he now proposed, by an intermediary, that he, as general of volunteers, should one morning suddenly give the order of command to march forth against Rome, so as to get the revolutionary ball rolling. In Naples, and still more in Sicily, preparations for a rising had been made by agents of Mazzini. Garibaldi accepted. It was agreed that the King and his philo-French Minister should not be told of it, though it was still hoped that Victor Emanuel, if the deed were done, would finally yield with a good grace. Unfortunately, Garibaldi imagined he was quite sure of the King, with whom he was then on most intimate terms. He, therefore, told him, contrary to agreement. The King told Cavour, who forthwith reported to Paris. At once, a thundering telegram came from the Tuileries, smashing the whole design.

In Italian affairs it is not always easy to get at the complete inner history of conspiracies and events. Even in Garibaldi's "Autobiography" there are curious gaps and merely veiled hints. For instance, his triumphal entry into London in 1864, his prolonged stay there, and his sudden departure — about which I know a good deal, as I was the first to see him on his arrival in the Isle of Wight and also the first to be told how Gladstone brought about his enforced departure — are not mentioned in a single word! However, in regard to the plan of marching suddenly into the Roman States, Garibaldi, many years afterward, wrote at least this:

"The King did not give his consent to the invasion of the Pontifical States. It was his usual reserve, very natural in his position, in the presence of a revolutionist — even as a year afterward he refused in succession his assent to the Sicilian Expedition and to the passage of the Straits."

Garibaldi also wrote in his work, that he had cause to expect something from the King in regard to the entry of the Church into the Roman States.

Manifestly, though Garibaldi does not say so explicitly, it was he who had informed the King of Mazzini's plan; and the King refused to give his consent to the revolutionist who spoke in his presence. On November 26, 1859, Garibaldi resigned his position as general. Thus, once more Mazzini's scheme of a revolution in the South had been nipped in the bud.

The friends of Mazzini and he himself — for this I can vouch from

his repeated remarks to me — treated the action of Garibaldi as a breach of confidence, if not worse. They were wild with rage about his having broached the matter to the King. No doubt, he had acted from a mistaken feeling of full trust in the King; being unaware of the secret offer previously made by Mazzini himself to Victor Emanuel and declined by him. From that time there was frequent friction between the two leaders. As I was intimate with both, I often endeavored to smooth out the difficulties. Each of them, I may mention, communicated to me beforehand the enterprises they were separately bent upon. On such occasions I had always to keep that information to myself, seeing that the two leaders of the "Party of Action" went each his own way. When, after some miscarried attempt of that kind, I spoke out in favor of Garibaldi, Mazzini would sometimes exclaim in a good-humored, but half-nettled way: "Ah! *your* Garibaldi!" Our close friendship remained the same, and our coöperation went on as before.

Immediately after the plan of making Garibaldi's volunteer regiments enter the Roman States, in 1859, from the land side, had failed through their leader's imprudent communication to the King, Mazzini formed another plan, into which Garibaldi at first was not initiated, lest he should once more mar it by a mistaken confidence in higher quarters. This plan was the revolutionizing of Sicily as a starting-point for doing the same at Naples, and afterward at Rome, where finally a National Assembly was to be convoked to work out a Constitution for all Italy. The question as to how to bring over Sicily to the national Italian idea was, however, a difficult and thorny one, though it was comparatively easy, as Mazzini had said before to the King, to raise an insurrection there against the Bourbons. The people of that island, from early times, had always had separatist tendencies of the most pronounced kind. Between these and the Neapolitans no love was lost. They rather looked upon each other as hereditary foes. There are not a few nasty proverbs by which the Sicilians used to express their contempt for the Neapolitans on the mainland.¹ In 1848-49 the Sicilians had bravely and gloriously risen against Bourbon tyranny. It was not, however, in the cause of Italian unity, but to form a sovereign island state of their own. They offered the crown to a younger son of the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert. In 1859 Mazzini, the out-and-out defender of full national unity, was for some time much in fear lest the Sicilians should again follow "particularist," autonomous lines. It was

¹ For instance: "God first created the world, and then made the Straits of Messina, so as to separate men from fools."

of importance, therefore, to put in the foreground native Sicilian leaders who had been won over to the idea of Italian unity.

Until then, it must be owned, only the smallest possible minority of Sicilian malcontents had been adherents of that cause. Even when Maurizio Guadrio, one of the staunchest adherents of Mazzini, made a secret visit to the island in 1859, in order to come into personal contact with groups of men devoted to the national Italian idea, he found matters still somewhat unsatisfactory in that respect. However, the difficulty was finally overcome. Rosolino Pilo and Crispi, both of whom had already given their proofs in 1848-49, together with Corrao, all three Sicilians born, were chosen to officer the new movement against Bourbon rule. Each of them was a strong friend of unity. Crispi, moreover, at that time, was an ardent Republican and adherent of Mazzini.

I well remember how early Mazzini, in his small room in London, gave me knowledge of his new plan. I vividly see before my mind's eye the tall, red-haired, clear-eyed Sicilian leader, with whom, in my presence, he discussed the coming enterprise. That fair Southerner may well have been a descendant of one of those Normans who had once held sway in Sicily. He had nothing of the typical Italian in him, as little as had Garibaldi, whose very name is a Teutonic one, meaning "spear-bold," or "bold in war." Garibaldi's own physical appearance — red-haired, strong-faced, blue-eyed, of steady and measured movement — proclaimed him as one who hailed from the old Teutonic race, which gave Lombardy its name. Mazzini, on his part — dark-eyed, dark-haired, with quickly moving features, and full of lively gesture — was typically Italian. The contrast between the tall and fair Sicilian and the middle-sized Mazzini could not have been more pronounced.

As an emissary of Mazzini, Francisco Crispi went to Sicily, disguised as an Argentine merchant, and under the assumed name of "Manuel Tareda." To the post of military leader of the insurrection Rosolino Pilo was appointed. He was surrounded with a staff of Mazzinians. The movement had been started by Pilo with the pledge that the question of a Republic should not be raised. At first, Garibaldi was not told of the new enterprise; but when things had become somewhat riper he was approached, because it was felt that his name and military experience would be the most effective help and of the best augury for success. The pecuniary means and the arms necessary for beginning the rising had been collected by Mazzini, and they were small indeed. The first money came from Scotland, through Mr. John MacAdam, of Glasgow, also a simple but zealously active man of the people, and a com-

mon friend of Mazzini and myself. Garibaldi, in later years, acknowledged this timely service to the cause from Scottish friends of Italy. It took a considerable time, however, before Garibaldi could be induced to land with the famous Thousand at Marsala. This event did not occur until May 11, 1860 — fully six weeks after the rising had begun in Sicily under the leadership of Rosolino Pilo, who was truly the pioneer of the movement. In one of the battles Pilo fell from a bullet. Well do I remember his face and figure as I saw him in Mazzini's dwelling where the preparations were discussed.

From Caprera, Garibaldi had written thus to Pilo even as late as March 15, 1860: "At the present moment I do not hold a revolutionary movement in any part of Italy to be advisable unless there is a very strong likelihood of success." In vain did Pilo write to him again, in answer to that letter:

"Think it well over, General! An insurrection in Sicily implies that of the whole South. It is more than ever wanted at this moment, if the creation of one Italy be the aim. To put it off would be to promote the schemes of diplomacy, and give time to Austria to prepare reinforcements and to gain alliances which at present she is lacking. Delay is what Napoleon wishes, in order to place a member of his family on the throne of Naples. By putting an end to delay, we shall be able to prevent the shameful sale of Nizza [Garibaldi's native town], and to free poor Venice. Remember, General, that in the South we have an army and a navy [that of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies] which are necessary to our national independence, but which we cannot make our own without a popular rising. Nothing remains now but to greet you, General, from the bottom of my heart, and to wish you new glory in Sicily for the completion of our fatherland's resurrection."

This strong appeal induced Garibaldi to come over from Caprera to the mainland, and to converse with a number of patriotic leaders, including Crispi, Bixio, and Bertani, who were working together with the Mazzinians. But still Garibaldi could not make up his mind. Even in April, when Pilo and Corrao were already acting in Sicily, he seemed very doubtful. A fresh pressing message was sent to him from Palermo. Before the special agent who brought it to him Garibaldi stood musingly, with arms akimbo, his head slightly inclined, and his eyes fixed to the ground, murmuring: "But France? But Cavour?"

Here is Garibaldi's own testimony as to his long hesitation. In his "Autobiography" he says:

"Rosolino Pilo and Corrao were on the point of starting for Sicily. As I knew the character of the man [Cavour] who ruled the destiny of Northern Italy, and as I had not yet shaken off the scepticism into which the recent events of the last months of 1859 had thrown me, I advised them against action if more decisive news about the rising did not come in. I threw the ice of the man of experience on the ardent, vigorous resolution of youth. But it was written in the Book of Fate that icy cold-

ness and doctrinaire pedantry would in vain place hindrances in the way of the victorious march of the Italian cause. I advised against action. But must not the Italian be wherever the Italian struggles for the national cause against tyranny?"

So, after all, he went. And it was he who carried the Revolution to its final triumph.

It is but fair to mention that Garibaldi had strongly exerted himself to get for the furtherance of the national cause the arms which were at that time publicly subscribed for under the title of "A Million Guns." Cavour, however, foiled his efforts. Cavour did nothing but confiscate the arms and money destined for patriotic aims wherever he could lay his hands on those practical means of national deliverance. Garibaldi's "Autobiography" is full of indignant language about Cavour's "petty intrigues and despicable opposition, which persecuted our expedition to the last." When that expedition of the Thousand, supported by daily increasing popular enthusiasm, could no longer be prevented from starting, and Garibaldi at last sailed away, though he had only been able to secure two ramshackle vessels, Cavour hoped that "this fool" (*questo pazzo*) would come to grief in mid-sea — perhaps be captured by a French cruiser.

Even after Sicily had been wrested from Bourbon rule, King Victor Emanuel — whose name Garibaldi had always put at the top of his proclamations as that of the coming ruler of Italy — wrote, or was made to write, a letter ordering him not to cross the Straits. That, of course, was done in accordance with a compact between Cavour and Napoleon III. Had the English fleet not placed itself between the French fleet and the Garibaldians who crossed over, it would have been difficult to extend the revolutionary movement to the Kingdom of Naples on the mainland.

During the farther triumphant progress of the Liberator — so Garibaldi was henceforth called — Cavour cunningly wrote a few lines now and then, with an eye to future possibilities. He also set a powerful intrigue on foot for depriving Garibaldi of the Dictatorship, in order to reap the fruit of his achievements. This was all the wily, half-French, Piedmontese statesman did. There is a letter of Garibaldi, dated Naples, September 15, 1860, and addressed to Sig. Brusco, a distinguished lawyer at Genoa, in which the then Dictator of the Two Sicilies says:

"You assure me that Cavour wishes it to be believed that he is in agreement with me, and that he is my friend. I can assure you that, ready as I always am to sacrifice any personal feeling whatsoever on the altar of my fatherland, I can never recon-

cile myself to men who have humiliated the national dignity and sold an Italian province."

In his plain-spoken way, Garibaldi once used about the King's chief Minister even such a damning expression as, "*Questa canaglia!*" He sent a message to Victor Emanuel asking for Cavour's dismissal. With difficulty he was brought, later on, to meet Cavour once more. In London again, in 1864, Garibaldi showed his aversion to Cavour very strongly in conversation with me.

When planning the Sicilian rising Mazzini had agreed that the question of the Republic should not be raised. Some months before that revolutionary event he sent the following to Garibaldi as the programme:

"Italy free; Rome our capital; the French forced to withdraw. I understand the times; I respect the will of the country; I shall not act against the King. I shall not conspire for a Republic. I only speak of unity. I insist on the annexations [that is, of Tuscany and the Central Italian States to the Kingdom of Sardinia]; and should we succeed in Sicily or elsewhere, the only thing I insist upon is immediate annexation. If the country chooses a king, let it be so! It is for him to prove himself worthy by throwing off his vassaldom to France, and frankly accepting the Nation. What is now of the greatest importance is the rising in Sicily, and, together with it, or at once afterward, an insurrection as far as the Abruzzi. I believe that if we are heartily and loyally united we shall succeed."

When Garibaldi at last yielded to the entreaties that he should come over to Sicily, he did so with the declaration that the programme should be: "Italy and Victor Emanuel!" Yet he, too, remained at heart a Republican. He declared himself so in 1864, in London, when I took him from my house, in the Duke of Sutherland's carriage, first to Ledru-Rollin and then to Louis Blanc, the two exiled members of the Provisional Government of France in 1848, whose acquaintance Garibaldi had not made until then.

I have it on the testimony of Mazzini that from Sicily the movement was to be continued up to Rome, and that then a Constituent National Assembly should be convoked there. Venice was not to be touched for the nonce, unless the force of circumstances made it necessary to do so. A number of men on Rosolino Pilo's, as well as afterward on Garibaldi's, staff were won over to this plan. Garibaldi himself was said to have consented. This latter fact results, indeed, from several manifestoes of his during his Dictatorship, in which he said that the annexations to the Kingdom "shall be proclaimed from the heights of the Quirinal."

The King, however, sent word to Garibaldi that "no attack upon

Rome would be allowed as long as the troops of France remained there." Everything was done, moreover, to harass Garibaldi, and to make his position impossible. At last, after having greeted Victor Emanuel near the Volturno with the classically simple exclamation: "*Re d'Italia!*" ("King of Italy!") he suddenly resigned the Dictatorship. After snatching a poor little meal in a stable, the man who had practically founded Italian unity left almost penniless for his island home in Caprera.

Before doing so, he had offered the pro-Dictatorship to our friend, Aurelio Saffi, who remained a Republican in principle down to his death. With Saffi I had been in frequent correspondence during all these stormy events. He, however, felt unable to accept Garibaldi's proposal, much honored as he was by the offer. For many years after Mazzini's death, which occurred in 1872, Saffi continued in Italy the propaganda of democratic principles, after he had for a short time, in the sixties, been a member of the Italian Parliament.

Crispi, on his part, after the establishment of national unity, separated himself from Mazzini, saying that "the Monarchy alone can unite us, whilst the Republic would divide us." The pamphlet he wrote to that effect he sent to Saffi, who gave that very copy to me as a present. It is in my library. On its title-page there is a friendly inscription to Saffi in the peculiarly small and thin, somewhat scratchy, handwriting of Crispi. There are passages in the pamphlet from which one would never have thought that Crispi could, later on, turn away from France toward Germany. In fact, he had passed — so I know from my old friend, Wilfrid de Fonvielle, the scientist, political writer, and aeronaut — as very philo-French during the time he resided at Paris as an exile. In this matter, too, Crispi changed *toto cœlo*, even as he had done in regard to Republican principles. But in supporting the Triple Alliance — which had already been established before he assumed the Premiership — he certainly acted for the best interests of his country. Without that alliance Italy would have been at the mercy of France, and would have been compelled to incur even greater expense for her own military and naval security. In that respect, the compact of the Triple Alliance imposes no special obligations upon Italy. She can keep her army and navy as she likes, either large or small.

The facts I have here given are *la vérité vraie*, as the French say, who are fond of very fine distinctions in reference to truth. But real truth has a hard struggle to make itself heard in politics even more than in ordinary life.

KARL BLIND.

THE ETHICS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN ATHLETICS.

IN discussing athletic matters it is often forgotten how very recent is the widespread interest in amateur sport. The modern system of athletic sports was practically introduced at the beginning of the last century — about 1812 — by the Military College at Sandhurst. It was nearly fifty years later, however, before the English public schools and universities found a place for athletic sports among themselves, and made them, as they now are, both in England and America, almost a part of the curriculum. Advisory committees of graduates, paid “coaches,” and the participation by the faculties of colleges and universities in the regulation of athletic sports are all innovations of the last few years.

It is not so much cause for surprise, then, that rules and regulations are still imperfect, and that the ethics of athletic sports are still under discussion — discussion frequently of an irritating kind. Trained athletes became a professional class in Greece as long ago as 350 B.C., and for centuries their rules, their methods, and their manners were practically the only criteria by which such contests might be judged.

There are certain circumstances which may well comfort those who are often disheartened at the apparently slow progress made in ousting both the fact and the spirit of professionalism from our modern athletic sports. At any rate we have arrived at a point where professional methods are frowned upon by all who are sincerely interested in amateur athletics, at a point, too, where unmanly behavior, either in defeat or in victory, is generally considered cause for shame and repentance. It may be doubted, indeed, whether physical contests between young men have ever been conducted on so high a plane as now, or whether sport has ever before been made to minister so directly to the moral and mental, as well as the physical, development of our “young barbarians all at play.” The *laudator temporis acti*, however, is as much at home in athletics as in morals and manners. All Harvard men have heard the Greek athlete lauded at the expense of his modern prototype, and the vulgarity of modern athletic contests dwelt upon at length; and doubtless in other classic shades are men of profound learning who deplore our degeneracy as athletes. All this rather superficial commentary

on comparative athletics has its effect in inducing many people to believe that we have made little or no progress in our endeavors to make sport contribute, and that notably, to the education of our youth.

No doubt Greek sculpture has had more to do with the sentiment about the superiority of the ancient athlete over the modern than any real knowledge of the subject. The few relics we possess of the Periclean age of Greek art have been used as typical of the physical development of that time. As a matter of fact, they were probably no more typical than Mr. French's Minute-Man is typical of the sculpture of an age which rejoices in such amorphous artistic callosities as are to be found in New York, and even in Boston.

But whether or not the physical development of the ancients was more symmetrical, their ethical standards in such matters we should now consider beneath contempt. Every school-boy in these days is taught, not only by his masters, but by the overwhelming influence of his school-fellows, that he may succeed by fair means only, and that he must not lose heart when he fails. Or, as it has been said by one of our greatest literary athletes: "It is not our business in this life to succeed, but to continue our failures in good spirits." Golden words these are, in days of commercial and social scrambling, when the Ten Commandments are mere rungs on the ladder of financial and social success. At any rate, in our school and college athletics no such cynicism exists, and commercial methods are strictly debarred. But whether this was true of the athletics of two thousand years ago one may well doubt.

We are fortunate in having, for purposes of comparison, a detailed account of certain athletic games from the pen of one of the most distinguished poets of the golden age of Rome. He was writing for his countrymen, and of his countrymen. The epic which contains this account was written primarily to glorify Rome and the Julian house to which the great Augustus belonged. The poet himself was a young man. He died when only fifty-one years old, and his sympathies were, therefore, the sympathies of a comparatively young man. He was writing to please, not to malign; for, as we should phrase it nowadays, he was in receipt of many favors from the Administration. He was extolling the ancestors of those who were to buy and read his poem. It is to be supposed, then, that he would only dwell upon the pleasing traits, the daring deeds, the distinguished and glorious aspects, of the life of that time; that he would write of the ancestors of Augustus, of the houses of Memmius, Sergius, Cluentius, and others, only in the most complimentary terms.

It is important to call attention to this point, and to emphasize it, because in the games to be described later the participants conducted themselves, at least according to modern ethical athletic standards, in a way that should have made their descendants blush to own the relationship. Though the description is not a description of games that actually took place, it is none the less a fair account; for if the poet erred in over-elaboration or in exaggeration, he may be counted upon to have made his heroes not worse, but better, than they were. We find that tales of the war of 1860-64, or of the war of 1898, lose nothing of their complimentary and glorious character in the telling as the years go by. So our Latin poet, in his epic, may be trusted to tell of what he thought most welcome to the vanity and patriotism of those for whom he was writing. He believed, and his contemporaries believed, that to play games as he writes of them was the best way to play them. If this, then, is the kind of sport that Virgil's contemporaries applauded as a picture, and a flattering one, of the past, there is no reason why we should not consider the ethical standards held up by him for approbation as fairly representative of those of the Augustan Age.

First, there is a boat-race. Four boats enter: the *Pristis*, commanded by *Mnestheus*; the *Chimæra*, commanded by *Gyas*; the *Centaur*, commanded by *Sergestus*; and the *Scylla*, commanded by *Cloanthus*. On a rock at some distance from the shore a branch of oak is placed, and this is to be the turning-point for the contestants. The distance out and back is not given, though the rock is said to be "apart in the sea and over against the foaming beach," and where "the swollen waves beat" upon it. The boats start at a signal given by a trumpet. *Gyas* in the *Chimæra* gets away first, with *Cloanthus* in the *Scylla* a close second; while the *Centaur* and the *Pristis* are having it nip and tuck behind them. All goes well until they near the rock which marks the turning-point. *Gyas*, who still holds a short lead, calls out to his pilot *Menoetes* not to steer so wide of the rock, but to make a closer turn. The pilot fears, for some reason, that there may be a hidden reef, and as he steers wide to avoid any such danger, *Cloanthus*, in the *Scylla*, steers to the left under the stern of the *Chimæra*, shaves the rock in safety, and turns for home in the lead. As to *Gyas*, "then indeed grief burned fierce through his strong frame, and tears sprang out on his cheeks." He entirely forgets himself, seizes the old pilot, and flings him bodily into the sea. This feat of infantile fury is apparently looked upon by the other oarsmen as a huge joke; for "the *Teucrians* laughed out as he fell and as he swam, and laugh to see him spitting the salt water from his chest."

The old man is left to take care of himself as best he may, and Gyas takes the steersman's place himself; but he is so incompetent that he is caught and passed by Mnestheus in the *Pristis*, and only succeeds in finishing in the third place because Sergestus lands his boat, the *Centaur*, on the rocks, by steering too close to the turning-point. At the end everybody gets a prize, even Sergestus, who arrives in his badly battered boat amid the jeers of this sportsmanlike crowd.

With the literary value of this piece of writing we are not now dealing; but it is not amiss to refer parenthetically to the two illustrations wherein the boat of Mnestheus is compared to a dove scared from its nest, and the *Centaur* to a snake bruised by a passing wheel. For our purpose it is enough to call attention to the shouting, the scolding, and the weeping of the contestants; to the cowardice of Gyas; and to the equanimity with which Æneas and the crowd of spectators look upon these childish ebullitions of temper, as being part of the game. Cloanthus, when he sees that Mnestheus has left Sergestus fast upon the rocks, and has even overhauled and passed Gyas, gets upon the poop of his vessel and delivers an oration addressed to the gods of the waters, in which he promises to sacrifice a white bull to them if he comes in first. The whole picture is of youths of little self-control and of explosive temper, who have had no schooling in the laws that should govern contests between friendly amateurs, who are bent upon winning by fair means or foul, and who at the very thought of losing give way to hysterical despair.

In the next contest, a foot-race, the judicious chronicler grieves indeed to find all notions of fair play thrown to the winds. Those who enter for this race are: Nisus, Salius, Euryalus, Helymus, Dioreas, Patron, Panopes, and others. Nisus gets away first with a good lead upon his opponents, Salius being second, Euryalus third, and Helymus and Dioreas close together behind. Everything goes well, with the men running in this order, until near the finishing line, where the ground is slippery with the blood of some bullocks lately killed upon the spot. Nisus, still in the lead, slips and falls, but recovers himself sufficiently to roll over in front of Salius and bring him also to the ground. This he does, so says the poet naïvely, because Euryalus, the third man, is a dear friend of his, and by thus bringing Salius to grief he enables his friend to come in first. Thus, instead of Nisus first, Salius second, and Euryalus third, the race finishes with Euryalus first, Helymus second, and Dioreas third; Helymus and Dioreas getting second and third place respectively, through the outrageous trickery of Nisus.

There follows a rare row. Salius "fills with loud clamor the whole concourse of the vast theatre, demanding restoration of his defrauded prize." Euryalus, who only came in first by the grace of this monstrous blackguardism of Nisus, begins to weep at the thought of losing the first prize. Diore, who had been left well behind, and who gets his third place only through the trickery to Salius, backs up the tears of Euryalus, and his claim for first place, in order that his own claim to third place may not be questioned.

Was ever such a group of athletic mountebanks written of as men and heroes before? We have made progress since then in these matters, in all our sports, whether professional or amateur, except, perhaps, in professional baseball. But none of the spectators, not even pious Æneas, seems in the least surprised by the result of this race. It was no new thing to them apparently. That must have been the spirit in which these contests were generally conducted. Æneas declines to interfere in the matter, and gives first, second, and third prize to whimpering Euryalus, to Helymus, and to grasping Diore, respectively. To Salius, however, as solace for his misfortune, he gives the hide of an African lion whose paws are inlaid with gold.

Then follows a piece of impudence probably unparalleled in the history of athletics. Nisus, whose dishonorable action was the cause of all the trouble, appears and asks, if so much be given to the vanquished and to the fallen, "what fit recompense will you give to Nisus?" Various gifts adapted to the manners and methods of Nisus at once suggest themselves to the modern athlete. Tar, feathers, and a rail to ride on; the toe of a quickly lifted and well-directed boot — all or any of these seem appropriate. But, no; that ineffable prig Æneas laughs and gives him as compensation for his villany a handsome shield, calling him at the same time an "excellent youth"! In some of our military annals there have been traces of boasting, of jealousy, of bitterness, and of downright self-glorification. But outside of the police-court records nothing, for lack of chivalry, for contemptible meanness, for impudent self-assertion, equals this story of the foot-race at the anniversary of the funeral of Anchises.

Imagine a race with two Harvard men, a Yale man, and a man each from Columbia and Princeton entered. The Harvard man, leading, falls; twists himself over; grabs the Yale man, who is running second, by the legs; upsets him; and thus enables his Harvard mate, who is running third, to come in first. Then imagine all these young gentlemen grouped in front of the grand-stand. The Harvard man who came in

first is blubbing away, with his fists in his eyes, lest he be deprived of first prize; the Yale man, who was bowled over, is shouting his grievance; the Columbia man, who by the series of accidents gained third place, is insisting upon his right to profit by the trickery; and one and all of them, including the Harvard man who had been the cause of all the trouble, demanding to be given something. The modern imagination stumbles at the bare outline of such a predicament. Our whole standard of conduct, all our notions of fair play, all our ideas of decency have changed; and we can no more believe such manners possible to-day than we can bring ourselves to believe in Neptune and Hercules.

But all this is poetry, says some one. These games were not intended to be taken seriously, either by the poet or by his readers. That phase of the subject was dealt with at the beginning of this article. The games were not real, but the spirit of them was. There are athletic contests described by Shakspeare, by Scott, by Kipling, by Stevenson, and it would be quite fair to judge, from the imaginative writings of these authors, of the manners and of the ethics of the age described. The clothes, the weapons, the surroundings, the writer makes appropriate; but the spirit and the customs of those he holds up to us as heroes are the spirit and the customs that he, the author, regards as the most manly and the most dignified.

Virgil's epic stands in much the same relation to the men of the Augustan Age as do Shakspeare's historical plays to the men of the Elizabethan Age. Both men were writing imaginative history, and Virgil was as little tempted to hold up his actors to ridicule and scorn as was Shakspeare. Here and there are despicable characters, to be sure; but it is understood that they are despicable, and Shakspeare never for a moment allows his readers to suspect him of sympathizing with them. The same is true of Kipling and of Stevenson. But these figures on the stage at the games presided over by Æneas are held up to us to admire, and the great poet is only mirroring the ethics of his time when he pictures them as heroes. He no more suspects Gyas and Nisus of being young cads, even though he himself created them, than do they themselves, or Æneas and his companions. Virgil lived in an atmosphere where such conduct was not unusual on such occasions; in an atmosphere, in short, where in amateur athletics the trickster, the boaster, and the baby all had their place, and all might expect to receive a prize.

The next contest is a boxing-match, and here we seem to hear echoes more familiar to modern ears. Dares, a famous boxer, who in his day

had sparred with Paris and had beaten Butes, strides into the ring. He brandishes his arms, shakes his shoulders, makes passes in the air, and generally behaves as does the modern circus girl before some particularly hazardous feat. As no one appears, this modest gladiator, imagining that he has things all his own way, blows his own horn as follows: "Goddess-born, if no man dare trust himself to battle, to what conclusion shall I stand? How long is it seemly to keep me?" Thus, in varying phrases, have many of our modern prize-fighters halloed in the columns of the yellow journals. But Dares had scarce finished his modest speech, and the applause of the crowd had hardly died away, when Entellus, urged by Acestes, throws into the ring his huge gauntlets — of oxhide, weighted with lead and iron — and follows them himself. Then more discussion. How familiar is all this! Dares does not like the gloves. They are too big, and too hard. He declines to fight in them. After some pardonable boasting by Entellus, it is finally agreed to fight in gloves provided by Æneas, and the two boxers take their places and begin.

Young Dares is quicker, but Entellus is the more powerful. The fight favors first one and then the other, until Entellus, in attempting a mighty slog with his right, misses Dares and falls to the ground. Acestes rushes in to help him. Entellus, on his feet again, and furious at this mishap, renews the fight with redoubled energy. He chases Dares all over the ring, confusing him with the number and rapidity of his punches. Dares is practically beaten, when Æneas steps in and stops the fight. Dares is carried off on a litter by his friends, "spitting from his mouth clotted blood mingled with teeth." Entellus then tells the crowd how strong he used to be in his younger days, and shows them from what misfortune Dares had been rescued, by drawing off, and felling the bull, his prize, to the ground with a single blow between the horns. It "rolls over, and quivering and lifeless lies along the ground." As a last taunt to his vanquished enemy, Entellus says, as the bull lies dead at his feet: "This life, Eryx, I give to thee, a better payment than Dares' death." Of course this rhetorical kicking a fellow when he is down marks out Entellus, though old enough to know better, as of much the same type as Gyas, Nisus, Dares, and the rest.

The sparring match seems less absurd to us only because we are somewhat accustomed to our own bullies of the prize-ring of to-day. The combination of pantomimist, peacock, and bully, who poses and talks fifty weeks for every fifty minutes he fights, is so familiar to us, that Dares and Entellus do not so greatly shock us with their boasting,

their antics, and their lack of magnanimity. We should be dumfounded, however, if at the games in the gymnasium at Harvard, Yale, Groton, or St. Mark's our young athletes, with the gloves on, should indulge themselves in such posturing, or in such vituperation, as passed unnoticed among the companions in arms of the pious Æneas. Fancy a freshman who thinks well of his powers at sparring, dancing on to the floor of the Harvard gymnasium, brandishing his arms about, making feints at an imaginary opponent, side-stepping, and ducking, to show off his agility before his opponent comes in. It is no exaggeration to say that if such a spectacle were possible nine-tenths of the spectators would believe the boy to be half-witted, or, if not that, to be laboring under some momentary lapse of reason due to over-excitement.

Two centuries of athletics show at least that much change for the better. It would be as impossible to-day for a young gentleman to behave as did Dares as it was easy, and apparently quite proper, then. Though there are streaks of rowdyism, of trickery, and of unfair play in our college and school games even now, such things have no significance as they are unpopular and unrepresentative. The college mates of a man who should go blubbing to the judge to give him a prize would wrap him hastily in blankets, carry him off to the dressing-rooms, and excuse him on the ground that he was a bit "off his head." Should the stroke oar of a freshman crew jump on the coxswain of the boat and pitch him overboard for faulty steering, the young man, unless proved to be insane, would never sit in a boat again, and would probably be expelled from college. Self-control, good temper, and "continuing our failures in good spirits" are now recognized as being as much a part of the game as feathering the oar, or as running with the mouth shut, or as knowing how to counter. The ethical side of all these exercises dominates all kinds of athletics, and he who breaks the laws of the spirit of sport is as much a felon in spirit as at law is he who breaks into his neighbor's house.

Of the other games celebrated on this same day little need be said, for there is little that serves the purpose of this discussion. A mast is set up, a pigeon is tied to the end of it, and four archers, among them our old friends Mnestheus and Acestes, shoot for the prizes. The first strikes the mast with his arrow; the second cuts the string that holds the bird; the third brings down the bird as it flies; the fourth, Acestes, has nothing left to shoot at. But the poet, ever ready to make the best of his heroes, tells us that Acestes let fly his arrow into the air, where, to the amazement of the whole company, it was seen to catch fire, and

to sail like a meteor out of sight among the clouds. There, again, the poet has no mind to discredit the honor of these games. If to us there is in these descriptions much that is silly and treacherous, it is not because the poet has tried to give such an impression. On the contrary, wherever by his art — and a very lofty art it is — he can add solemnity or dignity to the proceedings, he has done so. When he describes what to our notions of manliness are the tricks of the "tough," he does it all unconscious that such manners and such methods are in any way contemptible. These were the athletic ideals of his time; these were the ethical laws by which the athletes of the century before the Christian era governed their games.

It would be interesting to trace the development of manliness in these matters. Whoever has read his Benvenuto Cellini and dipped into the literature of the Italian Renaissance, and remembers Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth," "Tom Brown's Schooldays," "Tom Brown at Oxford," "Verdant Green," Aldrich's "Story of a Bad Boy," Robert Grant's delightful description of a boat-race, and the various encounters in Stevenson's stories must see readily enough how we have made progress slowly, perhaps, but steadily. Nowadays we prevent foul play against wild animals by our game laws, and against our beasts of burden by the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

It is hardly to be doubted that the lads who have the good fortune to spend six years at our game-playing schools, like Exeter, Groton, St. Paul's, St. Mark's, and then four years more at college, must enter life with a sense of justice and a repugnance to foul play that will leave a mark upon our whole civilization. The game-playing Englishman has been successful in managing the Hindoos in India, the negroes in South Africa, the Egyptians in Egypt, and the aborigines in Australia and New Zealand. Certainly the Englishman is not of the imaginative temperament that sympathizes readily with those who differ from him socially and religiously. Rather is he to be described as the school-boy described the head-master of his school to his father — "a beast, but a just beast!" This world-wide notion among the weaker peoples of the earth, that one will get fair play at the Englishman's hands, has made England the successful colonizer that she is.

We should demand and expect no less from our own "young barbarians." We have our colonies to govern; we have the poison of the fierce lust of money, for which a wholesome antidote should be provided; we have the rude jostling of the self-advertising social strugglers to beware of; we have in our midst the disease of political corruption, for

which a remedy is sorely needed; we have a powerful press to tame; we have the fads in religion and in morals, always rampant in secluded communities of active ability and little culture, to meet and vanquish; and, though we are taking matters rather gayly in these days of our youth and prosperity, it needs no prophet to foresee that our Hercules will need some hard training to accomplish all his labors successfully.

In every bit of work, from sawing wood to polishing a poem, it is encouraging to look back and see how much has been done — how many sticks are actually sawn, how many verses are satisfactory in sense and sound. So we may turn back to this literature of our school days, and see that we have gone a long way toward the goal of manliness in our sports and pastimes. Though there is always much to do in turning out a first-rate man, in this particular phase of his development much has already been done. Not only may those who are professionally interested and those who are participants in playing games feel encouraged, but every man who loves his country wisely will welcome any proof that men are more manly than they were. The ideal is a long way off, to be sure, but a little honest praise can do no harm. The critics are always with us! It is something gained that thousands of our boys are being taught to play with all their might, to play fair, and to win if they can. A lad who has had ten years of such training can scarcely fail to retain something of that same spirit when he comes to take part in the real contests of life. Living in the richest and the most unkempt country in the world, where standards are mostly tentative, and where the levelling of a democracy offers huge bribes to wealth, to notoriety, and to popularity, the man who holds that it is not everything to succeed, but that whatever happens he must continue his failures in good spirits, is well worth producing, even at the price, in time and money, of teaching him how to play his games.

PRICE COLLIER.

THE SMALL COLLEGE AND THE LARGE.

AT a meeting of the graduates of Williams College held recently in Boston, Mr. Bliss Perry, editor of "The Atlantic Monthly," himself a graduate of the college, and for a time a professor at Princeton, said:

"In the large colleges the students have no time to think. In my experience in Princeton I found that the best thinkers were those who came from the little unknown colleges of the Middle West. These men possess a certain power of reflection and of assimilating the few facts which they possess which is not found in the university graduate. The tendency in the university, growing more and more strong, is toward the repression of individual opinion. It takes great courage to stand up and assert yourself against the university mob. The type of men who can do that is what the small college can and should develop."

In commenting upon this newspaper report of his remarks, Mr. Perry writes me, saying:

"The report is a tolerable representation of what I said, but it does not make very clear the point which I was trying to emphasize. We were discussing the function of the small college in preparing men for strictly university work, and it was in connection with this element in the discussion that I said that in my graduate work at Princeton the best thinkers in my classes came from the 'little unknown colleges of the Middle West.' I may have been more fortunate than other men at Princeton who had the conduct of graduate work. I certainly had during the last two or three years of my teaching there an unusually gifted succession of students from the colleges to which I have referred."

At the last commencement of Hamilton College, Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, an alumnus of Hamilton, speaking to his fellow-graduates and others, said:

"I believe that the American boy has better chances for education, for training, for making a true success of his life, in a college of not more than 300 students, removed from the great centres of population, where the students are brought into intimate association with their instructors; where the air is full of college spirit; where he is breathing a scholastic atmosphere year by year; and where the college is the all in all of college life."

In a personal note referring to this report Mr. Root says: "This is about what I said, and is what I think."

In discussing the advantages and the disadvantages of the small college and the large, as in discussing the advantages and disadvantages of

most institutions and movements, the argument turns upon the definition. One may define the small college as the college in which all the members of one class can be assembled for purposes of recitation in a single room at one time. Such a college would have not over 100 students, or, at most, not over 150. But a college, too, whose numbers do not exceed 300 may be judged to be small. This is the limit named by Secretary Root. A college of less than 300 students would not be called large; and a college of more than 300 and less than 600 would be called large, or small, or of moderate size, according to the standards of comparison. But a college of more than 600 members, having a Senior class of 100 or more, and a Freshman class of 150 or more, would be interpreted as large.

The comprehensive advantage which the small college is supposed to represent is the individuality of attention. The student becomes the object of notice more prolonged, more definite, more personal. He counts for more; he is one in 100 or 300, not one in 1,000. He receives more discriminating thought from professor and faculty. In the class-room he recites oftener, and out of the class-room his welfare is more carefully considered. He is not absorbed in the mass. That symbol of good teaching, "he calleth his own sheep by name," touches him more directly, constantly, powerfully.

The individuality of attention is not confined alone to the teacher as the active, and the student as the passive, force. It relates also to the student as the active, and the teacher as the passive, force. In the small college the professors are the object of more definite attention. Their number is smaller, and the number of subjects each one teaches larger. The personality, therefore, of the teacher is more present to, and more potent over, the student. The teacher is far better known to the student as well as the student to the teacher. The professor of philosophy in Middlebury College is better known to his students than the head of the department of philosophy in Yale College is to his students.

The definiteness of notice has a still further application. It extends to the mutual relations of the students. In a small college or class every member knows every other; in a large college or even class no member knows every other. In a small college the class relation is significant; in a large college it is not significant or is certainly less significant. In a small class is an *esprit de corps* which does not usually obtain in the large. Each member is closer to every other. They fight the same battles; they suffer the same defeats; they win the same victories; they pass through the same experiences; and they live the same life. Simi-

lar causes, results, conditions, purposes, and motives unite men; and such resulting unions are lasting, beneficent, inspiring. ✓

As a consequence of these and like causes I am inclined to believe that the members and graduates of a small college are more deeply attached to their *alma mater* than are the students and graduates of a large college. As the love of the parent is greater for the crippled child, so the love of the graduate seems greater for the small college. The small college, of course, is presumed to be honest, laborious, devoted to the highest welfare of its men. Daniel Webster should not have said of his college in his great speech in her behalf: "It is . . . a small college; *and yet* there are those who love it"; rather he should have said: "It is . . . a small college, *and* there are those who love it"; or, "It is a . . . small college, and, *therefore*, there are those who love it." The small college has more of life, less of the institution. The small college has more teachers who are professors of things in general. It has more teachers who are interested in students and fewer who are interested in teaching subjects. It is less open to the peril of believing that the final cause of the ordinary college is philosophy and not man. To such personality of attention the student responds. The large college may be more admired, possibly more honored, by its sons; the small college is more loved. This, however, I am inclined to write in rather an interrogative than a declarative mood. For if there be truth in this judgment, the truth has so many exceptions that justice should require one to be remote from the mood of the dogmatist or doctrinaire.

The defender of the large college might at this point properly say that all the advantages which belong to the individuality of attention can be secured in the large college quite as well as in the small college. "Increase the teaching staff to an adequate number, and the large college can look after the individual quite as well as the small." The remark is in a large degree true. But the fact is that the college large in number of students does not usually make itself as proportionately large in the number of instructors. The enlargement of a staff is expensive, and colleges are — and ought to be, but not too much so — poor. The increase of students is often the increase of poverty; every student costing twice or thrice what he pays. But, further, mere numbers alone do not constitute an academic body fitted to educate carefully the individual student. The intellectual, ethical, personal worth of the individual teacher is quite as formative for the individual student as are the mere numbers who give instruction. Be it said that the instructors of a subordinate academic grade in a department are seldom able to do for their students what the

head of the department is able to do. The head of a department in a small college is usually the whole of the department. Therefore, the personal power brought to bear in the training of the student in the small college may be, even if less varied and diverse, of a higher order.

On the whole it may be said that the conception of student-life is more studious and the organization of student-life more simple in the small than in the large college. Whether this be a disadvantage or an advantage may be open to question. Therefore, the little I have to say respecting this conception and this organization is interjected in a paragraph between the advantages of the small and the advantages of the large college. Yale is distinguished among large colleges for the constancy and regularity of the demand which it makes upon its students for the maintenance of a high standard of scholastic work. The remark is frequently made that it is easy to get into Yale and hard to stay there; and that it is hard to get into Harvard and easy to stay there. What degree of truth or of falsity lies in either side of the duplex remark I will not now pause to discuss. A friend of mine took his first degree at Yale three years ago. A fine fellow he is, and he possesses social and other relations of which one may well be humbly proud. Since graduation he has entered the service of a great railroad, and in this service has already won conspicuous success. I was recently talking with him about his work at Yale. "I did not," he said, "study more than fifteen minutes a day, outside of recitations and lectures, in the last two years of my course. I prepared myself for examination by means of the 'Digest' — a compilation of notes upon the course made by a student who himself is taking the course. In the Sophomore year I did work more than fifteen minutes a day on my studies. But inasmuch as I worked eight hours a day on the 'News' I had not much time for study. In one course, a recitation course in this year, I was not once called up in the whole term. In the Freshman year I worked a good deal more. We were called up to recite pretty regularly."

Whether these conditions are to be considered advantageous or disadvantageous to the student I will not now discuss. But I am giving the testimony of a young man who, of course, is well endowed with brains, and who could probably do more in a quarter of an hour than many could do in four quarters. He spent his time in the last two years, as in the Sophomore, in the promotion of undergraduate interests. I am sure that in most small colleges the student could not have found a sufficient number of undergraduate enterprises to use up his time; and I am also sure the college would have required him every day to be upon his feet

in the recitation room. And yet I am confident that my friend received rich and lasting advantages from the course which he adopted at Yale — advantages possibly richer and more lasting than he could have received by working eight hours a day in some colleges. But I use the incident to illustrate the remark that in the small college the conception of student-life is more studious, and the organization of student-life more simple than in the large.

The considerations which favor the large college are somewhat more easily stated than those which favor the small. One can state them in so simple and logical a form that the discussion of them seems superfluous.

The large college has usually a better equipment. Its "plant" is superior. Its laboratories are more adequate. Its library is of far greater worth. Adequate laboratories and, above all, a worthy library are advantages most precious. The library is the laboratory of laboratories: it is the workshop, providing tools; it is the heart, giving inspiring force; it is the brain, offering thought and the materials of scholarship. "Why do you go to that college?" a student was asked. "Because it has the best library," was the prompt and worthy answer.

The large college has also, usually, teachers who are more expert in their subjects. The power of the great college to attract expert scholars is practically absolute. The condition is almost, though not quite, as compelling in Germany as in America. Seymour and Perrin are called from Western Reserve to Yale, and they go. Wheeler is called from Vermont to Columbia, and he goes. Sterrett is called from Amherst to Cornell, and he goes. And these are examples taken from a single department of scholarship and of teaching.

It is also to be said that the larger number of teachers in the large college *may* constitute a distinct advantage. The teacher is always to *find* the student. Most teachers, it must be confessed, do not find their students. Not one teacher in five has an influence over the student which the student can distinctly and permanently appreciate. If the single teacher in a department of a college fails to adjust himself to the student, or the student to him, the student receives little or no advantage. The risk of this failure of adjustment is, of course, great. But in a large college the large number of teachers in all departments and the several teachers in a single department distinctly lessen the peril. If the student fails to receive what he desires from one teacher, he can turn from him to any one of his associates. His elective preference of teachers, as well as of subjects, has a wider field of exercise.

It is further evident that the relationships of the students in the large college are more numerous. The students come from a wider territory; are of an origin more diverse; and are following purposes of a greater variety, even if not of higher significance. California and Maine, Texas and Minnesota, are brought together. But the constituency of the small college is local. Most Bowdoin boys come from Maine, most Hobart boys from New York, most Wabash boys from Indiana. Relationships of diversity and breadth are of great value. They enlarge the character; they promote *savoir faire*; they help to constitute the student a citizen of the world; they develop a sense of universal friendliness and friendship.

In the same matter-of-fact method it may be added that the large college has greater prestige. The greater prestige is of small concern to the undergraduate, but it may be of great concern to the graduate. This advantage may often save the graduate's feelings; and it also does frequently put money into his purse. "Why did you come to Harvard College?" asked a distinguished professor, who is no longer a member of the Harvard faculty, of different students. No satisfactory answer was given until a man was reached who replied: "Harvard graduates get better salaries in my city than the graduates of any other college." "Most clear and solid reason," said the professor. The training given in a small and unknown college may be superior to that given in a great and conspicuous college: it not infrequently is superior; but such training is obliged to prove its superiority. It lacks the mint-mark, which is necessary for securing universal appreciation and acceptance.

Between the advantages offered by the large and by the small college no balance should or can be struck. The presence of numbers or the lack of numbers is only one of many characteristic elements of colleges. The college which is large, or the college which is urban, may be the better or the best college for one student; and the college which is small, as the college which is suburban, may be the better or the best for another student. To ask which is superior is like asking whether one prefers purple or golden sunsets. The answer arises from the personal equation.

But the fact of the personal equation does permit the expression of certain more definite judgments. To the student of ordinary ability the small college offers a heartier sense of sympathy, of fellowship, and of expectation of usefulness; to the student of extraordinary ability the large college offers far richer advantages for higher development and greater increase of his greater power. To the student who is working

his way the small college is less expensive, but furnishes fewer opportunities for earning; the large college demands more money, but is able to make large grants from its loan and other funds, and to furnish better facilities for self-support. To the city-bred man the small college in the country opens a new life, and to the country-bred man the large college in or near the metropolis opens also a new life. To the first the temptation of self-conceit or arrogance is presented; and to the second the temptation of intellectual and moral dissipation. The student of weak will — who, however, should never go to college — finds more adequate support in the personal ministries of the small college; the student of strong will finds his individuality strengthened, even if made less unique, by the individualities by which he is surrounded.

I should hesitate to make an affirmation on the subject but I do not hesitate to ask, whether the small college is not better fitted to make thinkers, and the large to make scholars; the small better fitted to teach men, and the large better fitted to teach subjects; the small better fitted to train the individual, and the large better fitted to discipline the democracy; and the small better fitted to improve and enrich personal character, and the large to disseminate truth.

With respect to the large college, it is to be said that its organization should indeed be simple, and should not be difficult to make. But the organization of the large college is far less simple than that of the small. The cost of administration is greater. A large force is required to accomplish the desired results. Far greater attention is necessarily given to the organization itself. Among the most elaborate of the organizations of all colleges is that obtaining in the University of Chicago. One peril in such elaborate systems is that the president is obliged, or honestly believes he is obliged, to segregate himself from most relations with the students. This is, or should be, a distinct loss to the student and a loss and sore trial to the president himself.

The primary question whether the large college or the small makes the greater contribution to the betterment of the nation and of humanity, is as easy as it is pleasant to answer. Both types are necessary, and both types are rendering very high service. The presence of a few large colleges — and large colleges mean few colleges — as one for each State or group of small States, would result in the manifestation of scholastic forms more impressive, in buildings more magnificent, and in conditions material and intellectual appealing with greater fascination to the heart and mind. This would be a result akin to that which Oxford represents, making an appeal to the sense of the æsthetic and to historical associa-

tions. It would be a result, too, akin to that of the University of Vienna, making its appeal to the sense of scholastic investigation and efficiency through the concentration and consolidation of large interests. This is well. The presence of many small colleges — and many colleges mean small colleges — allows the coming to these colleges of many youths who would not be able, or who think they would not be able, to go long distances from home in quest of a college training. In fact, many of these boys and girls would no more think of going to a distant college than they would think of going to the North Pole, so remote are their relations from collegiate walls. Therefore, if the entrance into American life of college-bred men and women in large numbers be of value, the small college has still a work to do of the sort which it has done, in the training of boys and girls for the highest service to mankind and for the enlargement and enrichment of their own lives. This is also well.

Consequently it is desirable for both the large college and the small to exist. The large college will become larger; its numbers increasing, its equipment growing, its conditions nobly developing. The number of large colleges themselves it is not desirable, in my opinion, to increase. The number, too, of small colleges should certainly not be increased, but rather diminished. But the small college existing should find its equipment made more adequate, its endowment enlarged, its professors better paid, its atmosphere made far finer, and its relations richer in the highest scholastic associations.

As I close I venture to express a suspicion, and it is only a suspicion, that, if any one were to count up the graduates of the small colleges of America who have rendered efficient service to the commonwealth and to humanity, and if one were to count up the graduates of the large colleges who have rendered efficient service to mankind and to the state, and if one were to compare these numbers with the whole number of graduates of the colleges of the two classes, it would be found that great and lasting and noble as are the services given by the sons of the large colleges, the services rendered by the sons of the small colleges would be seen to be even greater and more beneficent. But, as I said, this is a mere impression. An examination of the facts might prove that it has no foundation. But no proper examination is possible. The endeavor to make such an examination would be like trying to treat ethical phenomena with the methods of mathematics.

The large college is a creature of the last quarter of the last century. For the larger part of that century the colleges of the greatest number of students, judged by present standards, would be denominated small col-

leges. It was seldom that the graduating classes of Harvard or of Yale were of the size of the present graduating classes of certain country colleges of New England. The larger part, therefore, of the great work which American colleges have done for America and the world, the larger number of the noble men whom these colleges have trained for the betterment of the race, are the results of the small college. The small college has now become the large, and the small college also still continues to exist. It remains to be proved whether the large college can do the great work for America and for all men which the small college has certainly done. The proof one awaits with both desire and expectation.

CHARLES F. THWING.

AGRICULTURE IN CHINA.

IN a country like China, from whose broad plains 400,000,000 of our fellow-men obtain their sustenance, no subject is of such interest as agriculture. The vast antiquity of this country, too, and the unbroken continuity of its history lend an interest to the consideration of an art which has been handed down as it exists from the earliest dawn of history. Changes there have been, of course. New grains and new vegetables have been added to the scanty list of the old; but methods have remained the same, and the soil is cultivated to-day as in the days which antedate Confucius.

Let us look first at the area of China. The Empire of China consists of China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, Ili or Eastern Turkestan, and the large island of Hainan. Formosa formerly belonged to China, but is now owned by Japan. The name is derived from the word "Sin," meaning silk. The area of China is about 5,000,000 square miles, which is one-third of Asia, and about one-tenth of the land surface of the globe.

As to population, no regular census has been taken for many years, so that it cannot be accurately given; but it is estimated at about 400,000,000, or one-third of the human race. Vast as this population is, the empire is not over-populated. There are immense tracts of vacant lands in Manchuria and Mongolia, and Ili, Thibet, and the vicinage of the Yellow River are very scantily peopled. The cause, however, is not to be found in inadequate tillage of the soil, but in want of transportation.

According to the Chinese accounts, agriculture was not gradually developed from rude beginnings, but has a certain definiteness of origin which it lacks in Western history or tradition. It was the invention of the Emperor Shin Nung, who, succeeding Fuh-hi, the first Emperor of China, ascended the throne 2,737 years B.C. It was he who "first fashioned timber into ploughs and taught the people the art of husbandry." He also discovered the medicinal virtue of plants, and instituted the custom of holding periodical markets for the barter of commodities.

Whatever basis of truth this tradition may lack it seems to prove one thing, namely, that the art, in the form in which it is practised to-day, antedates all recorded history. In the West we may point to such and such an implement or method as having originated at such and such a date. In China no such progress is discernible. Agriculture is to-day what it was millenniums ago, and what it may continue to be for a long time to come.

The Chinese from the legendary time mentioned to the present have always been an agricultural people. Their emperors, without regard to race, whether native, Mongol, or Manchu, have encouraged agriculture; doubtless seeing in it the greatest safeguard of the throne. The present dynasty has continued all the ceremonies instituted in ancient times tending to dignify the occupation of the farmer.

Across an avenue from the Temple of Heaven, inside of the Chinese city of Peking, is a great enclosure in which is situated the Sun Nung Tan, an "altar dedicated to Shin Nung"—the supposed inventor of agriculture. This enclosure is two miles in circumference and contains four separate altars. These are erected to the Gods of the Heavens and of the Earth, to the planet Jupiter, and to Shin Nung. At the vernal equinox the Emperor goes with a great retinue consisting of members of the Board of Rites and of various officials, and with his own hands holds the plough, which is drawn by bullocks. He ploughs a part of the park, and no one touches the imperial portion so ploughed. Other parts are ploughed by district magistrates and prefects. Sacrifices are then offered to the divinities, and with the prayers presented are burnt in furnaces. In the Chinese theory of government example is of the greatest importance, and the annual ceremony performed by the Emperor is intended to illustrate to his subjects the honor and importance of agricultural pursuits.

Many books have been published on agricultural subjects. The culture of rice has received special attention. In the year 1600 Sü Kwang-ki prepared an "Encyclopedia of Agriculture." It must be said, however, that the most potent element in agricultural pursuits is the untiring industry of the people, who owe little to science or machinery.

Notwithstanding the great antiquity of agriculture among them, the Chinese have failed to make any great progress in it. Their system of cultivation is very careful and marked by attention to details; but it shows ignorance of the principles of rotation of crops and of adaptation of soils to particular grains, and an extremely primitive knowledge of agricultural implements. Their fields are treated like gardens, being

subjected to the most constant and watchful care, both at the time of planting and during the growth of the crops. When ripe the crop is gathered by hand, with the utmost completeness; not a straw or leaf, scarcely even a root, being allowed to remain.

In threshing grain the Chinese spread it out on a smooth clay floor in the open air — there is such a threshing floor adjoining every farmhouse — and the grain is detached either by threshing with flails or by rolling over it a stone roller drawn by a donkey. The chaff is removed by tossing the grain into the air in a slight breeze; the kernels of grain falling straight to the ground and the chaff and the dust being blown aside.

The two most characteristic features of Chinese agriculture are the use of manure and the system of irrigation. Manure is gathered from all conceivable sources. In the cities the night-soil deposited on the sides of streets and alleys is gathered by men and boys. It is mixed with clay, dried in the sun, and sold to farmers. On country roads boys, and often women and girls, are seen at places where large numbers of pack-horses, camels, and mules pass, gathering the material, which is afterward, with beneficial effects, spread on the fields. Earth from canals, rivers, and streets is carted away for the same purpose. "Other substances are diligently collected," says Williams, "as hair from barber shops, exploded fire-crackers, sweepings from the streets, lime and plaster from kitchens and old buildings, soot, bones, and fish and animal remains." The quantity of these fertilizers used and the importance the Chinese attach to them are proved by the number of people whose livelihood is gained by their collection.

In irrigating his land the farmer uses many devices. Where running water is at hand he turns it to advantage by directing it over his fields in large channels. These are banked in with clay, and subdivided into smaller and smaller streamlets, until every part of the ground has been reached. If no running water is found wells are dug, and the water is drawn up by hand, and poured into the main ditches, which are subdivided into numerous smaller ones. Holes are dug in which rain-water accumulates, which is baled out when needed. The raising of this water in most cases, especially in the vicinity of Peking, is done very laboriously by hand.

Chinese agricultural implements are of the rudest character. They are chiefly the hoe, the harrow, the rake, the plough, and the stone roller. The plough is simply a broad blade fastened to a rough handle, guided by a man, and drawn by teams of the most miscellaneous description. It

cuts a furrow never more than six inches deep, and frequently only two or three. The teams are made up of horses, donkeys, mules, bullocks, and men, it being not unusual to see a man or boy and any one or more of the animals above-named drawing the same plough. Chinese farmers measure the depth of the furrows by the fingers, and frequently speak of ploughing only two or three fingers deep. The reason of this seems to be the difficulty of making a deeper furrow with their ploughs. The hoe is a much more effective tool, and it is with it that they work between the furrows of grain after it has sprouted.

Foreign agricultural implements, especially ploughs, might be introduced with great effect among the Chinese, but the price will always operate against such introduction. A Chinese plough can be bought for the equivalent of two or three Mexican dollars, and smaller tools in proportion. There are no great stores devoted to the sale of agricultural implements, they being made by hand either by a neighboring blacksmith or by the farmer himself, as occasion demands.

The principal crops in North China, besides the fruits and vegetables, of which there are almost all that are found in Western countries, are wheat, barley, buckwheat, numerous varieties of millet, beans, Indian corn, sesamum, hemp, rice, cotton, kowleon, and some tobacco.

Wheat in North China is planted in two crops, known as autumn and spring wheat, of which the former excels in both quantity and quality. This is planted about the autumnal equinox, or at the latest not after the semi-monthly period known in the Chinese calendar as the "cold dew" (about October 8). It is harvested at about the summer solstice. The yield per Chinese mou — 6.61 mou make an English acre — is estimated in a good year at one tan, that is, about 240 pounds, or nearly 1,700 pounds per English acre. Wheat is not sown broadcast. It is carefully sown in furrows about eighteen inches apart, leaving room between the furrows for hoeing. In this space when the wheat is partly grown some vegetable crop is planted. The seed required to sow a mou of land is about seventeen to twenty pounds, or nearly 120 pounds to the English acre. The seed, say the Chinese, should be sown in damp ground. The price of wheat in Peking varies every day, just as in other centres, according to supply and demand. It is fixed at the markets by brokers, who are under official supervision, and who arrange sales and measure out the grain, receiving a small commission.

Spring wheat is sown only when by reason of excessive rains or other unfavorable causes the ground is not ready for the autumn crop. It is then sown about the spring equinox, April 5. It ripens at the

same time as autumn wheat, but produces some twenty to forty pounds of grain less per mou, and is of inferior quality. Both spring and autumn wheat are used exclusively for the manufacture of flour; being ground by mills worked by hand, horse, or donkey power, or rarely by water power.

Barley is planted at about the spring equinox and harvested at the summer solstice. It is planted in the same manner as wheat, producing a few more pounds per mou, and requiring about half as much seed. This grain, when husked, is used as a substitute for rice. When mixed with a kind of pea grown in North China — the wentou, resembling the marrowfat pea — it makes a ferment for wine. Barley is worth about 2.7 taels per tan when husked. The tael is ordinarily equal to \$1.40 Mexican, or 77 cents of our money.

Buckwheat, called by the Chinese "triangular rice," is sown during the thirty days following the summer solstice, and harvested early in October. It produces about one and one-half tan per mou, and is usually worth 1.5 taels per tan.

There are several varieties of millet in North China. They are all planted early in April, and gathered early in September. Among them is the tall millet, of which one species produces a red grain, and another a white. The red is used as food for horses, and to manufacture wine; the white, which is of superior quality, is made into flour for human consumption, and costs slightly more. The tall, slender stalks of this grain are used in making thatched roofs, and for a number of other purposes. The grain is worth from 1.6 to 2 taels per tan. It enters very largely into consumption as food, much more than rice does, among the poorer classes. The variety of millet known as "Italian millet" is grown in immense quantities in many parts of China. It is eaten boiled when unground, and it is also ground into a fine yellow flour.

Indian corn is planted in early April, or never later than the last of May. The grain is ready for harvest by the middle of September. A mou of land takes about twelve pounds of seed, and produces about one tan (six or seven tou) of grain. Corn is sown by the Chinese in furrows about as in America. The grain is made into meal for human consumption. It costs shelled 1.6 taels per tan.

Yellow, white, green, and black beans are grown. They are used for a variety of purposes, such as the production of oil, the manufacture of vermicelli, the manufacture of soy (a kind of pickle), for stuffing for cakes, as a ferment for wine, and as food — chiefly the black beans for horses and camels. The price of a tan varies from 2.1 to 2.8 taels, ac-

cordova to the use to which the beans are put, the costliest being the variety used in the manufacture of vermicelli.

Sesamum is raised solely for the oil extracted from it. This oil, called "fragrant oil," is used extensively in cooking, and sometimes for illuminating purposes.

Rice is raised nearly all over China proper. There are immense fields near Peking. The grain is first soaked, and when it begins to swell is sown very thickly in a small plat containing liquid manure. The shoots when they are about six inches high are planted in the rice paddies. Six men can transplant two acres a day. About 330 pounds of grain are required to sow a Chinese mou, about one-seventh of an English acre. A ten-fold crop is produced.

Kowleon is largely planted in North China. It resembles sorghum. It has no ear, but has a bunch of seed at the top which is mixed with straw for the food of animals. The stalks, which are twenty feet high, are used for roofing houses, and for fuel.

Cotton is one of the great staples of China. It is grown chiefly in middle and southern China, but I have seen fields of it near Peking. If cotton mills and their products are not taxed too high, China will become a great manufacturing country. She has cheap money, cheap labor, and the raw material.

Tobacco was introduced into China from Luzon about A.D. 1550. It was denounced then by Imperial decree as it was in England, but prohibition of its use was ineffectual. All classes and both sexes smoke. The common people generally use a small, dry pipe, the gentry a water pipe. Cigars are not made. Cigarettes are now much used. The pipes hold very little tobacco. Behind a mandarin at dinner stands a man who empties and replenishes his pipe. The ashes are emptied on the floor, and it is a dirty process. Tobacco is a considerable article of export. Manila cigars are now being largely smoked. There is no duty, and the price varies from \$2 per hundred, silver money, to \$10. Chinese tobacco is much milder than American or Cuban tobacco.

Tea is raised between the twenty-third and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude. It is said that the best soil for it is a friable, light-colored, porous one, with a fair proportion of sand, and a superabundance of decaying vegetable matter on the surface. A hot and moist climate suits it. The earliest accounts of the cultivation of tea date back to A.D. 350.

The plant seldom exceeds three feet in height. Plantations are usually found on slopes or at the foot of hills where drainage and moist-

ure are easily produced. The tea flower is small, single, and white. The seeds are three small nuts with valves between them, and are enclosed in a triangular shell which splits open when ripe. In October the nuts are put in a mixture of damp sand and earth. In March they are sown in a nursery. A year after the shoots are transplanted, being put in rows about four feet apart. When the shrub is three years old the leaf is plucked, and the picking continues until the eighth year. The first picking consists of the young leaves. It is named "pecoe," or white down. The derivations of some other names are the following: Hyson comes from yu-tsin, "before the rain"; another romantic derivation is that it comes from the name of a young maiden who introduced some improvements in curing tea. Sou-chong means small or rare variety. Congou means work or worked, from being well worked. Bohea is the name of hills in Fuh-kien. Oo-long is the black dragon.

The second plucking takes place from May 15 to June. The plant is then in full leaf. A tea-tree will yield from sixteen to twenty-two ounces of leaf. The women and children do the picking and receive six or eight cents silver per day. The leaves are cured by various processes of drying, and roasting over a fire. Green tea and black tea are made from the same leaf, the difference being in the fact that the black tea is subjected to a process of fermentation while the green tea is not. There are machines for curing tea in Formosa and at Hankow, and, perhaps, at other places.

The Russians transport immense quantities of tea overland on camel-back from Tungchow. As sea air injures the quality of tea, this mode of carriage is most beneficial to it. The Chinese use large cups for making tea. In these sufficient leaves are thrown to make one cup. A saucer covers the cup. Tea is scented by throwing over the leaves, as they roast, roses, tuberose, orange-flowers, jasmines, and other varieties. I was once presented with some tea which was valued at \$40 Mexican per pound.

A great deal of tea is raised in Formosa, and nearly all of it comes to the United States; the exportations to the United States amounting to 17,000,000 pounds annually. China teas meet with much competition from Indian and Ceylon teas. Some efforts have been made in China to improve the culture and curing of tea, but they have had small results. The Government has been often petitioned to take off the export tax which burdens tea, but it has not consented to do so. Unless China takes some measures to improve her teas and to reduce taxation she will eventually lose this great trade.

In Mongolia, tea in the shape of bricks, called "brick tea," is largely used, and passes current as money. All the refuse of tea is pressed into cakes having the appearance of cakes of chocolate. These cakes are conveniently portable, and readily broken up so as to be used or passed from hand to hand.

I have not space to go at length into the description of silk culture. Descriptions of it are found in the books as far back as 2600 B.C. Its inventor, a woman named Yuenfi, is still worshipped in a temple at Peking. As the Emperor patronizes agriculture, so the Empress annually sacrifices to Yuenfi. The Government has always fostered this industry, and it is pursued in every province in China. The greatest care is taken to raise and protect the worms. The mode of raising them and the use of the cocoons require a special study.

The unit of land measurement in China is the mou, of which 6.61 constitute an English acre. This unit, however, is variable, being larger in some provinces than in others. In the mountainous parts of North China a curious system prevails of measuring land by the number of days it requires to plough it with one bullock. One day's land is approximately two-thirds of an acre, English measure. Three days' lands make a small holding, while some mountain farmers own seventy or eighty. This system of measurement arises from the fact that the land in the mountains is cultivated along the mountain-sides in narrow terraces, many of which are required to make up an acre, and whose area is difficult of estimation. In measuring grain the tables are somewhat similar to our own, the unit being the sheng, which contains nearly an English quart.

A comparison of the yield of the fields of China with that of American farms would be interesting if it could be accurately made. The difference between the styles of planting makes it difficult to do so, as the grain in America is sown broadcast or drilled, while in China all cereals are carefully planted in furrows, wide distances apart. The absence of any statistics as to the average product per acre such as are published in the United States increases the difficulty of comparison. It is probable, however, that in proportion to the quantity of seed sown, the return in North China is larger than the average return in America. This would be the natural result of the careful system of planting, harvesting, and threshing, involving no waste whatever.

The condition of the agricultural classes in comparison with the other classes is one of reasonable comfort. Their condition, however, is not the same all over China, the tendency seeming to be toward greater

prosperity and larger holdings in the north, and greater poverty and smaller holdings in the south. It is estimated that in Manchuria, for example, three English acres are the smallest quantity of land on which a family of six or seven people can live. Five acres mean comfort, while from ten to thirty acres are common holdings. It is remarkable that in the southern provinces, where the soil is much more productive, holdings are smaller and the average of comfort is lower. In the province of Kwangtung less than one-sixth of an acre will support one mouth, as the expressive Chinese phraseology is, while the proprietor of two acres of good land, having a family of five persons, may live without work from the product of the land. In the south seven acres would constitute wealth, and very few landowners have as many as one hundred. One strong man in Kwangtung can cultivate one acre, or three men five acres, when the land is favorably located.

In great contrast with this are the 500-acre farms which are not uncommon in Manchuria. In other provinces the holdings vary between these two extremes. In Shantung, for example, less than two acres is the average holding, while one hundred is very exceptional. In Shansi three or four acres is an average, and fifteen or twenty a large holding. In Kansuh, which is in the extreme northwest of China, the average holding is from fifty to sixty acres. In Chihli, in which Peking is situated, there is a high standard of comfort. The soil is productive, and the crops are numerous and varied. The large holdings and the comparative sparseness of the population present a great contrast to the southern provinces, where many thousands are gathered together on their ancestral acres.

The profits of farming in China are not under any circumstances great. The large holdings are usually in the possession of ancient families. They have been handed down for many generations intact, and are held in common. It is not unusual for several hundred people, all of the same family, to hold a large tract of land in common. The Chinese share the aversion of Oriental peoples to part with the land of their fathers; and their religious customs, which require the performance of certain sacrifices to ancestors by the eldest son on behalf of the whole family, encourage this tenancy in common.

The law of China on inheritance is that all sons shall inherit an equal proportion. The land may be divided between them by common consent, in which case the eldest son has a double share to enable him to defray the expenses of family sacrifices, and to take care of the family burial-ground. Younger sons cannot insist on a division against the

will of elder sons. That statute, coupled with the clannish sentiment of the Chinese race and the greater ease of tilling a large tract than of tilling small pieces separately, has tended to prevent subdivision of large estates. This feature of landholdings makes the above figures as to large holdings somewhat deceptive. For instance, a report from Manchuria, published in the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, mentions several families holding some hundreds of acres each; but some of these families number over 200 members living in large blocks of houses with a single gate and a single kitchen. The aggregate wealth of such a family is great, but the individual share of each member is not enough to constitute affluence. A family by the name of Chen, in the province of Kiangsu, is said to cultivate 66,000 acres; but it is not reported how many bearers of this surname are part owners of this splendid estate.

On the whole, it is probable that the incomes of landowners in the vast majority of cases cover only their expenses — enabling them to live in a greater or less degree of comfort — and the cost of keeping up their farms. In fact, the opportunities for investing money in China are not as plentiful as in the United States. Corporations do not exist in great numbers, and stocks and bonds do not form a portion of the daily dealings as in the West.

Wages vary greatly in different localities. In Manchuria, \$15 to \$20 Mexican per annum, and food and lodging, is the rule; in Chihli and Shantung \$10 to \$20; in Kansuh \$19 to \$25; in Chekiang \$40. Small as these wages seem to be, it must be remembered that the Chinaman's wants are few. His garments — shoes and hat included, when he has any — are all made from homespun cotton, or woven of straw by the women of his family. In summer the usual costume of an agricultural laborer is only a pair of cotton trousers. Children for several months in the year go entirely naked. In winter the poorer classes in the north wear wadded cotton clothes and sheepskin coats with the wool inside. In the south heavy garments are unnecessary. Very small wages, therefore, suffice to sustain life, and even these are beyond the reach of all. Many people die every year from starvation.

The prosperity of a country has often been supposed to rest on the facility with which a man might attain independence. Of course, what would constitute independence in China might be abject poverty in other lands. The purchasing power of the money in circulation, the prices of the necessities of life, and the ordinary mode of living must be considered in any comparison that may be made. I think that China's

place in such a comparison with other countries would not be unfavorable.

Dr. Macgowan furnishes some statistics which are applicable to this discussion.¹ He states that in the vicinity of Wenchow and Chekiang sixty per cent of the rice land is cultivated by non-owners. These tenant farmers pay the landowners one-half of the rice crop. One acre yields nineteen piculs (a picul being 133½ pounds), giving to the landlord and tenant each about \$21 Mexican. The owner pays the land tax of \$1.80 per acre, and the tenant is at liberty to raise on the land any intervening crops he pleases, which all belong to him, and which are estimated at \$15 per acre. This brings a tenant's share up to \$36 per acre, while the landlord's share is about five per cent.

The average wage of an able-bodied young man is \$12 per annum, with food and lodging, straw shoes, and free shaving—an important item in a country where heads must be shaved three or four times a month. His clothing costs about \$4 per annum. In ten years he may buy one-third of an acre of land (\$150 per acre), and necessary implements. In ten years more he may double his holdings and become part owner in a water buffalo. In six more he may procure a wife and live comfortably on his estate. Thus in twenty-six years he has gained a competence.

The theory of China with reference to the ownership of land has always been that it is the property of the state, and that it is held by private owners from the Government on condition of the payment of taxes. This theory is expressed in two lines of the ancient classics: "All the land in the world is the property of the Sovereign;" and "All the dwellers in the land are the Sovereign's servants." This fiction aside, however, land is held in China on the same terms as other property. In deeds for its conveyance the language used is the same as for the sale of any other property. It is held by the owner subject to the payment of a land tax. This tax is fixed in China at so much for each district, and is demanded of the district magistrate by the Government; and the magistrate levies it on the landowners under his jurisdiction. It varies according to the character of the soil and the value of the crops. For this purpose land is described as upper, middle, and lower.

In Manchuria, for example, the upper grade pays thirty cents Mexican per acre per annum. The middle and lower grades pay the same, only by a legal fiction two acres of middle and three of lower are called

¹ In the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai, for March, 1889.

an acre. In Shantung and Chihli the tax varies from ten to forty cents per acre. In Shansi it reaches \$1.80. In some provinces the land tax is paid in grain as well as money, and in some districts this tax amounts to one-seventh of the total crop. The amount of tax which is fixed by the Board of Revenue to be paid by any district is always, it is believed, increased by the magistrate, who appropriates the surplus to his own use. In case of flood or drought the tax is remitted. The total land tax of China has been estimated at from thirty to thirty-five millions of taels.

Agrarian questions have arisen in China as in other parts of the world. In Chinese history we can find that many of the social troubles which seem so new when they come upon us in the West have been experimented on here centuries ago, and that most of the proposed legal remedies have been tried, and have failed. For instance, how to prevent the accumulation of land by capitalists to the injury of the poorer people is a question that was considered by the Chinese more than two thousand years ago.¹ In the year B.C. 6, the Emperor Ai Ti, by the advice of his ministers, issued an edict limiting the quantity of land to be held by any one person to fifty acres; and three years were allowed to large owners to dispossess themselves of the excess, after which period all land over that quantity belonging to any one individual escheated to the state. Land thereupon became cheap; but subsequent ministers for their own advantage set aside the decree, and the endeavor to prevent monopoly was frustrated.

A subsequent attempt, which was made under the Emperor Wang Wang, failed from other causes. He decreed that seventeen acres should be the limit of any person's holding; that the surplus be divided among the owner's clansmen and relations without compensation; and that death be the penalty of a failure to comply after three years. So numerous were the offenders, however, that the law could not be enforced, and it had to be abandoned. In the fifth century another dispossession of wealthy men was decreed, and seven acres were given to every man and woman to become their absolute property at the end of three years, on condition of their having planted a certain number of trees. This statute lapsed after a short time.

A most remarkable episode was an attempt in the eleventh century to benefit the farmers, and improve agriculture generally, by loaning to the farmers the money of the state at two per cent interest. The results

¹ See the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for March, 1887.

were most disastrous. The public treasury was emptied, and most of the funds were stolen before reaching the farmer for whom they were intended. Many abuses sprang up, and distress was universal.

During the reign of Chien Lung (1736-1796), who has been called the Justinian of China, a memorial was presented to the Emperor urging that individual ownership of land be limited to 150 acres. Chien Lung refused his assent to the proposition; pointing out that such laws were easy of evasion, pernicious in their application, and of benefit to no one.

China is essentially a treeless country. Importations of wood come from the United States, the Philippine Islands, Hainan, Formosa, and Corea. Were it not for the countless cemeteries trees would be rarely seen. Arboriculture, however, has lately been taken up with considerable vigor, and along the water-courses there are many groves. The Viceroy Li Hung Chang has given this subject great attention, and has disseminated among the people rules for growing trees.

In conclusion it may be said that the agricultural classes lead a life of poverty and toil. They are deprived of all the luxuries of life, and have only the bare necessities; yet they dwell in peace and contentment, forming the very foundation of the empire. This contentment has made the governing of the empire possible without the use of great standing armies.

CHARLES DENBY.

THE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF ASIA.

DURING the last quarter of a century the civilized world has been watching with eager intensity the course of political events in Asia, which have been speeding along with such rapidity that it has been almost impossible to draw any accurate deductions from them. No problem offers such deterring obstacles or presents such elusive features to the student of world politics as that of prying beneath the surface of diplomatic vagueness, treachery, and deceit, in an effort to forecast the possible trend and general effect of future political conditions. It is quite as impossible to predict with certainty the results of diplomatic action as it is of diplomatic inaction. Sometimes, however, the curtain is drawn aside, enabling fleeting glimpses of the master hands behind the scenes. Of late, diplomacy, under the stress of urgency and unforeseen conditions, has so far unmasked itself as to give some indication of how the wind blows.

The present Chinese imbroglio has tended to reveal to us the hidden political unrest in Asia which has caused the failure of diplomacy and provoked much anxiety in more than one Foreign Office. But this meagre concession to the layman, of a vague and transitory glimpse behind the scenes, in no wise leads to a better understanding of the subtler and more momentous issues at stake. The problem of the future of China considered by itself, potent as must be its bearing on the future of Asiatic politics, is but a chapter of progression in an undetermined serial, wherein the future of this continent must be considered, not piecemeal, but as a commercial and geographical whole.

To be sure, while for Asia we cannot read China, yet the task of prediction is rendered easier by applying to the continent in general the same conditions as have materialized in China. To a certain extent it may be assumed, in the position she has taken in regard to China, that Russia has thought the moment propitious for unmasking her schemes for Slavonic aggression and dominance in Asia, not in the expectation that the immediate results will materialize into all that she fondly hopes, but that by their daring aggressiveness they will throw dust into the

eyes of her rivals, distract suspicion from other quarters, and allow her a free hand to bring to maturity her expansive ambitions at other and equally vital points.

The history of Central Asia for the last century has been nothing more than a record of Russian advance toward the Indian frontier. For the initial effort of Russia's expansion we must go back even farther. It is four hundred years since the first step was taken across the Ural mountains, marking her primary advance into Asia. Ivan III had succeeded in laying the foundations not only of the Russian empire, but of its extension. His grandson, Ivan the Terrible, first to assume the title of Czar, made many an alliance with Eastern governments; and in his time the first expedition of Russia into Central Asia was undertaken by the Cossack tribes under their famous chief Jemak. This was really the beginning of Siberia as a Russian possession. It likewise marked the first important step in Russia's policy of expansion; the latest exemplification of this inordinate passion of territorial lust being manifested in her thinly veiled attempt to embrace the Manchurian provinces of China in her insatiate drag-net.

However, this bolder move on the Asiatic checker-board, foreign as is its nature to the usual method of Russia's diplomatic procedure, is significant, even if at present it proves futile, as showing her full belief that she holds firmly in her grasp the strings of the marionettes whom she may make dance at will, and as denoting the near approach of the moment when she may lay aside the practice of diplomatic deceit and gauge the issue by the sword. It is idle to place any degree of confidence in public asseverations emanating from Russian official sources. In the present Chinese crisis, when it became necessary for the civilized powers to formulate a policy for the punishment of China, and the re-establishment of public order in that empire, Russia took it upon herself to counsel moderation. In fact, during all the subsequent negotiations she posed as the open champion and protector of China. Her troops were the first ordered to leave Peking, but even at the risk of causing a rupture with the allied powers she advocated methods characterized by an altruistic disinterestedness which placed her in a conspicuously advantageous position. This was official Russia. Her diplomatists and ministers not only formulated, but had no scruples in countenancing, a persistent scheming for fooling the world at large.

If this openly assumed attitude of forbearance had been followed out in an entirely unselfish manner, there would have been in the course pursued not a little to commend. But the double-dealing and insin-

cerity of Russia's motives are shown in the recent warning of M. de Giers, the Russian minister to China, to Li Hung Chang — after her temporary set-back in Manchuria — that in the future, instead of advocating the Chinese cause in the conference of the powers, he will support a policy of the utmost severity. The inwardness of this sudden "about face" is not difficult to fathom. In fact, every point of evidence, both circumstantial and concrete, shows plainly that Russian solicitude for Chinese interest was only fathered by the belief that in playing fast and loose with the allied powers Russia, by secret negotiation, might not only satisfy her claims for indemnity, but might exact from China further payment in adopting the rôle of a quasi-intermediator. But, once this scheme has been exposed and defeated, the selfishness of the motives prompting it becomes patent. Realizing that she can hope for nothing more than can be wrung from China by the unanimous action of the associated powers, and that her share in the spoils will only be in proportion to the increase of the general demand, it is not surprising to find that Russia is now the foremost in saddling upon the International Convention the doctrine of most aggressive and exacting demands.

I have discussed at this length the attitude of Russia in connection with the so-called Manchurian crisis for no other reason than to give an idea of the insincerity of purpose characterizing her political jugglings, an insincerity which has been an inevitable concomitant of her entire Asiatic policy of expansion. Properly realized, this will lead to a better understanding of what follows, since in such a discreditable game as this no better evidence can be found of the untrustworthiness of Russian diplomacy. On the other hand, the fact that similar methods of diplomatic procedure and official necromancy have been fruitful in increasing the foothold of Slavonic aggression in Asia may afford pleasing mental pabulum to those apologists for Russia who gauge issues merely by concrete results, however repugnant the methods pursued may seem when judged by arbitrary standards of equity and uprightness. And if this palliative method of reasoning is pursued, merely taking into account resultant gain, then Russia indeed needs no apologist; the success that has attended her Asiatic expansion policy being the best proof of the potency of the lines which she has followed.

It is difficult to forecast at the present writing what effect the apparent upset of present Russian plans as applied to Manchuria will have on the future of Russia's policy in Asia. It is of deep significance from the fact that it is the first real obstruction of a serious nature which she

has yet encountered in all her four centuries of territorial aggression. How far-reaching will be its influence it is now impossible to decide; yet it brings us to the question as to whether the stupendous dream of Slavonic dominance is to be realized in actuality, or whether this influence has now reached its extremest limits. It may be that in the future the political significance of this present set-back in Manchuria will be lessened — that the set-back will be merely a temporary delay in the general expansive campaign of aggression. Should, however, the apparent disposition of the allied powers to insure the geographical and political integrity of China be sturdily maintained in the future, it is doubtful if Russian influence would exercise a more preponderating part in Asiatic affairs than at present.

But here the question arises as to how long, and to what extent, the various civilized powers will feel warranted in performing the practically gratuitous task of withstanding the brunt of successive Russian onslaughts on the integrity of China. Russia can well afford to play a waiting game, hoping, and naturally expecting, that there will come after the parlous times of the present an era of reactionary quietude which will best subserve her interests. Nor is her attitude a mistaken one. She is fortunate enough to have but one iron in the fire. She is not enmeshed and embroiled in various parts of the world distant from the theatre of action. Her foreign policy, instead of being diversified, is centralized in one scheme: the eventuating of Russian dominance throughout Asia.

This represents in a nutshell the scope of Russia's foreign policy. China, although at present the point of white-heat interest, must be by no means considered the limitation of her design for Asiatic dominance. It is true, as has been said, that a permanent and concerted barrier up-raised against her by the allied powers in China would seriously hamper, if not wholly crush, her future plans; but there is little reason to believe that such a definite and far-reaching result will be obtained. France at the present time is more or less actively under Russian influence, and doubtless, with her Anglophobist tendencies, would remain passive and quiescent as to any Russian plans which did not directly threaten French interests in Asia, which, probably, will never be more important than as they now exist. Germany, too, has shown a disposition to withdraw as gracefully as possible, evidently being unwilling to risk the candle in a game which can in no wise bring her a return adequate to the outlay involved. The interest of Italy, Austria, and other smaller European powers is, and will continue to be, *nil*. In so far as the future of Asia

is concerned these countries need not be considered even in the light of unimportant factors.

Nor is it warranted to premise that the interests of the United States will be other than passively commercial ones. In our dealing with the Chinese crisis we have never shown a disposition toward territorial lust; and it is improbable that any sequence of future events, even if inimical to our commercial interests, will change this policy. Naturally we shall seek to enjoy our due share of Asiatic trade, with which untoward political upheavals will not greatly interfere; but as to taking a hand in the Asiatic muddle for purely political reasons, this contingency may well be placed outside the pale of probabilities. Taking a more or less active interest in Chinese affairs, as we do at present, this may not seem apparent; but once the seething political pot has been allowed to simmer down, the disposition to look at far-distant political embroilments with whimsical disinterestedness will doubtless eliminate the United States as an obstructionist to Russian Asiatic policy. On the other hand, should our interest still continue to be an active one, it could only be active in so far as China is concerned, and, as I have said before, merely to safeguard commercial interests.

In considering the question of these commercial interests we must remember that diplomacy will scarcely suffice to settle the future of Asia. Unfortunately, to anyone conversant with past and current political conditions in Asia, the fact is paramount that already diplomacy has been stretched almost to the breaking-point. Unconsoling as the thought must be to the optimist, it appears that territorial and commercial supremacy in Asia can have but one definite and satisfactory settlement — arbitrament by the sword. That this can be the only enduring solution is a fact upon which students of Asiatic politics agree.

Taking this militant view of the situation, as the facts warrant, the political future of Asia may be said to be of vital concern to three nations only — Russia, England, and Japan. It has always been a mooted question — and doubtless will continue to be until definitely settled by the test provided by opportunity — how far Japan may be taken as a potent factor in the future in the arena to test dominancy in Asia. I not only speak my own views, but likewise express the opinion of many prominent military experts, when I say that all along there has been a regrettable tendency to exaggerate largely the capabilities of Japan as a world power of the first rank. Her champions, in their ardent zeal, have been ever too prone to overlook the difference between Eastern and Western standards. True it is that her soldiery in the Chino-Japanese

war, and in the late troubles in China, displayed a courage and discipline alike remarkable. Nevertheless it is not possible to use this as a means of comparison. Personal valor is an attribute in which no one nation can claim sole distinction, and it is fallacious to suppose — nor is there any evidence to warrant the supposition — that the average valor of Japan is higher than that of Western nations.

Therefore, I cannot see how, unassisted, and acting merely on her own initiative, Japan can ever take a more active interest in affairs on the Asiatic continent than she does at present. Well disciplined and valorous as is her army, a certain part must be left to guarantee the integrity of her own soil; and even by the most indomitable efforts she could by no means amass a campaigning force equal numerically to that which Russia could easily unleash from her Siberian provinces. It is certainly no secret among diplomatists that Japan has coveted a foothold on the mainland of China ever since Formosa became Japanese property. But strong as is Japan's desire to expand, the inference may be permitted that Russian "bluff" has proved too much for the Japanese. They could hardly escape yielding to the superior numbers and influence against them; and in spite of Japan's openly assumed air of belligerency, no persons recognize more fully than her astute statesmen the absolute futility of a joust with Russia.

The case of the abandonment of Korea at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese war will best serve to illustrate the point. Various statements and claims may be heard as to the damper placed on Japanese ambition at that time, an ambition to which she was fully entitled by every canon of equity and justice. It probably will not be disputed that it was Russia's absolute protest that deterred Japan from persisting in occupation, a protest which one may be sure Japan would have ignored had she felt capable of defending her claim. Japan naturally assumes that she is entitled to as full rights in China as is Russia, and it may be as naturally assumed that such a notion will not be easily dislodged. The Japanese regard themselves as equally entitled with the Russians to be the protectors, or spoliators, as the case may be, of China.

While this sentiment lasts, Japan, while not to be considered individually as a paramount factor, will always bear watching. Her ambition to be classed among the advanced powers may doubtless be relied on to stimulate her energies; and should the international sentiment become so poised at some future date as to leave it to Japan to tip the balance, her power as an active factor would be greatly in excess of her relative political and geographical importance. But it is only as the

ally of a world power of the first rank that she can be considered. That alone and unaided she would place herself in the pathway of Russian aggression seems not only improbable, but impossible. It is certain that Russian policy will in no wise be dissuaded by any amount of diplomatic bluster, or even armed threats from Japan. Such an acknowledgment would hardly be in accordance with the past history of Russia's aggression in Asia, nor is it likely that her attitude will be changed in the future.

Having thus briefly disposed of the part which Japan may play in the political drama, we may turn to the other great power whose interests, past, present, and future, are heavily involved. The relations between Russia and England have not for years been cordial. Each has represented great Asiatic possessions; each has a great work in hand in the development and pacification of the Asiatic peoples. Dividing, as they do, so large a share of Asia between them, their separate interests must ever be immensely vital, and from no greater cause than keen rivalry must often clash.

It cannot be denied, however, that thus far Russian policy has proved more successful than disastrous. It is an open secret in European chancelleries, however pronounced the character of English official denials, that not alone in China, but throughout Central Asia, Russia is holding the whip-hand — a ruler in substance if not in name, actively, if guardedly, pushing forward to consummation her gigantic schemes for Slavonic aggression and dominance in the East. Already her traders, her spies, her military officials, and her diplomatists have threaded the wilds of Turkistan and Thibet almost to the Indian border; sowing sedition in one spot, conciliating the native tribes in another, and carefully maturing their plans for the grand *coup* when the moment shall be propitious which will insure Russian preëminence in Asia.

If Great Britain is to retain her Indian Empire a collision between her and Russia seems inevitable. There are many to-day in the British Government who do not think that the possession of her Indian Empire adds anything to England's power. She has never derived any real benefit from it, and the Indian expenditures exceed the revenues. Yet such is the force of public opinion that to hint at, or even countenance, its abandonment is a step that no English ministry would dare to suggest. With this fact in view, it is not only misleading, but downright fallacious, to suppose that in interesting herself in the political future of Asia, England is doing so in the hope of territorial aggrandizement. Toward Asia, England has no designs of conquest. Her interests do not so much demand the acquisition of new territory as the consoli-

dation of existing institutions; the maintenance in greater strength and security of the present established order of things; and the permanency of those rulers who show themselves capable of administering their ancestral possessions.

English diplomacy, in fact, rather depends on the *vis inertiae* of the East, the traditional and hereditary antipathy and disinclination to change which seems to belong to all Asiatic races; and England readily believes that she can rely on this as an impenetrable barrier to Russian aggression. That England should close her eyes to the frailty of this defensive bulwark is an anomaly which one can hardly reconcile with the usual shrewdness and astuteness marking English diplomacy. It may be that the English desire for merely commercial expansion may serve to explain this policy of *laissez aller*; but it is open to question whether it remains possible for a nation to enjoy all these advantages of trade expansion without correspondingly shouldering some of the burdens of territorial expansion in addition. A review of England's policy in Asia for the last half century shows that her absolute sphere of influence has not progressed as rapidly as her trade ramifications. Her acquisition of territory has been meagre, and has by no means kept pace with that of Russia. To enjoy trade supremacy without being burdened with the task of holding and safeguarding new possessions may be eminently satisfactory to British statesmen, but is this policy of making territorial aggrandizement subservient to temporary trade supremacy an enduring and safe one?

On the other hand, the policy of Russia has progressed on widely diverging lines. True it is, in so far as immediate pecuniary results are concerned, that she must suffer by comparison with England; but Russia has ever an eye to the future, and remains content to let that future tell its own story. It is difficult to predict at the present time what the future of Asia will bring forth; and it cannot be denied that political considerations have greater weight here than almost anywhere else in the world. With palpable and unmistakable evidences of what Russian diplomacy and energy have accomplished already, one cannot fail to appreciate England's danger when one considers that she occupies the precarious position of the earthenware jar, which was compelled to float down the river with its companions of brass. By her ebullition of temper when finding herself blocked in carrying through, at least for the present, her Manchurian projects, Russia has, or should have, manifested to England her determination to ride by hook or by crook to the premiership of territorial and commercial dominance in Asia.

But this is not the only exhibition which she has given of her animus. There are straws innumerable during the last fifty years showing how the wind blows. It is only necessary to review briefly the history of Russian Asiatic policy since its inception to gain an idea of how securely the foundation has been laid which must support the superstructure of the future. The plans of Russia in China, when exposed to view, leave no doubt as to her ultimate purpose. But at other points, and as vital ones, she has struck as soundly, if not as openly, the wedge that is to split the log of any obstructive policy which may be raised up against her. ×

Turn from China to Persia. Although ostensibly under the protection of Great Britain, the Shah made it a point a year ago to refuse an invitation to visit England. Read the hand of Russia. The Shah's troops are being trained by Russian officers, and he has lately accepted large loans from Russia. Within the last year Russia has come to be regarded as having become the controlling power in Persian affairs, just as her influence is paramount in China.

Follow briefly the march of Russian expansion which has led to the results of the present, from the scourging forays of the Cossack chieftain Jemak, by which much of Siberia came under Russian dominion, and which mark Russia's initial aggression. It was the enterprising Peter the Great, an expansionist first and foremost, who found a footing on the Caspian Sea, and cast an envious eye upon the trade of India by way of Persia. The great Czar regarded Astarbad on the Caspian Sea, which Russia had acquired in 1722, as the base of his Indian enterprise. Half a century later, or, to be exact, in 1775, thousands of the Tartars were slaughtered; and twenty-five years later Georgia, which had been the bone of contention between Persia and Russia, was formally annexed by the Czar. Small beginnings it is true, but interesting as inaugurating a policy from which Russia has never receded or suffered any serious and enduring set-back. As early as 1801 Russia's threats Indiaward assumed alarming proportions. The Czar Paul, in fact, delighted with Napoleon's ideas of world conquest, had agreed with him upon a joint invasion of India. The arrangements, indeed, had been completed, and an army of Cossacks had started.

The death of Paul saved England that time, but it did not crush Russian ambition. Under Alexander I and his successor the spread of either Russian dominion, or Russian influence, increased, and constantly enlarged the scope of its ramifications. From that day to this Russia's diplomacy has not been idle a moment, either adding new strips of ter-

ritory to her already gigantic Asiatic possessions, or destroying and undermining English influence in Persia, Afghanistan, China, or any other point where she wished to clear away the barrier of obstructive conditions which might threaten her future plans.

Nor has this growth been of an unsubstantial and easily destructible nature, amazing as has been its rapid spread. Russia's expansion has always been characterized by certain arbitrary and well-defined policies. She has not only conquered territory, but she has assured that her domination and occupation shall not be merely nominal. Her plan has been to plant a series of forts as each province has been annexed. In this way line after line of defences have been erected, safeguarding the integrity of her possession. In these forts have been placed thousands of Cossacks, who serve not only as soldiers, but as farmers and colonists, cultivating and developing commercially the newly acquired territory. In this way Russia not only dominates her new provinces by her military occupation, but she also develops them agriculturally, and insures permanent dominancy. How successful has been this policy is shown by drawing attention to such important episodes as the conquest of the Bokharian khanates, the formation of the Russian province of Turkestan, the seizure of all the Armenian fortresses in 1878 under the pretence of sheltering the oppressed Christians in the Turkish possessions, and the gaining of a foothold in the Akhal country, which led to the conquest of the Turkomans of Akhal and Merv, and upraised a Russian stronghold of defiance almost at the gates of India itself. Great Britain has at last succeeded in establishing a certain ascendancy over Afghanistan, embodying the fantastic, and what must prove futile, policy of a "buffer" state; but the disposition of the Ameer and his subjects to "blow hot, blow cold," and lean toward the stronger side, whichever it may be for the time being, shears this apparent advantage of any special significance.

Coming down to a more recent date, Russia's strategic occupation of the oasis of Merv — in defiance of her agreement with England by the convention of 1881 concerning the Russo-Persian frontier — when England was busily engaged in the Soudan, and the high-handed measures which she has adopted of late years in Chinese affairs in which she has a vital interest, are but outward manifestations of her grasp of the Asiatic situation. That the menace is not exaggerated can be appreciated when it is understood that Russian diplomacy, the most skilful and tactful in the world, but rarely reveals its inwardness. Therefore, if even thus masked its enormous strength is apparent, it is impossible to estimate fully the power which she holds in reserve.

Conditions have so changed and shaped themselves within the short period of twenty-five years that English influence in Persia, for example, which was thought to be invulnerable, has been totally supplanted by that of Russia. It is an open secret that the power of the Czar is greater in Persia than is that of the Shah. The entire country of Iran is surveyed for a network of Russian railways, some of which are now being built, so that St. Petersburg and Teheran will soon be connected by rail. The railroad has, in fact, been Russia's most important engine for securing herself in the possession of her new territory. Even now it is possible for her at a moment's warning to strike rapidly and decisively at any point on or beyond her Asiatic frontier, and with little effort throw well-prepared armies of fact, not of paper, across the Persian, Afghan, or Chinese frontiers, as she may elect. The review of these historic events shows that England's scheme of a "buffer state" between the Russian possessions and India has been futile.

That Russia will succeed in her policy of aggression in China, even though the date of its fruition be delayed, is as certain as any point in her programme of expansion. The Government of Russia, which, under the stress of adverse circumstances, has shown an apparent readiness to acquiesce in the majority decision of the International Convention, has so far revealed the purely selfish motives actuating her attitude as to leave in the collective mind of civilized mankind a moral doubt of the sincerity of her purpose.

The advantage of Russia's evasive and uncertain position at the present is apparent at a glance. Though those nations with interests now at stake may receive assurances of sincerity that will justify them in placing faith in Russia's integrity, yet the whole history of her Asiatic policy shows that her promises and her most earnest diplomatic protestations are binding only until she has so prepared herself as to break them with impunity — in fact, but crafty diversions, designed to arrest suspicion until the military and diplomatic forces of the empire can be concentrated on the point of attack. And when backed by the force of might Russia is inexorable.

The impression is slowly dawning upon the minds of British diplomats that Russia is seeking, as eagerly as possible, to hasten the moment for determining supremacy in Asia — for putting to the supreme test that latent power which has been gathering for four centuries, and whose potency will be easily understood by a mere glance at Russia's dominion in Asia at present, contrasted with that in the time of Ivan. Such is, evidently, the root of England's concern in Russia's attitude in China;

and she would pay a high price to know just how far this feeling of holding the whip-hand will lead the Russian Government. No hope can be had for the permanent integrity of China by anyone acquainted with the determined and unswerving policy nurtured in St. Petersburg. The refusal of China to sign the Manchurian treaty, a valiant attitude maintained only by assurances of support from other quarters, though it has balked, temporarily, Russia's enterprise, has by no means safeguarded Chinese interests definitely. It has, moreover, changed from bad to worse the attitude of Russia's diplomacy, which hides itself in the glove of graceful concession to demands which she cannot ignore, only that when the mailed fist is shown it will strike with a certainty which neither knows nor recognizes a policy of retrocession.

There is nothing strange in this aggressive policy of Russia. It is an entirely natural wish for national expansion. It is in no wise different from the feeling that would move American people if the conditions were reversed, and we were situated as the Russians are. If Russian extension simply served the ends of civilization and humanity no objection could be rightly urged against according to her whatever might best promote her development. But the Russian aims and ends are distinctly national — no toleration is shown for anything that antagonizes the despotic policy of the Government. The policy of England, on the contrary, is more altruistic. English influence, wherever it is exerted, is in favor of free trade. It asks for itself neither protection nor any advantages which are not equally offered to all the world.

Although it is patent that the commercial policy of Russia is stringently protectionist, with a consuming desire to obtain and hold intact for sole Russian interests all new markets, it is not possible for any nation to say that the British commercial policy is hostile or unfriendly to them. It is this menace of Russian dominance in Asia that threatens not only England, but all powers having commercial interests at stake. In our own case, the immediate result of Russian success would be to find the entire eastern coast line of Asia shut against our trade, either by special tariff restrictions or by national influences. Therefore, it is clear that our interests are identical with those of England, and that it should be our policy to show her that our interests in Asia demand her cooperation.

The frustration of the seemingly certain eventuating of Russian dominance could be accomplished only by the determined and permanent resistance of at least England, Japan, and the United States. Russia hopes, and probably not without reason, that the present jealous

watch maintained by the International Convention is merely a spasmodic outburst that must soon vent itself, and that during the subsequent era it will fail to prevent her from winding the cords of Russian influence so securely around China as to combat successfully any future concert to block her path. If, however, the cautious attitude of the present were not relaxed at a future date, there is reason to believe that she would not persist in her efforts, and that Russian aggression, at least in Eastern Asia, would have reached its limit. It is idle to insist that it is foolish policy to pick England's chestnuts out of the fire. Naturally, from her Asiatic possessions, she is the nation most vitally interested in any plan to balk Russian designs; but it cannot be denied that we should not be undertaking a profitless and graceless task if in serving her to retain her own chestnuts we might incidentally rely on her assistance in preserving our own supply.

If Russia is confronted by a combined healthy and permanent opposition on the part of England, the United States, and Japan, there is some hope for the future. If, on the other hand, indifference, or a disposition to safeguard merely individual interests, is shown by these interested powers, or if they cannot be brought to act in harmony in the position they occupy, it is certain that Russia's interests, which perforce must be inimical to all others, will be best subserved. Although the menace of Russia's aggression in the past has been great, there is no reason to disbelieve that such a concerted opposition could, and would, withstand any effort she might make to circumvent it.

One need but look at the map to understand plainly the fears which may well haunt British diplomatic minds when there is a tremor of more than ordinary character in the smouldering volcano which may outburst with fearful violence at any moment. The success of Russia in China, as signally as she has succeeded elsewhere in Asia where she has figuratively crossed swords with England, would determine for a surety absolute Russian military and commercial dominance. This occurrence would give Russia such a fearful preponderance that England's very existence in the East would be undermined. With the possession of her fortresses and strategic military points throughout Central Asia, by the acquisition of any considerable share of China, and the securing of seaport strongholds, Russia would be able to withstand any naval demonstration that might be made by England and Japan; while it would be a comparatively easy matter to mobilize the troops now in Siberia, establishing their bases of supplies in strategic points of Central Asia and China, and to let loose the semi-barbarous and Anglo-

phobist tribes of Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Thibet upon the luxuriant plains of India, Persia, and China.

Shut our eyes as we may to the fact, such a possible contingency, or, in fact, any political or commercial reverse which England may suffer in Asia, must have a correspondingly depressing effect on our own trade interests. We can to-day sell goods in India as openly and with the same freedom as England herself enjoys; the English never arrogating in their colonies any commercial rights which they are not prepared to share with others. On the other hand, Russian dominance would mean that the door of trade which we have succeeded in pushing open would be closed to everything not profitable to Russian interests — simply a policy of Chinese exclusiveness under another name.

At present Russia pins her faith on the supposition that the antagonism of the International Convention is not deep-rooted, and that its future potency must be impaired by internal dissensions and jealous disruptions, which will enable her to satisfy her ambitious aims of permanent Slavonic dominance throughout Asia. It is possible that, in drawing this conclusion, the Russian Government is reasoning with its customary accuracy; but it is to be hoped that those powers with vital interests at stake, and to whom the exploiting of the Asiatic continent must be of paramount interest, will not be so blind as to pave the way for such a dominance over this continent, as must prove to be a world calamity.

W. C. JAMESON REID.

TAXES ON STREET RAILWAY FRANCHISES.

POLITICAL platforms of varying shades of opinion, students of municipal affairs, city officials, newspaper writers, and public speakers seem to be united at present in demanding that special taxes be laid upon all companies using the streets of a city for the purpose of carrying on a business for profit.

Various reasons are given for the justice of such special taxes, but two stand out with especial prominence: (1) the need of more money by the cities; and (2) the feeling that the companies have obtained from the city something of great value upon which the people must pay dividends. Our municipalities have embarked in so many enterprises that they are always in need of more money than can be raised by taxation without endangering the political control of the dominant party, and city officials welcome anything in the way of increasing municipal revenues which will not arouse the taxpayers to political action. The citizens believe that these rights in the streets were given without any compensation, and that the companies have abused the grants by capitalizing not only the actual property, but also the franchise, as well as the present and prospective earning capacity of the business; thus forcing the users to pay dividends on large amounts of fictitious capital. While this has undoubtedly been done in many cases, the imposition of a special tax on the company will not reach the evil, which must be attacked in other ways.

The question of the special taxation of municipal franchises presents many points for consideration. For example: Are the municipalities rightfully entitled to such special payments; who is to be benefited by them; who pays these taxes; and will their payment in any way affect general taxation? Careful study soon shows that strong reasons exist why such franchise companies should be exempted from all taxation rather than have extra burdens placed upon them; and this is especially true of the class most often singled out as one upon which special taxes should be laid, namely, the street railways.

The successful operation of a street railway depends upon four fac-

tors: (1) the right to lay rails in the public ways; (2) the command of capital; (3) ability of management; and (4), most important of all, the use by the public of the facilities afforded.

The right to lay rails on the surface of the streets is generally considered the only one of these factors to be taken into account; and it is assumed that the public receives no compensation for the grant of this right unless a money payment is made for it, although in fact the people get a large return in the facilities given for cheap and rapid transportation. Streets are laid out for the accommodation of all the people to enable them to transact business conveniently; and the preparation of some part of the surface in a particular way to accommodate some special form of vehicle, such as a street car or a bicycle, does not prevent the legitimate use of the street by persons who desire to walk or drive upon it. It has been repeatedly declared by the courts that the presence of rails in the street imposes no additional burden for which compensation can be claimed, and that this use of the street is wholly consistent with the purpose for which the highway was laid out. This was strictly true when street-car traction was confined to horses; but with the introduction of large electric cars moving at high speed there arises a practical modification of this theory. Owing to their presence in the street, the roadway available for ordinary travel is, to a certain degree, restricted, and the usual traffic is confined within narrower limits, or is driven into other streets. This limitation of available street surface increases the cost of repairs, and it is only right that the additional cost should be put on the street railways. But this in itself is not a good reason for imposing any tax on the franchise. It is rather an argument for requiring the repayment of the actual amount expended.

Capital and ability of management may be safely relied on to secure their remuneration; and only the people who use the cars need the aid of laws and regulations.

What, then, is the relation of the users to the question; and how do they fare when money compensation for franchises is exacted by the municipality? The rapid growth of our cities makes the problem of rapid transit within urban and suburban districts the most important municipal question with which we have to deal. As the cities grow, the area within which a man may live and easily walk to his work becomes overfilled, and rents rise to such a point that a worker must move away from the business centre. The steam railroads attempt to solve the problem of rapid transit by running frequent trains to the suburbs; but for various causes it is impossible for them to meet the whole demand.

The first improvement introduced in urban transportation was the omnibus, which required no special form of pavement. This was soon followed by the street car drawn by horses on its own roadway laid in the streets. After this, in quick succession, came cable and electric cars, now supplemented by elevated and underground railways. The effect of these changes in methods has been to increase very greatly the area within which the working-man can find a residence; and large tracts of suburban land have been made available for dwellings, to the great advantage of the landowners. If we assume that one hour represents the maximum amount of time that can be taken to go to one's place of business, a man who walks can have his dwelling within a circle of three and one-half miles radius, or within an area of thirty-eight square miles; if he can use a horse-car travelling at the rate of seven miles an hour, the district which is open to him covers 154 square miles; if it is an electric car with a speed of fifteen miles, the district will contain 706 square miles; and if he can be given a speed of twenty-five miles per hour by means of overhead or underground tracks, the district within which he may live and reach his business in one hour will have an area of almost 2,000 square miles.

The results of this widening of the city area have been of incalculable value to all whose business requires them to spend their days in its heart. Instead of being obliged to reside within narrow limits, where land is expensive and rents are high, the population may be spread out into large districts, where land is cheap, and where each house may stand detached. Rapid means of transit with low fares have affected the tenement-house districts, where overcrowding is the rule, and have, therefore, exerted a great influence on the social conditions within the cities. Extended areas in the country have been built up with houses of medium cost, the rents of which fall within the means of the day-laborer; and these lower rents and improved conditions have led to the removal of many families from the crowded parts of the cities out into these newly established suburbs. This transference of population has had an effect on rents in both city and suburbs; and as the better-paid class of working-men, brought by improved methods of transit within comparatively easy access of their work, have moved away from the cities, their places have been taken by newly arrived immigrants from foreign countries. Real-estate values, also, have been affected to a marked degree. The land in the older city remains dear, because of the increased demand for land for business purposes; but values in the suburbs are enhanced many times because of the availability of these districts for residences.

These opportunities for the improvement of the condition of the working-man are a form of compensation which the street railway gives in return for the right to occupy the streets, and it is one which is of the greatest importance to the whole community. A special tax laid upon these companies, the people's carriers, falls most directly on those who can least afford it, on those who are obliged to use the cars. The smaller the wages the greater the proportion of them which these persons are called upon to give up to the city; for it must be plain to every one that a tax of this sort is not paid by the companies, but is only collected by them and paid over to the city treasurer — that, in short, the company acts only as an agent in transferring the amount of this tax from the pockets of the users of the service to the municipality. The policy of the cities toward the street railways should be exactly the opposite of that advocated by so many. No taxes should be imposed upon these transportation companies beyond those which all property-owners must bear, with enough in addition to compensate the city for the increased wear and tear on the streets; but every effort should be made by the municipality to care for the rights of the neglected partner. The rates of fare should be fixed at the lowest limits consistent with a fair return on the actual capital invested; and every inducement possible should be offered to the companies to extend their service to all parts of the suburbs.

To bring about the proper relations between these companies and the public some legislation is necessary, and a great deal must be done in the way of educating public opinion. The companies and the people must both be taught that they are partners in the enterprise, and that each is essential to the success of the undertaking. The companies should be made to keep their accounts in a manner prescribed by some public authority, and they should be audited by a competent public official. When these accounts show that the profit on the money actually invested in the plant exceeds a certain amount, then fares should be reduced by an impartial tribunal, acting after a thorough investigation of all the conditions. This reduction will benefit the public; but the company at the same time should be given an inducement to continue in the extension of its service, and this can be done by allowing an increase in the rate of dividend for each reduction in the rate of fare. The idea that increased profits should be shared between the users and the companies should underlie all attempts to establish the relations between the people and the public-service companies. If this be kept in mind, then those vitally interested will receive their fair share of the benefits.

The advantages to be derived from a complete system of rapid transit, extending in all directions through the suburbs of a large city, and giving low rates of fare, are manifold. The benefit to the city itself, by the opening up of large tracts of unimproved land with the consequent enhancement in taxable value, will be plainly shown in the tax roll; and this of itself is ample compensation for the grant of the right to lay rails in the streets. The improvement in the social conditions of the city through the distribution of the population over larger areas, and the consequent diminution of the evils of overcrowding in tenement-house districts, are not easy to estimate in terms of dollars and cents; but they result in a very solid advantage to the health and morals of the community. Any improvement in this direction tends to reduce the expenditures of the city for sanitary, charitable, and police purposes, and this reduction in outgo is also a form of compensation.

In short, if our municipalities and municipal reformers will treat the street railways as institutions to be fostered, exempt them from all unnecessary burdens, insist on low rates of fare, and allow those investing their money a fair return on the money actually invested, then all the partners in the enterprise will benefit far more than will be the case when efforts are continually made to hamper their development by the imposition of extra burdens.

WALTER S. ALLEN.

PREFERENCES AND THE BANKRUPTCY LAW.

WE are now fully entered upon the fourth year of our National Bankruptcy Act. The present generation of business men and lawyers had never before had experience with a bankruptcy law, and it has taken considerable time for us to understand it.

At first, its function as an instrument for releasing insolvents from their debts seemed its most notable feature, and many, even among lawyers, still mistakenly conceive this function to be practically its whole object, and regard all else as merely incidental. On the other hand, bankruptcy laws, historically considered, were in the beginning exclusively creditors' laws; that is to say, they were originally enacted wholly for the better protection of creditors against the wiles of dishonest debtors, and for obtaining a fairer distribution of an insolvent's estate. The bankrupt's discharge from his debts was a later development — a mere corollary, so to speak, based upon public policy and upon the humane idea that where a failing debtor has been stripped by his creditors of all assets and has honestly and fully made disclosure of his affairs to them, he should be relieved from the remainder of his debts and be given a new lease of business life. Thus developed, bankruptcy law has become by successive stages better rounded; caring for creditor and debtor alike.

At the time that Congress passed the present act, few appreciated the magnitude and responsibility of the work done. By it Congress superimposed upon the forty-five divers systems of commercial law of the several States of the Union, each having its own mysteries and local influences for the bewilderment of non-resident creditors and the undoing of small and inexperienced ones, one great uniform system of jurisprudence, covering the entire field of business transactions, and affecting with a firm and impartial hand commercial dealings of all kinds in every part of the land. After our three years' experience of the various beneficial features of this law — its expeditiousness, thoroughness, economy, uniformity, and fairness — it is not likely that business men will consent to revert to the old régime. A federal bankruptcy law of some kind is likely from this time forth to be a permanent part of American jurisprudence, as it is of that of almost every other civilized nation on the globe.

The next feature of the act that commanded our attention was its prohibition of preferences, as they are called; and it is this feature that is the particular subject of the present article.

Formerly when an insolvent failed it would inevitably be found that on the eve of failure he had fully paid up or secured some favored creditor — perhaps his wife, or his bank, or the firm from which he bought the bulk of his goods. Seldom did a cent filter out to his other creditors. It was fortunate, indeed, if the debts thus preferred were not even fictitious in part. Distrust pervaded the commercial world, and creditors eyed each other like hungry wolves gathered around a trembling sheep. The real solidarity that should exist among creditors and between them and their debtor was lost sight of, and mutual confidence was sacrificed to the idea that he who came first should be first served. Indeed, the old legal maxim that the law favors the diligent creditor came finally to assume almost the guise of a sacred precept.

To such a degree did the giving of preferences extend that merchants viewed with suspicion a business man who had one principal creditor carrying him along; experience showing that such creditor generally held up his sleeve a chattel mortgage or cognovit note, which enabled him to jump in and seize the debtor's assets at the latter's signal, allowing the rest of the creditors meanwhile to fill up the bins in reliance upon the false appearance of solvency thus created. Now all this is changed; and while a few big houses, which had formerly been "on top" at every failure, are found grumbling at the preference feature of the act, because, as they put it, it "interferes with business," most business men have come to look upon the law with favor precisely because of this prohibition of preferences.

However, it must be admitted that this law goes farther than any former enactment in declaring what constitutes a preference. A mere payment upon an account in the ordinary course of business made by an insolvent person within a period of four months before his going into bankruptcy is held to constitute a preference, wherever it operates to give one creditor a greater percentage of his claim than some other. This is so whether or not such creditor knew of the insolvent's condition, or even had reasonable cause to be suspicious. The Supreme Court of the United States has not only so held but has gone farther, and, in interpreting section 57 (g) of the act has decided that such creditor cannot be permitted to share in the dividend with other creditors unless he first surrenders his preference; although, in case he chooses to stay out of the proceedings altogether, he cannot be compelled to surrender his

preference unless it can be shown that he took it under circumstances indicating that he ought to have known what was the real condition of the insolvent.

This ruling, while conceded to be a correct interpretation of the law, has given rise to a storm of protest against the Bankruptcy Act itself from many business men, and vigorous efforts will undoubtedly be made to effect a change in these particulars at the next session of Congress. These protestants deem it a hardship that a creditor who has been diligent enough to make close collections should be obliged, although he was at the time ignorant of the debtor's condition, to surrender all collections made within four months of the debtor's insolvency if he would participate with the other creditors in obtaining what satisfaction is possible for the remainder of his claim.

In my opinion, the true scope and bearing of this feature of the law are not appreciated by those who hold this view. Not only is the Supreme Court's decision a correct interpretation of the statute in these particulars, but, rightly understood, the law so interpreted is eminently just, and is the wisest law that we have ever had covering the points mentioned. The fundamental principle upon which it stands is not adequately comprehended. Its starting-point is the recognition of the fact that an insolvent's estate is a trust fund.

Unless we adopt the point of view taken by the Bankruptcy Act itself, we cannot, of course, hope to arrive at a correct appreciation of its provisions. Along with other branches of equity that are concerned with the distribution of insolvents' estates, it casts aside, apparently without hesitation, one of the cardinal principles of Anglo-Saxon common law, namely, that the law favors the diligent creditor; and it adopts in its stead, and more courageously than any other law concerned with such estates, the equitable principle that equality is equity, and that he that asks equity must do equity. It is as if a company were invited to sit down to a meagre meal. The common law says: "Seize what you can as quickly as you can, even if nothing is left for others." But the Bankruptcy Law steps in and says: "There is little enough at best, but let all sit down and eat quietly, each taking his proper share. There is not enough for everyone to have his fill, but no one shall starve." This is not an unfair statement of the respective attitudes of the two great opposite systems of jurisprudence which, within their respective spheres, govern our business world.

Each has its proper place. When a man is solvent it is perfectly right and just that the common law should operate in its full vigor.

But a moment's reflection will at once show that when he becomes insolvent, the common law, with its opportunities for acquiring preferences, does not work justice. As long as a man is solvent he is doing business on his own money; but the moment he becomes insolvent he ceases to do business on his own money and begins to do it on his creditor's money — in fact, he is then using trust funds, the funds of his creditors. A recognition of this fact at once justifies the preference feature of the present Bankruptcy Law. Why should one creditor "hog it all," as the coarse phrase is? Is it not, if rightly considered, the fund of all the other creditors as well, each in his proper proportion?

Nor should it avail him to cry out that he did not know that the meal was so scanty; that he obtained his share innocently. It is not a question of good intentions or of good morals, but purely a question of enough food. The use of the word "innocent" in this connection is an argument in itself, and is misleading. It seems to imply that other creditors are guilty of wrong-doing. In truth, it simply means, under the present bankruptcy law, that the creditor did not take the preference under circumstances indicating that he suspected the debtor's real condition, and that the effect intended was to prefer him. But of what crime, pray, is that creditor "guilty" who did suspect that the estate was insolvent and that the effect would be a preference, and yet was alert enough to get his pay? Each, equally, has depleted the trust fund at the expense of the others. Certainly, in morals the latter is just as blameless as the former; and no good reason can be shown for calling one "guilty" and the other "innocent," still less for allowing the "innocent" one to keep his preference and share equally with the rest for the unpaid balance whilst obliging the "guilty" one to surrender his preference. The question of "innocence" or "guilt" has nothing to do with the matter of preferences. The point is simply that there is not enough to go round; that what there is belongs to all; and that if one creditor gets his share in advance, whether "innocently" or "guiltily," he must put it back if he wishes to share with the rest. It is an entire misconception of the purpose and effect of the law relating to the surrender of so-called "innocent" preferences to speak of it as thus imposing a "penalty." And equally infelicitous is the sarcasm of those who speak of it as thus punishing "fraudless frauds." There is no penalty, or fraud, or innocence, or guilt in it at all. It is simply a question of the division of a trust fund too meagre to pay all creditors in full.

▲ corollary of this trust-fund theory, which has received more or

less complete recognition in the act, is that when by insolvency the debtor's estate has thus become a trust fund, a creditor who thereafter gives him further goods on credit, and thus increases the trust fund, is entitled to offset such contributions against any preference he may be charged with, and to reduce *pro tanto* the amount of preference he must surrender; so that, if, for example, he has thrown into the trust fund precisely as much as he has taken therefrom, he is acquitted of any preference at all, and is entitled to share in full. This secondary principle serves to abate the apparent rigor of the requirement of the surrender of so-called innocently received preferences. The main principle and corollary together furnish a harmonious and intelligent working rule that the present writer in his own experience, covering as it does the cases of almost five hundred bankruptcy estates, has found to produce fairness and justice to all.

In the case of a recent estate, where the assets distributed to creditors amounted to \$65,000, and each creditor received forty per cent of his claim, the bankrupt's attorney openly stated that had it not been for the prohibitions of the Bankruptcy Act, not less than \$40,000 or \$50,000 of this sum would have been given to a few preferred creditors, leaving a balance that would not have sufficed to pay three or four per cent to the remainder. From the point of view of public policy and the good of the commercial community at large, we may ask which was better, that a few creditors should be paid in full and the remaining three or four hundred receive a mere pittance, or that all the creditors alike should receive nearly the half of their respective claims, and none be paid in full? A law that produces the latter result and prevents the former has, at any rate, a tendency to distribute the effects of a financial failure, and thereby to steady trade. Often, in my own administration of bankruptcy estates, I have found one or another creditor pertinently asking: Is such and such a creditor, who has been getting payments right along on his debt up to the eve of bankruptcy, going to share for his unpaid balance the same rate of dividend that I get who have received nothing? Thus, we see that there is another side to the preference question, and that the advocates of an amendment to the act allowing creditors to keep their "innocent" preferences and yet share with those who have received nothing have not all the arguments upon their side.

Indeed, it is my conviction that wherever a business man is found advocating such an amendment it will be discovered either that he has not looked at both sides of the question or that he belongs to one of the

great mercantile houses that used to thrive upon preferences. But it must not be forgotten that the Bankruptcy Act was not expected to please those who thrive best under a régime of preferences. The great body of merchants and business men, those who have no organization and who cannot afford to send eloquent advocates to talk before congressional committees, would by such a change come to find the Bankruptcy Law no longer the strong, just arm of the big protecting brother that they now find it. Such a change would throw the door wide open again for the reappearance of all the old-time pestiferous preferences. It would, in addition, make an unworkable rule for the practical, swift, and economical administration of bankrupt estates. For then every creditor who had received a preference would insist on a lawsuit to determine whether or not he took the preference under circumstances indicating knowledge of the debtor's condition; and the result would, in great measure, be a lottery — a premium upon falsehood, no matter how able and impartial the court might be, and an unbearable expense to bankrupt estates, swamping them in litigation over intentions and reasonable grounds for belief. We should, indeed, strive to keep as far as possible from questions of intent in commercial law; their introduction always produces uncertainty and litigation. Commercial law is not concerned with punishment. As the rule regarding preferences now is, it is founded on the bed-rock of justice. It is fair to all; it is easily and economically administered; it is sensible; and no one can escape its application. It is, in fact, a straightforward and consistent rule.

Whatever other changes we may make during the next Congress, let us not touch the requirement that "innocent" as well as "guilty" preferences must be surrendered if the creditor would participate farther in the bankruptcy estates; for this is one of the wisest provisions of the best Bankruptcy Law we have ever had.

HAROLD REMINGTON.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA.

AFRICA is now the land of golden opportunity. Victor Hugo said that Africa would be the cynosure of all eyes in the twentieth century. When Shakspeare made his ancient Pistol exclaim, "I speak of Africa and golden joys," the poet was a greater prophet than he knew. Millions of his countrymen have since been echoing his words. Indeed, the refrain has been the cry of the whole world. The wonderful opportunity presented in what was termed a few years ago "The Dark Continent" has never been so pronounced and clearly revealed as to-day. Several prominent facts about the situation in Africa at present justify and illustrate this statement.

Africa is the last of the continents to be developed and settled. Its political outlines have been already defined, and are rapidly being fixed along logical lines. Its geographical position makes it a strategic territory, as was seen in the recent war with Spain, and has been illustrated frequently in history. It is of the greatest international importance, because it is the only large land mass that is divided up into parts assigned to the factious European powers. The continent is not only of enormous dimensions, but rich beyond the dreams of avarice in every kind of natural wealth. For the development of these resources there is at hand a tremendous force of labor — cheap, powerful, docile, and far more intelligent than is usually supposed. Standing now where America stood in the days of the youth of Washington, Africa looks out upon a wide world, and invites the conquering Caucasian in.

Africa's undeveloped condition constitutes one of its chief attractions. Unlike China and India, it is hampered by no effete and decaying civilization, impeding progress and constituting a continual barrier against every effort from without. The African native has nothing to give up before serving the purposes of the pioneers of progress. The new field can accordingly be worked by the most recent inventions and appliances. It is easier to build a new civilization than to make an old one as good as the new. The promoter of African enterprises approaches his task equipped with the railway, the steamboat, the telegraph, the

telephone, the steam or electric plough, the ice machine, the automobile, and all the other wonderful means of progress of to-day. Not only is it true that the mechanical contrivances for developing the country are such as vastly to facilitate the work, but the knowledge of mankind in every direction is so much greater than in previous centuries that Africa ought to profit thereby. Governments ought to be better, cities more beautifully designed, industrial installations more conveniently arranged, and every department of life ought to reap the advantage of the experience of the past and the power of the present.

The day of exploration in Africa is now over. It is to be succeeded by that of exploitation. There is left comparatively little unknown territory to be discovered, but there are whole empires to be built, and unparalleled realms of commerce, science, politics, transportation, mining, agriculture, and manufactures to be investigated. Colossal fortunes will be acquired, gigantic companies operated, and herculean tasks performed in this work of subduing the last of the white man's heritage to complete submission.

African territorial questions formed in 1884 the subject of an international conference at Berlin, over which Prince Bismarck presided, and at which the principal powers of the world were represented. The chief results of this convention were the apportionment of parts of the continent among the powers of Europe, the prohibition of the slave trade, the prohibition of the liquor traffic in Central Africa, the agreement that for a zone in Central Africa as large as the whole of Europe the tariff on imports should be uniformly at the low rate of six per cent, and the opening of the navigable rivers to the commerce of the world.

Since that conference the appropriation of the continent by the powers has proceeded at a rapid rate. Not a square mile of land remains over which sovereignty is not claimed, and in most cases effectively established, by some organized government. Scores of steamboats ply the waters of the rivers, railways are being built in every part, commercial companies operate all over the land, the natives have turned from eating each other to working on the railways and mines and buying Armour's beef, and men who chased Stanley down the Congo are now piloting steamboats up. England controls Egypt, the Niger, the Upper Nile, Uganda, the stretch between Victoria Nyanza and Zanzibar, and most of the Zambesi valley; she will soon be paramount in South Africa also. France controls most of North Africa, the Sahara, the Central Soudan, the Senegal, most of the north bank of the Congo, and a large part of West Africa. Germany has three large colonies in West Africa

and one in East Africa. Portugal owns nearly 1,000,000 square miles in East and West Africa. The King of Belgium is sovereign of most of the Congo valley, a territory nearly as large as the valley of the Mississippi. In a country as large as the United States, where twenty years ago there was not one white man, there are now thousands engaged in peaceful and lucrative trades and pursuits. Some of the business companies have made enormous fortunes, and the commercial centres of Europe have been in a ferment over the exploitation of their parts of the Dark Continent. Gold, diamonds, rubber, palm-oil, timber, hides, ivory, copper, coal — all these and more have shown that there is vast wealth in the land of Ham.

The geographical position of Africa gives it great international importance. It stands sentinel over the chief route to India and the East. The professor of tactics in a British military college has recently called attention to the fact that the military occupation of North Africa by the French seriously threatens British supremacy in the Mediterranean. The control of Africa by the Mohammedans once nearly destroyed European authority, and menaced the Caucasian world for a thousand years. The power that wields most influence in Africa is likely, sooner or later, to dominate Europe. The war in South Africa is more than any mere assertion of a local suzerainty: it is part of an immense and determined policy to control the whole African continent for the interests of the British Empire. England would have fought France over Fashoda as readily as she is fighting the Boers. The most aggressive statesmen in the world mean to control Africa, and to have no such blundering as that of Lord North in America. It is inspiring to watch this play of the Titans for dominion; it is exhilarating to share it. Another important fact, not as fully appreciated as it deserves, is that Africa is the continent most accessible to all parts of the world. It is next to Asia in size, and so immense that it contains nearly four times the land area of the United States. It is the only one of the large continents that is completely circumnavigable.

The internal geography of the continent has an important bearing on its commercial future. The very causes of the long delay in penetrating the interior now prove the white man's best friends. One obstacle was found in the high mountain ranges running parallel with the coast; making insurmountable cataracts in the rivers, and hindering entrance otherwise. These cataracts now afford power for the generation of electricity, by which trains will speed through the mountains into the interior. These mountains themselves afford seats for the Caucasian from

which he can administer the rest of the land. They enclose elevated plateaus far more healthful than the coast which gave Africa its bad name. There are four distinct river basins of the first class: those of the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi. These rivers are navigable for immense distances. Their basins are alluvial, the adjacent plateaus fertile, and their watersheds as healthful as any one could wish. The Sahara has been found to abound in water just below the surface, so that artesian wells can turn the desert into a garden, and the passage of a railroad across its sands can be easily effected.

The special inducements offered by Africa to the capitalist or the colonist are mainly the security of European government, with treaty rights for all, the extraordinary natural resources, and the cheap and efficient labor. †

All over Africa are now established stations of the different European powers, manned by white men and civilized native soldiery, placed at the most important points, and affording security to life and property. When titles to land are purchased by any one in these districts, it becomes the duty of the government granting them to guarantee security with them. All the powers are obliged by international treaties to grant these titles without discrimination. The price of land for agricultural purposes in Central Africa is forty cents an acre. The taxes for all purposes, including dues on imports and exports, all special licenses, and every kind of governmental obligation, do not exceed a total of ten per cent on the value of property and merchandise. The transportation companies are held legally responsible for the delivery of freight, and goods may be shipped from any point in America to Central Africa on a through bill of lading. Postal arrangements have been so perfected that there are regular post-offices all over the country, and the service is under the regulations of the Postal Union. The time of communication from New York to the heart of Africa is now twenty-five days.

The natural resources of Africa are varied, and occur in quantities to stagger belief. Of the minerals there are precious stones, diamonds, coal, petroleum, and petrified gums; of the metals there are iron, gold, copper, and lead; of vegetable products, rubber, palm-oil, timber, peanuts, corn, mandioca, coffee, cocoa, rice, plantains, bananas, kola, oranges, limes, guavas, mangoes. Indeed, every plant and vegetable known flourishes on some part of the land. Of animal wealth there are herds of buffalo and of all the tropical beasts. The rivers abound in fish, and the woods are full of wild-fowl.

Before describing the resources of Africa in detail, it is well to note

that as yet there has been only the slightest investigation of the natural wealth of the country. There are vast territories whose possibilities have never been determined. There are enormous quantities of all kinds of produce and crude material which have not yet been touched, as well as wide territories whose resources have not been examined.

The wealth of Africa in precious stones and diamonds is so well known as not to need much comment. These are found chiefly in South Africa; but they are widely distributed over the whole continent, and have been associated with the locality of Kimberley only because the long-settled colony of the Cape developed them so rapidly. About \$30,000,000 worth of these stones has been produced annually, and the productivity of the mines is on the increase.

Probably the largest coal-field in the world is in the upper Zambesi valley. When the building of transcontinental railways has begun in earnest, the mining of this coal will be a great industry. In view of the facts that on the West Coast of Africa the price of imported coal is \$15 a ton, that there is now a large demand by steamers, and that railways are being constructed in many parts of the country, the utilization of this coal ought to be the work of a few years only. Petroleum oil issues forth in several places in natural springs, which have been regarded by the natives with superstitious wonder. The gums of Africa are many and varied. I once came upon a bed of buried copal, and found that it was acres in extent.

The iron ore in Africa is of enormous extent and fine quality. It occurs all over the continent, and for centuries the natives have been in the habit of reducing it and making from it certain articles for their own use. There are several different ores, the most noticeable being the brown hematite and the black magnetite. The natives have small furnaces built of clay, using charcoal for fuel. The pig iron they thus produce is really of good quality, and their blacksmithing is wonderful. With coal and limestone in the same formation as this fine iron, the future possibilities of the iron industry there are not the least of Africa's opportunities. I discovered a solid mountain of black magnetic iron ore, which deflected the compass a quarter of a mile distant, and the rocks of which, when struck with a hammer, rang like an anvil. There were fine crystals of pure iron scattered throughout the mass.

The annual output of gold in Africa now amounts to a total of over \$40,000,000 per year. The gold-bearing countries have hardly been touched as yet. There are vast regions undoubtedly rich in gold which have not yet been exploited at all. In some parts of the continent it

was long the custom of the Africans to barter gold-dust for equal quantities of salt. The new methods of treating the gold ores which obtain in South Africa are calculated to save large quantities of gold which were formerly wasted.

The most widely mined and commonly used metal in Africa is copper. The ores of this metal occur in almost unlimited quantities; and considerable mining is done by the natives, though their methods are of the simplest. Strange to say, the whites have practically done nothing in the copper industry, though there is a large demand for copper at the gold mines, where it is used in extracting the gold from the ores. Lead is found in connection with the copper deposits.

The enormous dimensions of the rubber trade may be illustrated by mention of the fact that the value of the rubber imported annually into the United States is greater than the annual production of gold. In the year 1899 its value was about \$35,000,000. The greater part of this rubber came from South America. It has been found only recently that the forests of Africa abound in rubber of the finest quality, in almost inexhaustible quantities, and easy to obtain and market. The crude rubber is usually collected in the forests by the natives, who carry it to the stations on the navigable rivers, where white men buy it from them, giving in exchange cotton cloth, salt, beads, tools, and other articles of home manufacture. The profits usually made on this rubber are enormous, as the natives sell it for a very slight part of its real value. It is common for a pound of raw rubber to be bought from the natives for a yard of white sheeting, at a time when the price of that pound of rubber is a dollar in the markets of Europe. Even after the heavy expenses of transportation and all other charges are paid, this rubber trade pays the companies engaged in it larger dividends than are made by the gold mining companies of South Africa. The price of rubber has been steadily rising in the market for the last few years, notwithstanding the increased production. The development of electrical appliances, the bicycle, the automobile, the rubber tires — all these make the demand for this article quite heavy. The forests of Africa will be able to supply thousands of tons of the crude material as fast as the trade is developed. An intelligent and industrious trader can buy, in parts of Africa known to me, as much as fifty tons of rubber annually without difficulty, at the gross value of \$100,000, in exchange for merchandise costing only \$5,000. The method of gathering this rubber need not destroy the vine or tree from which it is procured; and the sources of the supply are almost unlimited. As will be shown later, the cheapness of labor is one reason

for this great opportunity. The rubber forests occur chiefly along the large navigable streams, thus facilitating the transportation.

Palm-oil has long been a principal article of export from West Africa. This oil is extracted from the nut of a palm-tree growing all over the continent. The tree produces a large bunch of kernels covered with a fibrous integument, which is full of a rich oily substance. The natives gather the nuts and pound them in large wooden mortars. They then put the pulp into a pot of water and boil it until the water is evaporated, when the fibrous matter and other impurities are skimmed off the surface, leaving the pure oil. This is used in the native cookery, and also, to some extent, in that of the Europeans. It is also largely exported for use in the manufacture of soap, as a cheap lubricant, and for the purposes to which vegetable oils may be put. The tree on which these nuts grow is the same as that from which is obtained the famous palm-champagne. It produces about 100 pounds of the nuts per year, yielding about twenty pounds of oil. The tree is the principal ornament of the plains, as the rubber vine is of the forests. A square mile of an African savannah will average about 1,000 of these trees in the native state, capable of producing ten tons of oil per year. Of course, the planting of the trees would produce a greatly increased yield. This same palm furnishes material for house-building and for furniture, the covering for roofs, the fibre for cloth, and the splits for mats. Its tender core when young makes a relished vegetable resembling cabbage.

The day is not far distant when Africa will be called upon to supply a large part of the lumber of the world. The exhaustion of the forests of other continents leads to a serious problem, and one of the most fortunate facts about Africa is that the supply of timber is so immense. In Central Africa alone there is an area of over 1,000,000 square miles entirely covered with heavy forests, whose proximity to the navigable rivers allows of their easy utilization. There are many valuable hardwoods beside woods that are capable of being easily worked. Many of the trees are of enormous size, while the thickness with which they grow in the forests is almost incredible. As yet, little has been done to utilize this great supply of timber.

In the matter of the raising of agricultural crops and fruit, it is to be observed that there is a great diversity of soil and climate, from the summits of mountains covered with perpetual snow, or the temperate regions of Algeria and the Cape, to the blazing equator. Anything raised in Europe or America can be raised in Africa. But it is in the tropics that the wonderful richness of agricultural resources appears.

The soil is so rich, and the heat and humidity are so great, that the production is amazing. Corn or maize is grown at all seasons of the year, and one may have ripe and green corn in the same field. A yield of 100 bushels to the acre is ordinarily expected, and two or sometimes three separate crops are reaped in one year. The mandioca is the staple article with the natives. From it tapioca is made. The roots of this plant may be pounded into a fine flour. The yield of an acre in mandioca is ordinarily about 30,000 pounds, or twice the largest known yield of wheat. This proportion of yield is true of most things. The plantain, a delicious and nutritious food, yields as much per acre as the mandioca. Potatoes need never be taken from the ground, save as needed for the table. A single potato patch, once planted, grows on indefinitely. Cotton is a perennial plant. There are many fibrous plants from which the natives make ropes, but which have not yet been utilized by the foreigner. Sir William Crookes has lately called attention to the coming limit of production in civilized lands, and the importance of the tropics as sources of food. The exchange of manufactured articles for the raw material of those regions will be the commerce of this century, and Africa has more available land for the raising of these supplies than any other part of the world.

The country is equally rich in animals, wild and domestic. The wild animals of commercial value are the elephant, the antelope, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the buffalo, the boar, and the ostrich. These are valued for either their tusks, their hides, their feathers, or their meat. Of course, there are other wild beasts which have some value. Then there are many birds good for food, such as the goose, the duck, the pigeon, the guinea, the quail, and the peacock. Of domestic animals, the sheep, the goat, the hog, the cow, and the usual domestic fowls are common. The cattle-raising industry is in its infancy, and the wide plains offer boundless room for that enterprise.

The ease with which the necessities of life are produced may explain the remarkable cheapness of labor in most parts of Africa. In vast regions of the continent the wage paid to ordinary labor amounts to about three cents a day of our money. This includes everything. This low wage may sound like a hardship but when the price of a fowl is a spoonful of salt, when a bushel of corn may be purchased for ten cents, when more than a few yards of clothing would be uncomfortable, and when a single palm-tree will furnish house, furniture, oil, and beverage, without being cut down, it will be understood why the Africans flock to get employment from the white man at these rates. I have turned off

hundreds of men begging for work at such wages, and if I had had the means I could have employed thousands. The employment of labor is facilitated by the customs of the country, according to which the chief, or king, exercises such large authority over his subjects that a contract may be made with him for any number of men for a specified time, agreeably to the desires of the men themselves. Another factor in the labor problem is the universal custom for the women to do such a large share of the manual work. Previously to the advent of the white man, the men could live on the agricultural labors of the women. Now, when the men work for the foreigner, the women still continue to work also, and this fact contributes immensely to the gross product of the country. The coming of the white man trebles the product of the country at once.

The quality of this labor is astonishingly better than might be expected. The laborers work all day long without much complaint, and many become skilled artisans with a little training. Their docility, obedience, and alacrity make them pleasant to work with. In Central Africa there are now carpenters, masons, pilots, and engineers who ten years ago were eating their people in the bushes.

With labor as cheap as this it need not be surprising that slaves have been equally cheap. The usual price of a grown man in Central Africa has been about \$3, and thousands have changed masters at that price. This may give some idea of the profitableness of the slave trade in the old days when a slave brought \$500 at the port of entry. Though the ocean trade has ceased, and the internal traffic is forbidden, there is still a good deal of exchanging of men for goods going on surreptitiously in the continent among the natives themselves. Then there is a veiled form of slavery still practised by many of the whites, who induce the blacks to sign long-term labor contracts by making their marks on a prepared paper, thus coming within the letter of the law. But most of the slaves greatly prefer thus to get under the protection of the white man to being exposed to the dangers of their own towns, where they are liable to be eaten, or sacrificed on funeral occasions. One of the noblest enterprises in the world would be the establishment of industrial plants, where these unfortunate people could be safe and could be put to remunerative employment. The vast numbers of this class lend the high character of true philanthropy to every effort to develop the continent and to give these people a living with security.

Commerce in Africa necessarily depends on the exploitation of the natural resources mentioned above. Immediately after the cessation of

the external slave-trade all commerce languished, until the results of the great geographical discoveries of the last thirty years began to appear, and it became evident that Africa was rich in much besides men. The products of the country were in demand in Europe and America, and soon large commercial companies began to be formed in order to trade with the natives on a regular basis. The Portuguese had been the pioneers in this way, and their merchants had established stations in many parts of the country. Then the Dutch came also to the front in seeking to buy the ivory, gold-dust, palm-oil, and other produce from the Africans, who are keen to engage in trade. The British followed suit, then the Belgians, the Germans, the French, and the Scandinavians. Now the British commercial influence is, of course, the largest; and there are some companies capitalized at many millions, with posts all round the coasts, and penetrating the remote interior. There are about a dozen different steamship lines running from different European ports — Liverpool, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Marseilles, and Lisbon — which connect with the various African railways and river steamboat lines. ✕

The most interesting feature of African commerce is the direct bartering with the natives. Let us look at a trading station in the heart of the continent. A large clearing has been made in the forest which rises up from the river's bank. The river is about the size of the Missouri at Kansas City, and the clearing is of about 200 acres in extent. Several houses, each perhaps as large as Washington's house at Mt. Vernon, are placed above the river, being the dwellings, storehouses, and trade house of the establishment. These buildings are constructed of bamboo from the palm, and have clay floors raised above the ground by filling in a rectangular enclosure of posts with earth to the desired height. Behind the large houses are a number of smaller ones for the native servants and employees, numbering perhaps a hundred persons. A file of natives from the surrounding country may be seen coming up to the principal houses, laden with ivory, rubber, palm-oil, and fowls, and all heavily armed with spears, bows and arrows, and knives, or an occasional gun. They call for the white man, and soon he is in the thick of the trade. He must watch well, and know his business, for these Africans are no fools, and will do all they can to outwit him. Some want salt, some cloth, some beads, some brass wire, some hoes and knives. Then they must all have a present at parting, and when they go each is full of how he got the better of the trader.

Perhaps a steamboat may be arriving. The whole population sets up a mighty yelling, and everybody makes a rush to the landing. The

cargo is discharged, the mail is secured, the crew are made happy with fresh food, and the white men repair together to exchange greetings and the news of the country. Then the steamer is loaded with the cargo in the store for shipment, and proceeds on its way to gladden the heart of some other settler. Sometimes there are several white men at these posts, but frequently they are manned by one alone, with his native attendants. The natives with whom he trades live in the adjacent country, and are coming and going all the time. In Central Africa it is customary for these traders to stay on the field about three years, and then to return home for a rest. Some of the trading stations are improved by their occupants, and made quite neat and attractive. Some of them are the beginnings of what will become the Chicagos and Pittsburgs of the Orient.

The progress in methods of transportation is one of the most marvellous instances of the disappearance of the last strongholds of ignorance and sloth. In 1873 it took Cameron three years to march from the Upper Congo to the West Coast. That trip can now be made in one week. The universal pack-animal for centuries was the African himself. He carried on his head all the goods for the markets, and furnished the power for propelling the canoes. How slowly affairs in Africa moved under such circumstances can be imagined. The transportation of heavy articles and machinery was impossible. But the advent of steam changed all this. There are now about fifty steamboats on the Congo, some of them with a tonnage of 250 tons, and making fifteen miles an hour against the current of the river. The other rivers are being similarly supplied.

Then, the most stupendous railway plans are on foot. The war in the Transvaal has interrupted the progress of the great transcontinental line from the Mediterranean to the Cape; but already about half of its 5,000 miles is completed. The French are building a line across the desert of Sahara. Around the cataracts of the Congo the Belgians have built one whose stock recently stood at 4,000 on the Bourse of Brussels, the par value being at 100. The British line from Mombasa on the East Coast to Uganda is nearly completed. This will be the most important feeder to the Cape to Cairo line. The Portuguese have a good line in Angola. The Germans are building two lines, one in the east, the other in the west, of the continent. The French have one in Senegal, and one projected to the north of the Congo. The British have one in Sierra Leone, and several at the Cape. An American, Mr. Mohun, of Virginia, is engaged in constructing an east and west transcontinental telegraph

line under Belgian auspices. Two independent cables operate on the coasts, and the telephone has reached the far interior. There will be, in the near future, an immense demand from Africa for rails and all sorts of railway equipment. The building of these lines will stimulate every industry, and the land will take on new life.

It is probable that the development of Africa will be the work of organized corporations and governments rather than of individuals and small companies. The conditions require united effort in order to accomplish the large ends desired. There will be massed together, in different undertakings, great numbers of native laborers who will require the intelligent and sympathetic oversight of capable foremen. The plantations will be worked, like the great industrial enterprises of America, by the association of large numbers of men. Concessions will be much more easily obtained by large corporations than by private persons. The aggregations of capital already in corporate hands in Europe and America will find it practicable to operate these concessions, and "Soudan Central" stock will be as well known in the financial world as any one of our great trunk lines.

In the service of these corporations there will be room for the exercise of the most splendid talents; and the opportunity to seek to preserve the best qualities of the individual, while utilizing the principle of coöperation to the fullest extent, will be appreciated by the wisest of our generation. It is true that there is no incentive to effort such as that given to individuals under the spur of necessity, and no motive for the advancement of any country or people stronger than the knowledge that one reaps fully what he sows. Where the aggregated efforts of many are to take the place of the separate forces of the individual colonist, as in Africa, the utmost exertion is needed to quicken the sense of responsibility, and to maintain a high standard of personal efficiency. It ought to be the policy of the companies operating in that new land to secure as agents men of exceptional ability, of the strictest probity, of broad education, and of high attainments; remembering that these men are laying the foundations of the future of a whole continent. Undeviating adherence to this policy will make every white man in Africa what he ought to be — a torchlight of civilization. The white men in Africa for the next fifty years are to build for "millions yet unborn." What unparalleled privileges are theirs!

It is interesting to consider the exact means by which the white control and direction of Africa will be carried out. For a long time it has been debated whether the Caucasian can live and labor in Africa at

all. When Mr. Henry M. Stanley took the affirmative side of this question at one of the meetings of the British Royal Geographical Society he was met by the warmest opposition. But the fact that Africa is to be a white man's land is now a foregone conclusion. The way in which this will be practically accomplished is interesting, and carries us back to some geographical facts. In brief, the high, mountainous, healthful, and invigorating parts of Africa are on the slopes of the mountain ranges and on the watersheds of the great rivers; these regions being distributed all over the continent, instead of massed together in any one part. In these regions the Caucasian can live and labor. From them he will govern and direct all the rest.

There will be maintained in these parts great industrial training schools, where the best of the natives will be trained to act as directors of industries in the lower river valleys and the alluvial littoral. The telegraph, the telephone, and other modern means of quick communication will be used to keep in close contact with these men and their work. All the results of medical and sanitary progress will be invoked to assist in this task of holding the land for its rulers. Some of the Africans may show special aptitude for higher positions, and to a limited extent they will be given opportunities to fill them; but for the most part they will constitute the laboring class, and will thus help where they are best fitted. With ice factories, electric fans, water-works, scientific plumbing and sanitation, and all the accompanying means of making life comfortable which will follow the development of Africa's natural riches, the Caucasian will be able to live and prosper in the wisely selected parts of the continent not only in safety, but in great comfort and happiness, and from these central stations to operate the whole of Africa.

The profitable and pleasant features of life in prospect in Africa during this century will not be confined to commerce and industry. In science, religion, architecture, government, education, and all other phases of life, the freshness of the conditions presents the same unique opportunities. The man of science will find the most delightful and absorbing occupation. The botany, the geology, the entomology, a large part of the zoology, the meteorology, the mineralogy, and the physical geography of the continent need to be studied and written. Travellers have rarely been able to do satisfactory work in this line owing to their transitory movements. I lived for two years near a village of those remarkable people, the African Pygmies, a study of whom would afford the anthropologist the keenest delight. The ethnical questions presented in

Africa are of the most far-reaching kind, and carry one at once into the most difficult problems of evolution, derivation, comparative anatomy, and archæology. Where, for example, did the Pygmies come from? Why are there races, in the very centre of the continent, whose light color, aquiline features, noble mien, and high intelligence suggest that they are the remnant of some vastly superior race?

In medicine, there is a world of new work awaiting the investigator. The sleeping sickness, fevers, malaria, and contagious diseases are to be studied, and their ravages checked. A skilful practitioner will be able to make a fortune and do an immeasurable amount of good by treating the natives alone. The medical man gains the good-will of the natives as no one else can. Then there are many plants and herbs whose medicinal properties could be examined, no doubt to the enrichment of the pharmacopœia, and possibly to the benefit of all mankind. The herbs in use among the natives would alone form a profitable study.

The practical scientist will be in great demand in the development of the industries of the country, since science has come to play so important a part in the ordinary operations of manufacture and production. Thus the application of chemistry to the mining industry, especially in the extraction of gold by the use of cyanides, saves in South Africa millions of dollars that formerly were wasted. Especially will the electrical expert and the civil engineer find ceaseless employment. Indeed, the room for practical scientists in Africa is boundless.

The work to be done in the spheres of education and religion is so vast as to need more detailed mention than is possible here. The whole land is beginning to be filled with schools, missions, colleges, and industrial training establishments; but the need is immeasurably greater than the supply. A word of warning can be spoken here. What the African needs is not so much the higher refinements of education as the simple rudiments thoroughly drilled into him, with the emphasis on the manual training. He requires to be taught to work, and to work hard, with skill and intelligence; to be taught to save, to accumulate property, to build homes, to live at peace, and to work with and for the white man on terms of good-will and friendly coöperation. Above all, rivalries and jealousies between different denominations are to be deprecated. The harm done by such conditions is more than the good done by most well-meaning enthusiasts. The Christian religion never profits in barbarous countries by the zeal of the propagandist or the energy of the proselytizer. The African will ask: Why all this confusion, if all that the white man says is true? Let each denomination have its clearly

defined sphere, and let the war of creeds come after the essentials have been believed, if at all.

One of the most promising and least appreciated opportunities is in the field of architecture. Where new cities are to be built from the beginning, the chance to build wisely and beautifully according to a well-arranged plan ought not to be neglected. The student of geography and natural resources can tell where the great cities must come, and therein is a magnificent work to be done in laying out broadly the lines for the future. So much colonial architecture is crude and inconsiderate of the future that the various governments ought to see to it that the interests of future generations are secured in this matter. The city of Washington owes much of its beauty to the wise and far-seeing conception of its great founder. Let no African cities grow up by helter-skelter aggregation, or force the inhabitants of the future to "follow in the footsteps of the calf," when a few simple precautions can insure the outlines of artistic beauty and urban convenience for ages. Let the buildings be easily capable of addition, or of displacement, and wherever possible let them be monumental. If Egyptian architecture could leave the pyramids for thousands of years the wonder of the world, cannot the Teutonic race equal them in the grandeur and permanence of its structures in the same land? With all our wonderful advance much of the architecture of America is of the mushroom kind. Staff, stucco, and cement form too great a temptation to our people.

The most serious question, from the point of view of the lover of constitutional or republican government, is the fact that so much of Africa seems likely to remain under the powerful hands of strongly entrenched empires. With the disappearance of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, Liberia alone is left as the representative of our form of government in Africa. It is true that France owns the most territory there; but the French form of colonial administration is not home rule. There is, however, this important fact about the relations of the colonies and their home governments. The progress of liberal ideas has been such of late years that the most monarchical European powers strive to make their colonists as free as possible, so as to retain their affection and loyalty. The American Revolution taught Europe an immemorial lesson on this subject, and the wisest statesmen of that continent are seeking to profit by it. They must do this or lose them all some day. England may conquer the Transvaal now, but fifty years hence a revolt in Cape Colony by her own sons would deprive her of every foot of territory from the Cape to Alexandria. Europe

must rule Africa wisely, or some day the story of Hannibal will be revived by some white son of a new Hamilcar. Then woe betide the Romes of that day! There is another safeguard in the fact that Africa is so subject to international complications. Oppression in one colony will lead to migration to another. England cannot afford to incur the ill will of Germany when the territories of each are contiguous. It is not merely the Briton, but the white man, that is to govern Africa. The lessons that America would fain teach her mother-country may be taught her by force in Africa.

The subject of the relations of the white and black races in the future of Africa is the most important one just now. On the part of the natives of that land it is absolutely necessary to their very existence that they recognize the coming domination of the foreigner, and be willing to submit to it cheerfully. This must be their attitude, or they will disappear before it. Some writers are disposed to think that they will gradually be exterminated as the American Indian. But between these two peoples there are essential differences amounting to a refutation of this supposition. The Indian occupied a temperate zone, which was especially fitted for the settlement of the Caucasian, and had to get out of his way. The case is different in Africa. The negro is a necessity to the development of three-fifths of the continent, and is the white man's most valuable assistant in that work. Moreover, the negro, unlike the Indian, will work, and really likes to work, under the white man, when at all justly treated. The negro has been in contact with the white man for ages, and has never yet disappeared under that contact, whether in America or Africa. The mere fact that the negro now occupies the land formerly owned by the Indian in the Southern States of America is enough of itself to illustrate this truth.

There will probably be a concentration of the negro in the tropical parts of Africa, as the rest of the land is taken up by the newcomers; but there he will remain, for it will be to the interest of the Caucasian to keep him there. In the building of the Congo Railway the experiment of introducing Chinese as manual laborers was made, and hundreds of them were imported. Nearly every one of them succumbed, and it was found that the white man himself stood the climate better than the Chinese. The road was completed by negroes from the West Coast under the supervision of Belgians, Dutch, and Italians. When the negro finally understands the irresistible character of the ingress of the European he will submit, as he has always done in such cases, and then he will find that such a course is for his own best interests. The task

will remain for the white man to utilize him for the benefit of all concerned.

This will test the wisdom of the dominant race to the highest degree. In the first place, the experience of the Southern States of America ought to be studied, that the mistakes made there may be avoided. The negroes must clearly see from the first that their power in politics as a unit is gone. Only the very best of them ought to be allowed to participate in the government, and then only to a limited extent. No sentimental ideas on the subject of social equality ought to be allowed. Each race must keep to its own social lines. Miscegenation must be forbidden; the whites must take their own wives with them, and let the African women alone. The natives must be secured in their homes, property, lives, and liberties, and in the enjoyment of a reasonable amount of local political freedom. Especially ought those hereditary chieftains who are humane and just in their rule to be given a limited amount of authority over their tribes in conformity with the general suzerainty of the white government. The employment of native labor ought to be hedged about with suitable regulations, so as to prevent the abuse of the employees or the unfair disposition of the question of wages. The negro is disposed by nature to look upon the white as his superior, and it is only when he fails to act as such that the white loses that position of influence. Sir Harry Johnston has truly said that the first requisite in dealing with the African is to be a gentleman. The savage is quick to make distinctions, and the white man will do well to note the fact. With such guiding principles in the great task that lies before him in the land of romance and story, the ever-victorious Caucasian can look forward with the most pleasant anticipations to the development of Africa.

S. P. VERNER.

WRITERS IN THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

MR. WALTER S. ALLEN was born in New Bedford, Mass., and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, in 1879. Studied at the University of Leipzig, and taught for three years at the Institute of Technology. Was the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners. Acted as Secretary of the Special Committee appointed by the Massachusetts Legislature on the Relations of the Street Railway Companies and the Municipalities. Was Secretary and Executive Officer of the Board of Paris Exposition Managers of Massachusetts, and represented that State at the Paris Exposition of 1900, besides being one of the United States delegates to the Tramway Congress at Paris. Has studied municipal questions for many years, and has made several trips to Europe for this purpose. Has written on these subjects for the National Municipal League, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, "Municipal Affairs," and "Municipal Journal and Engineer," besides compiling a large number of official reports.

MR. KARL BLIND, born at Mannheim, Germany, Sept. 4, 1826, was educated at Heidelberg and Bonn Universities. Active for German union and freedom, was imprisoned in Bavaria and Baden before the Revolution of 1848, in which he took a leading part, at Karlsruhe. After participating in the Republican rising led by Hecker, was arrested at Strasburg on a false charge of being implicated in the Paris insurrection in June, and was transported to Switzerland. Was leader of the second Republican rising in the Black Forest, and fought at Staufen. A prisoner of war, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, but was liberated in 1849. Was member of the Embassy at Paris of the Democratic Governments of Baden and Rhenish Palatinate. After the overthrow of Ledru-Rollin's rising for the protection of the Roman Republic, was proscribed from France. Carried on a Democratic and National propaganda from England. Coöperated with Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other European leaders. Has published numerous essays on politics, archæology, history, mythology, philosophy, and ancient German and Norse literature.

MR. PRICE COLLIER was born in 1860. Received his early education at Geneva and Leipzig. Graduated from Harvard University in 1882 and studied in the Harvard Divinity School. Was for nine years a Unitarian minister. Served through the Spanish-American war as a naval officer. Is the author of "Mr. Picket Pin and His Friends," "America and the Americans from a French Point of View," and a volume of essays. Has been a frequent contributor to English and American periodicals.

MR. CHARLES ALBERT CRAMPTON was born at Davenport, Iowa, in 1858. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1882. In 1883 was appointed assistant chemist in the Department of Agriculture. Has been chief chemist in the Internal Revenue Bureau since 1890. Had charge of the scientific work in connection with the provisions of the McKinley Tariff Act, and has served upon Commissions appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury for the consideration of questions relating to sugar duties. Has contributed extensively to the literature of agricultural and food chemistry in chemical journals and Government publications.

HON. CHARLES DENBY, born in Virginia in 1830, was educated at Georgetown University and at the Virginian Military Institute, graduating from the latter in 1850. Was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, and Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. In 1885 Mr. Denby was appointed Minister to China, and remained at Peking in that position until July, 1898. Was a member of the Commission to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain, and also of the Philippine Commission.

HON. MARTIN DODGE was born in 1851 at Auburn, Ohio. Was educated at Hiram College and Buchtel College, Akron, Ohio. Spent several years in the study and practice of law, and afterward in real estate and building operations. In 1891 represented Cuyahoga County in the General Assembly of Ohio, and for three successive terms was elected to the House of Representatives. Became a member of the State Senate in 1897, and was reelected in 1899. Has been a constant advocate and supporter of road improvement, and is the author of several measures in the interest of

WRITERS IN THE NOVEMBER FORUM. CONTINUED.

better roads and cheaper transportation. In 1893 was appointed Chairman of the Ohio Road Commission, and in 1898 Director of the Office of Public Road Inquiries for a temporary service of six months, during which time he represented the Government at the Omaha Exposition. The object-lessons and experiments which he made at that time were exhibited at Paris as one of the features of the American Road Exhibit. Was lately recalled by President McKinley to take charge of the Road Office again as Director.

MR. A. MAURICE LOW was born in London, and educated in London and Austria, but has spent the best years of his life in the United States. Has been for several years the Washington correspondent of the Boston "Globe" and the London "Daily Chronicle." Writes the monthly article on "American Affairs" in the London "National Review." This is perhaps the most extensively quoted regular magazine contribution in the world, as, in addition to the British and American Press using extracts from it, it is regularly commented upon by the leading French and German newspapers and reviews. Mr. Low has contributed to the principal American and English magazines and reviews, and has an established reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as a writer on political and international affairs.

MR. W. C. JAMESON REID was born in 1872 at Shanghai, where his father was stationed in the service of the English Government. After travelling through Europe, he journeyed across Siberia by the caravan route to Peking in 1893. In 1894 took part in an exploring expedition in Eastern Tibet. His later travels have been in British Columbia in 1896, in the Philippines in 1897, in Mexico and Central America in 1898, in Tibet and Siam in 1899, and again in China and the Philippines in 1900. Has published, in addition to many newspaper and magazine articles, two books on Tibet and one on political matters in the East.

MR. HAROLD REMINGTON graduated from the University of Michigan in 1888. Took a post-graduate course in economics and political philosophy. Went to Washington as assistant to Prof. Henry C. Adams when the latter was organizing the statistical department of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Has been a practicing attorney at the Cleveland bar for the last ten years. Was appointed referee in bankruptcy for the Cleveland district in 1898.

MR. WILLARD SAULSBURY was born in 1861 and educated at the University of Virginia. His father was Attorney-General of the State, a United States senator, and for twenty years Chancellor of the State. Is a prominent and successful lawyer at the Wilmington bar and has twice been elected President of the Bar Association. Is a director in financial, street railway, and other concerns. Is Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and was Chairman of the Delaware Delegation to the Chicago Convention in 1896, voting there with the minority. In 1899 received the unanimous Democratic vote for United States senator. Throughout the whole of the legislative session of 1901 the Democrats unanimously voted for him on every ballot for one of the existing senatorial vacancies.

PRESIDENT CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, born at New Sharon, Maine, in 1853, was graduated from Harvard in 1876, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1879. In 1890 became President of Western Reserve University and Adelbert College and allied institutions in Cleveland, Ohio. President Thwing is the author of several works on American colleges and college life.

MR. SAMUEL PHILLIPS VERNER is a son of a former Comptroller-General of South Carolina. Graduated with the highest honors from the University of that State in 1892. Entered the service of the Southern Railway. In 1895 went out to Central Africa as business manager for the Mission Board of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Has founded several new stations, discovered a tribe of the Batwa Pygmies, and made many interesting explorations. Brought back to the Smithsonian Institution the largest collection of African ethnological specimens ever seen in this country. Is especially interested in studying the relation between the American negro and the aboriginal African. To test the capacity of the latter race has recently brought to America two little ex-cannibals from the Lualaba River to be educated here. Has contributed articles on African affairs to various American, English, and Belgian publications. Is now preparing for publication a book on "Pioneering in Central Africa."

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THE STATUS OF RELIGION IN GERMANY.

EVERY event within the domain of religion in Germany must of necessity be interesting to other nations also; for Germany is the land of the Reformation and the home of the philosophy of religion, the chief centre of historical investigation and criticism in religious matters as well as secular. In all that appertains to scientific inquiry within the domain of religion Germany has hitherto maintained the leadership. Great changes have been effected here during the nineteenth century, and recently the religious problem has again come very prominently into the foreground.

In order to ascertain the reasons for this condition, it will be necessary to revert to the beginning of the nineteenth century — to the period culminating in poets such as Schiller and Goethe, and in savants such as Kant and Hegel. The relation between this classical era of German literature and the religion of the time was not an unfriendly one. But it was not in the ecclesiastical, or even in the specifically Christian, religion that inward conviction then found expression. Perhaps the term Pantheism, first employed by Krause, best expresses the religious attitude of our classical epoch. Every form of creation appeared to be comprehended in one being, and to be founded in divine wisdom — a wisdom operating everywhere, not from without, but as an emanation of the inmost being of every form of creation; and this wisdom found its fullest expression in the free and rational human organism, *i.e.*, in man. The conception and development of this idea everywhere served to operate as

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an invigorating and ennobling factor. In the midst of our temporal existence religion disclosed to view an infinite perspective, and brought human nature into relation with the invisible, but endless, chain of existence. Such a religion could afford to dispense with dogmas and ceremonies. It recognized no differences of creed, but appealed directly to man as such. It scorned to assume any particular form, in order that it might avoid limitations and preserve its influence unimpaired.

This religion of a universal humanity found a marvellous expression in the works of our great poets, notably in those of Goethe, and in this form it has exerted its influence to the present day. Yet it was, after all, only the handmaid of intellectual labors which culminated in science and art. It did not attain the independence peculiar to other departments; it was the mental attribute of the individual rather than a power in public affairs, and displayed no desire or aptitude for organization. Despite the breadth of ideas and refinement of sentiment peculiar to it, this religion occupied no place in the public life. Hence it was that within a very wide circle there existed a positive apathy as regards religion, which was regarded as essential to the ignorant only. Indeed, it was generally believed that in course of time religion would be supplanted by culture.

The first decades of the nineteenth century already show a tendency toward the strengthening of religion. Romanticism makes its appearance in literature, and with it we may note an increased appreciation of history. The gaze reverts to the past and seeks to grasp the relation between it and contemporary life. A similar phenomenon is noticeable in religion. Here also historical tradition is restored to its former status, and finds a wide acceptance. A far more powerful factor of change, however, must be sought in the actual experiences of life. The Napoleonic wars were fraught with dire calamity to Germany; and only after Herculean efforts on the part of the nation was it possible eventually to throw off the foreign yoke. Amid the sufferings and sacrifices entailed the tone of the nation became graver, and there arose a greater susceptibility to religion in the older sense — religion conceived as a redemption from need and misery by means of a supernatural agency. These influences could not, however, permanently affect and control the national life; and it was within the pale of the church itself that there now arose an even stronger tendency to return to the simple forms of Christianity, as transmitted by tradition, and to the older doctrines.

The majority of educated persons could not, of course, participate in this movement, which would have necessitated a renunciation of the

splendid ideas advanced by the great poets and savants of the nation. The circumstance that this orthodox movement nevertheless gained ground during the nineteenth century, and acquired considerable influence, is due largely to the fact that it was supported and favored by the political administration. After the wars of liberation there arose between the German Governments and the people a schism which manifested itself also within the domain of religion. As a result of the wars of liberation the German people regained not only their political, but also to a large extent their personal, independence. It was natural, therefore, that they should now evince a desire to participate more actively in political affairs. The sense of national unity had also been awakened, and the nation perceived the utility of concerted action. In this way the movement in behalf of national unity was inaugurated. Toward this movement the various Governments preserved a repellent, if not an inimical, attitude, being inclined to support every effort tending toward a maintenance of the existing order.

Now the fact is well known that the Protestant churches of Germany enjoy the support of the Government, and that by reason of this coöperation with the state they exert a great influence upon education and culture. It was natural, therefore, that a policy aiming at the maintenance of the *status quo* should favor in religious affairs the tendency to reject all innovations. Furthermore, it is evident that the support thus given to the church was not likely to win the favorable opinion of those who had participated in the great intellectual and political movements of the time. By these not only the church, but every form of religion, had now come to be regarded as a hindrance to the realization of the political and national ideas, and as part and parcel of what was usually embraced in the term "reaction." True, there were many who kept in view the difference between religion, in the wider sense, and ecclesiastical forms, and there were also many vigorous protests against the favoritism shown to particular creeds on the part of the state. But the fact remains that the influence of religion upon public life waned, and that an increasing apathy, if not an actual antipathy to all religion, gradually spread within the educated circles of the nation. Literature also assumed a repellent attitude, if not toward religion, at least toward the church; and the representation of religious subjects vanished almost entirely from the domain of the fine arts.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed a complete revolution of religious sentiment. Of course, religion still has numerous opponents, and there are also many who have maintained

an attitude of complete indifference toward religious matters. Yet, upon the whole, the interest in religion is far more marked than formerly, and the problems involved in it are more frequently discussed. That the influence of religion is increasing is noticeable in both the Protestant and the Catholic churches. There is a greater solidarity among the members of these respective denominations, and the contrasts between them are at present far more strongly accentuated than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the growth of religious sentiment extends beyond the pale of the church; and wherever opposition to ecclesiastical domination exists, it springs not so much from antipathy to the true interests of religion, as from a solicitude for them. Philosophy, formerly inimical to theology, is now jealously endeavoring to treat religion upon a scientific basis, and to make it an essential part of general culture. The arts, more especially painting, seek to represent the noble figures of tradition in accordance with the modern spirit; and literature also to-day affords far more space to the discussion of religious problems.

In short, all that appertains to the subject is fraught with an intense and all-absorbing interest. The national conflicts of the Germans in Austria were followed with complete passivity by the majority of Germans in the Empire; but as soon as the religious element became involved and there was heard the watchword "Los von Rom," the interest in the movement became universal. The spirit of scepticism in religious matters has continued to permeate the masses; but the deeper religious movement, nevertheless, continues unimpaired. The spirit of denial, once directed against religion, is to-day rapidly waning in Germany. It no longer dominates the intellectual life, nor does it constitute the characteristic of our age.

How may we explain this marvellous transformation in the midst of so much intellectual activity? Undoubtedly, external influences have largely contributed to it. In the first place, the increased political influence of the masses is favorable to religion, or at least to the domination of the church. In the legislative bodies of the various German states, *i.e.*, in the "Landtagen," or national assemblies, the property-holding and educated classes predominated because of the fact that the suffrage was — as it still is in many instances — restricted in a greater or lesser degree to a property qualification. The constitution of the German Empire, on the other hand, guaranteed universal suffrage upon the broadest basis. The consequent shifting of the political centre of gravity came gradually, of course; but it came. An increase of ecclesiastical

power was naturally effected first and foremost in the Catholic church, the adherents of which are less influenced by modern ideas; and the spirit of scepticism came more immediately under the influence of the hierarchy.

Several other circumstances contributed to this development. In the German Confederation of 1866, as formerly in the Holy Roman Empire, the Catholic and Protestant elements were perfectly balanced; and the equilibrium was further promoted by the circumstance that Austria was Catholic, while Prussia was Protestant. With the elimination of Austria from the Confederation the Protestants obtained a decided preponderance — in the present German Empire the Protestants constitute sixty-three per cent, and the Catholics thirty-six per cent, of the population — and the leadership in the German Empire was permanently relegated to a dynasty of time-honored Protestant antecedents. This fact alone would have sufficed to give rise to uneasiness among Catholics, even if complications between the state and the Catholic church had not ensued during the first decade of the existence of the New Empire. The decree announcing the infallibility of the Pope, issued in 1870, created considerable excitement in Germany. It served to accentuate the contrasts between Catholicism and Protestantism, and encountered resistance even among an intelligent minority of Catholics. The complications which followed arose from a desire, particularly on the part of Prussia, to guard this minority against persecution.

The agitation spread rapidly. In 1872 Prussia enacted a number of laws aiming to augment the power of the state in contradistinction to that of the church, and, above all, to withdraw the schools from the influence of the latter, so that even the clergy were to receive a national education, while the lower ranks of the priesthood were to be independent of the bishops. The substance of these laws is in accordance with modern culture, and the personal motives of the statesmen that framed them were certainly the best. But the manner in which they were framed and carried into effect was less fortunately conceived. Penalties and police regulations were devised which interfered with the ecclesiastical life, and thus contributed to unite all the adherents of the church in a common defence. These ordinances of the state were characterized by an inability to appreciate the factors which are influential in matters of religion; in other words, they revealed an ignorance of the psychology of religion.

The results produced were exactly contrary to those intended. Nothing ever contributed more to increase the power of the church and to

strengthen its sense of solidarity than did these unskilful attacks on the part of the state. The obstinate resistance of the church could not be broken; the number of Catholic deputies to the Reichstag steadily increased; while their party, the so-called "Centrists," derived strength from the factional spirit which up to the present day has characterized the other elements of that assembly. For many years the Centrists have been the strongest party in the Reichstag, the President of which is a member of that party. Amid these conditions the laws in question could not endure, and with few exceptions they have been gradually repealed. But Catholicism became a political power in Germany, and as such its influence extended to other departments.

This development of power naturally occasioned some apprehension among Protestants, and in order to forestall possible usurpations a number of prominent men formed the Evangelical Union. That the spirit of Protestantism has been aroused is evident from the newly awakened interest in the Reformation and in the personality of Luther. All this is, of course, conducive primarily to an increase of ecclesiastical power rather than of religious sentiment in the deeper sense. On the other hand, religious problems have been again revived. Another noteworthy fact is the frequent conversion of Catholics to Protestantism, and *vice versa*. In this respect Protestantism has been particularly favored by reason of the frequency of mixed marriages. Furthermore, a Protestant minority among Catholics usually evinces a greater power of resistance to proselytizing than does a Catholic minority among Protestants. Thus the preponderance of power is slowly but surely being shifted to the Protestant side.

This growth on the part of the churches would not have been possible, however, without the coöperation of other factors. One of these must be sought in the increased activity of the church in the sphere of practical life. The great revolutions in labor, the advance in the departments of mechanics and industry, the extension of factories, the rapid growth of German cities, more especially since 1870 — all these circumstances have created a number of new problems with which individuals alone were incapable of grappling, and which demanded thorough organization. In this respect much has been accomplished in Germany by the state. Nevertheless, its activity still allowed the church a wide sphere of usefulness in tending the sick and providing for the indigent; and even orthodoxy came to be regarded more favorably by reason of the earnestness and zeal which it displayed. While the practical side of religion was thus more strongly emphasized, the position of the

church was also rendered more secure, and individuals whose views were widely divergent found here a fruitful field for coöperation.

Another factor which contributed to strengthen religion was the radical change effected in convictions and sentiments. The political and national aims which had dominated the middle of the century had in the main been realized. The former disunion between the states had been succeeded by a powerful and progressive empire. But, as frequently happens in human life, the attainment of these ambitions soon revealed their numerous limitations. During the struggle for national unity large sections of the population were inspired by the conviction that a new and nobler life would begin upon the formation of the empire. But it soon became obvious that the outward successes which had been achieved had contributed nothing to the spiritual or inner life. Furthermore, a reaction against the ideals of modern culture now manifests itself among all civilized nations, and nowhere more conspicuously than in Germany. The new culture, as developed more particularly during the nineteenth century, endeavored to stimulate the powers of man and to give him a dominion over the forces of nature. To this extent it exerted an incalculable influence, and endowed life with greater variety, freedom, and mobility. At no previous period of history have the labors of man been exerted so successfully and upon so rich a field. Yet this has not always conduced to our inward welfare and to our happiness. The nineteenth century has frequently employed man as a mere tool of labor—a labor the ceaseless onward movement of which leaves no time for contemplation and quiet enjoyment. Inward culture, also, has been retarded in consequence of our incessant search for outward successes. As soon as these defects became clearly visible, a pessimistic view of life naturally arose; and it is well known how widespread this spirit has become to-day among all civilized nations.

Now, although pessimism is not itself a phase of religion, it tends to destroy that complacency which is a dangerous foe of religion, thus preparing the way for the progress of the latter. The disappointments which the development of modern culture has produced have been instrumental in again awakening a susceptibility to religious influences. The great and complicated enterprises of our time also frequently reveal a painful absence of moral ideals; and herein lies still another reason for the greater prominence at present given to problems of morality. In Germany, as well as in other countries, a great change of conviction has been effected in this respect. Both the former epochs of German culture, the literary as well as the politico-national, treated the problem of

morality optimistically; both believed that the necessary moral strength would arise immediately from the actual labor of life; and both anticipated no difficult complications in this regard. Now, however, the moral problem has again arisen independently; and it has been demonstrated that the task of enlisting humanity in the cause of the truly good and great is not an easy one. Ethical training has again become imperative. Many hope for a strengthening of the moral nature by entirely dissolving the union between the latter and religion; while a far greater number, in Germany at least, expect results only from a revival and a reformation of religion.

Thus, both outward and inward causes combine in Germany to bring the problem of religion once more prominently into the foreground. But for the very reason that religion is now no longer regarded as a matter of tradition, as at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but as a vital and pressing mission, the traditional dogmas are beginning to be felt as painfully inadequate. This is true particularly in the case of the Protestant church, which still maintains the character of a Government institution, and as such appears rather to obstruct and to damage the true interests of religion. A close union between church and state may be appropriate where the conviction of the whole people centres in one common faith, and where no doubts or discords exist as to the essence of the creed. Where, however, powerful contrasts exist, and a new form arises and demands recognition, discords are sure to ensue when the state, which should protect the common interests of all, endeavors to champion a particular sect. This happens when the state clings to ancient traditions while great changes are arising and new tasks are being presented. Even to the older form of religion such favoritism on the part of the state would be detrimental, for the reasons that the self-reliance of the creed would be impaired and that its followers would often be actuated by considerations of personal advantage. In this way, infidelity and deception may be easily introduced into religious matters. Finally, it is a hindrance to normal development when the state gives greater prominence to any particular tendency than such tendency possesses in the conviction of the people and in the labors of science.

Now, it would seem likely that, in consequence of these palpable defects in the state religion, independent religious communities would arise. Externally there would be no obstacle to the formation of such organizations; for nobody is compelled to remain a member of the Government church. Why then do even those who painfully experience the shortcomings of their creed remain within this church? Because

the new principles are as yet too ill-defined to afford strong convictions and common aims. What greatly complicates the religious question in Germany is the fact that those who seek to preserve the traditional form in the midst of modern culture have no prospect of regaining the leadership of the nation, while those who seek to hold a modification of this form of religion, without sacrificing their culture, encounter insuperable difficulties in fixing the exact ideal toward which they are aiming. This uncertainty and incompleteness constitute the strongest support of the older order, which, despite its imperfections, is invincible as long as the above-mentioned conditions remain.

Let us investigate the difficulties that confront the new idea in religion. The pantheistic and optimistic views of life peculiar to the classical era have become somewhat unfamiliar to the German of to-day; but the desire, inherent in this philosophy and its great exponents, to establish a basis for religion within the soul of the individual, and to keep in touch with other spheres of activity, still remains. But will it be possible to preserve this striving for universality as a characteristic of religion? And can a religion which does not possess a distinctive and exclusive character, one which is not, so to speak, a matter apart, exert a potent influence upon life? Is it possible to unite religion with general culture in such a way that it will still preserve its independent character? During the nineteenth century a historical mode of investigation rapidly gained ground in Germany. Long before the theory of evolution had been introduced into the physical sciences, it had taken firm root in the purely intellectual spheres of scientific activity, and had thus exercised a powerful influence on religion. In this way, religion, also, was drawn into the great current of historical evolution, and its highest and noblest doctrines appeared as a part of the general development. At the same time there was applied to it a critical method of investigation which sought to illuminate tradition, to point out contrasts and discrepancies, to distinguish between earlier and later writings, and to disclose as gradual human inventions statements which had been long regarded as divine and eternal truths.

Within the last few decades this historical method of inquiry has inflicted more serious damage upon the finally accepted doctrines of tradition than ever resulted from the speculations of philosophy; and even orthodoxy has been forced to make concessions to the modern spirit herein exhibited. More important than the actual results achieved is the fact that it has become possible to subject to critical discussion matters long regarded as absolutely certain and inviolable. The situation

may well give rise to serious doubts. Will religion, while recognizing a progressive development, be able to preserve its eternal nature, and succeed in warding off a destructive relativism? Will historic criticism permit to remain intact those fundamental truths without which a religion is inconceivable? How great a task is here assigned to modern Christianity, which must undertake to clarify, to confirm, and to deepen new truths in order to present to humanity a tangible creed!

The relation of religion to the natural sciences also presents serious difficulties. The infinitude of the universe, the eternal laws which operate throughout nature, the natural evolution from organic forms, the dependence of the spiritual upon the corporeal existence — all these truths are rapidly spreading; and they are nowhere more frequently employed as controversial arguments by the adversaries of religion than in Germany. The faithful, on the other hand, maintain that these changes do not affect the kernel of religion, and that, by presenting a larger and grander view of life, they will in fact ultimately conduce to its progress. Nevertheless, the problem has become far more complicated; and great changes, both material and spiritual, will be necessary, in order that the new truths may be scientifically defensible and may carry with them a spiritual power of conviction.

The internal condition of religion is, therefore, in a state of incompleteness; and there are no indications of a speedy solution of the problems involved. But an earnest desire to effect such a solution is unmistakable, particularly as regards the theologians, who are conscientiously striving to bring about a compromise between the demands of religion and the essential truths of the new culture. It suffices to mention such names as Rothe, Hase, Biedermann, Lipsius, Ritschl, Pfleiderer, and Sulze — names respected in America also. Among philosophers, too, there is a desire to put an end to the unpleasant conflict.¹

Despite these conflicts, both within and without the sphere of the church, it cannot be denied that religion, to-day, is a very powerful factor in German life. It is peculiar to the German to give particular emphasis to the emotional, the purely spiritual, element in religion — an element which opens a domain free from all doubt and speculation, one into which the individual may at all times withdraw to become conscious of an everlasting truth. Owing to the low estimate placed by the German on outward forms, the superficial observer may well be inclined to regard him as irreligious. A deeper glance, however, reveals great ear-

¹ The present writer has recently treated the philosophical aspect of the question in a work entitled "Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion."

nestness and zeal, particularly in religious matters. The German papers recently published an expression of opinion on this subject by Bishop Bonemelli of Cremona, who, as chief pastor of the Italian workmen in Germany, has had excellent opportunities of comparing the religious conditions of that country with those of its neighbors. He lauds the earnestness of the divine service among both the Catholics and the Protestants of Germany, and in conclusion remarks that "the religious sentiment of the German people is deeper and more enduring than that of France, and far more powerful than that of Italy." Such is the opinion of a Catholic bishop on the relation of the various nations to religion.

With the Germans religion is not a matter of mere authority; nor does it constitute a separate and exclusive domain, inasmuch as it is regarded as the sole, the spiritual, essence of all life. This is the reason why the German places so much value upon freedom in religion, and why Germany became the land of the Reformation. But Catholicism also is deeper and more spiritual in Germany than among the Romanic nations. True, the desire for freedom is undoubtedly fraught with serious dangers, as it may easily lead to unsubstantiality and schisms. Yet this desire, after all, is but the expression of an earnest striving for truth. The great deeds formerly accomplished by the Germans in behalf of religion justify the hope that the nation will eventually solve the present problem, and that it will succeed in uniting liberal ideas with true spiritual zeal, thus conducing not only to its own welfare, but to that of humanity at large.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA.

IN ancient times wars were waged for ambition or for conquest rather, than to encourage trade or to open up new markets. They were made for the benefit of the military class which was dominant, and not for the good of the merchant, to whom, in those days, none did reverence. Consequently, the laws of war were framed to suit the convenience of the warrior, while the convenience of the merchant was not taken into consideration; for laws are made first for the benefit of those who make them, and for others as it may happen. No wonder, then, that the ancient laws of war treated the merchant's property with but little respect. His goods were ever at the mercy of the conqueror. But now the times are changed. Gradually the importance of commerce has increased until the spirit of trade has overcome the military spirit. The merchant is now the ruler, and the soldier is his servant.

Hence we should, perhaps, expect to find the laws of war utterly altered and made to suit the convenience of a mercantile age. This is not the case, however. It is true that the laws of war have been much improved, not only by the spirit of trade, but also by the general advancement of civilization and humanity. But the laws of nations change slowly. Times and manners change, and international law changes not with them, but after them. Consequently, the age is always more advanced than the law of nations. The great body of international law, like the common law, consists of precedent; hence, the unlearned age governs the more learned, because each generation takes its rules as they were laid down in an earlier and less developed stage of society. The law of nations follows civilization at a little distance, as a shallop follows in the wake of the ship to which it is attached. No principle ever becomes an international law until public sentiment is ready to receive it. And in this is shown one of the beauties of the law of nations; for by this system of evolution the law makes steady progress toward perfection, and is not subject to retrograde movements like those caused in the narrower field of domestic legislation by immature and ill-considered enactments.

In regard to the waging of war, the law of nations is following steadily in the wake of progress. On land the laws of war have been mitigated to a considerable extent. { There was a time when "fire and sword" was a synonym for war, when prisoners were ruthlessly killed or converted into slaves, and when cities were pillaged; but these things have passed away. The law of nations now forbids the wanton destruction of life, and private property is respected as much as circumstances will permit. On the sea, too, the laws of war have been ameliorated, but not quite to the same extent. One of the most striking differences is that while on land the private property of enemies is considered exempt from capture, on the sea it is considered fair prize; and the capture of an inoffensive merchant's goods is to the navy a source of great delight and revenue. "Sweet is revenge," says Byron, "especially to women, Pillage to soldiers, prize money to seamen." }

But it is not only, or principally, in the navy that supporters of this old custom are to be found. { There are many grave and reverend signiors, worthy and upright pillars of the law of nations, who maintain that while it is an evil practice to take private property upon land, yet upon the sea it is a commendable custom, and most salutary in its effect. Certainly the custom of seizing private property at sea has the authority and sanction of antiquity; but, according to the Latin maxim, "it is a bad law which cannot be changed," and I may add that this law of plunder is a bad law which ought to be changed.

The seizure of private property at sea is lawful under present usage, but consideration of the matter will show that it is not expedient. Under this custom the commerce of both belligerent nations suffers. Ruin is brought upon hundreds of merchants on both sides, commerce is destroyed, the inhabitants of both countries are beggared by war prices—and to what end? { It does not shorten the war or contribute materially to the victory. { "If we look at the example of former periods," said Lord Palmerston, "we shall not find that any powerful country was ever vanquished by losses sustained by individuals." Even the destruction of an enemy's commerce without damage to our own, profits nothing; for our modern theory of economics has demonstrated that a nation is made more prosperous by the prosperity of its neighbors, and that the impoverishment of one country brings financial depression upon others, even upon rivals and enemies. This truth is made the more evident as the peoples of the earth are drawn closer together by trade, by improvement in navigation, and by the cable. Demoralization in the financial centre of one country is quickly felt in the financial centres of the other

nations. The markets of the world are dependent upon each other. We have been taught to love our enemies, although we have not often put the precept into practice; we must now learn that a care for their material welfare is good policy as well as good morals.]

Thus it may be seen that it would not be advantageous for a nation to destroy the property of an enemy's merchants, even if it could completely defend its own commerce. But no nation is powerful enough to guarantee complete immunity to its sea trade. The commerce of both belligerents must suffer, so that each sustains a double damage: a direct loss in its own commerce, in addition to an indirect loss through the needless impoverishment of the merchants of the enemy. The present international custom permitting seizure of private property at sea is a direct menace to the prosperity of every shipowner and of every merchant who ships his goods abroad. It is harmful financially and useless politically. Under different circumstances of life and of trade it was perhaps a useful instrument; but it is now out of date, and, like an ancient cannon, is as dangerous to those who attempt to make use of it as to those against whom it is directed. Commerce has at times made protests against this sword of Damocles above its head; but Commerce has not yet lifted its voice in imperious demand, as its importance would justify it in doing.

One cause of this apparent indifference on the part of shipowners is that, while they see that the law of seizure is ruinous to their own individual interests, they have a vague idea that for some occult reason the law is necessary to the state for political purposes. This idea is erroneous. The law of seizure serves no good purpose in the state. On the contrary, it is most pernicious in that it tends to destroy the commerce and wealth which uphold the state. Again, this apathy arises partly from the fact that seizure is a danger which has menaced commerce for so many centuries that merchants have come to look upon it as a natural phenomenon, which could be no more avoided than the tempests of the sea. Thus we find in bills of lading "the acts of God and of the King's enemies" joined together in the same category. The idea of a commercial peace coexisting with a political war is so novel that it has not impressed itself upon men's minds as a practical thing. It seems at first thought fantastic and chimerical; but upon examination it will be found that the idea is eminently practical. It is, indeed, the only practical system; for the present authorized destruction of private property is an impractical and useless waste. Slowly the world is beginning to realize this truth, and in a few instances Governments have tried

the experiment of granting immunity to sea commerce in time of war. These experiments have been highly successful; but before discussing them it is well to look back and see the gradual improvement which has taken place in the position of commerce in regard to the law of nations.

In the earliest period there was no respect for private property on land in time of war, and there was equally little respect for it at sea. Wars were, as Seneca called them in his day, "magna latrocinia," or, as Dogberry would have put it, "flat burglary as ever was committed." In cases where an enemy's ship was found laden with enemy's goods, it naturally required but little time to decide whether it was fair prize or not.

But as the art of navigation progressed and sea trade increased, the capture of merchant vessels became a more delicate question. The ships of the enemy were sometimes found laden with the goods of a friend. To capture the cargo in such circumstances might arouse the anger of the friendly owner of the merchandise and the hostility of his Government. The first and most simple rule adopted was that an enemy's goods might be captured wherever found, but that the goods of a friend, that is to say of a neutral, should be exempt wherever found. The *Consolato del Mare*, one of the most ancient collections of sea laws, lays it down that the goods of an enemy may be captured and taken out of a neutral ship, but that the goods of a neutral must be respected, even when found under the flag of an enemy.

This was the general practice of the period, and the principle may be found not only in the *Consolato del Mare*, but also in treaties such as that between Pisa and Arles (1221), and the treaties made by Edward III with Biscaye (1351), with Castile (1351), and with the cities of Portugal (1353). It continued to be the ruling principle throughout Europe for several centuries, although sometimes more rigorous measures were adopted. The French ordinances of 1538, 1543, and 1584, for example, proceeded on the theory that everything which came in contact with an enemy became impregnated with the qualities of an enemy. Hence, these French laws declared that all goods, even a friend's, should be seized if found in an enemy's ship, and that all ships, even a friend's, should be seized, if engaged in carrying goods belonging to an enemy. Like many overstrict rules, these French ordinances seem to have been somewhat modified and infractions of them winked at in actual practice.

Certainly in those times the condition even of a neutral trader was not a thing to rejoice at. Whenever there was war — and there usually was war somewhere — the commerce of neutrals suffered as well as that

of the belligerents. If a neutral ship undertook to carry the goods of a merchant belonging to a belligerent nation, her cargo was in danger of capture. If she happened to fall in with a French cruiser, perhaps she herself would be confiscated under the rigorous French ordinances. In any case she was liable to considerable detention and inconvenience, besides the loss of her cargo. Consequently, there was little encouragement for a neutral to undertake to carry a belligerent's goods, and not much encouragement for a belligerent merchant to ship his goods under a neutral flag, which really granted no protection. Even if a neutral ship undertook to carry the goods of a neutral, she might be stopped, searched, and detained, and her cargo damaged, by one of the belligerents, under the pretence of searching for goods of the enemy.

This state of affairs was a great interruption and discouragement to commerce, and naturally caused dissatisfaction to shipowners and merchants. Were neutral states to suffer because their neighbors were so ill-advised as to fight? Because two nations were at war, were there to be no more cakes and ale for peaceful onlookers? Neutrals saw no reason why they should not carry on their commerce as in time of peace. They claimed that a neutral flag should protect the ship and all it contained. But law and custom were clearly adverse to the interests of neutrals. Belligerents even went so far as to forbid them to trade with the enemy at all—a command to which generally but little heed was paid. The doctrine of each nation varied somewhat according to circumstances. A nation at peace was usually an advocate of the rights of neutral trade; yet when this same nation went to war, it often came to disregard the rights of neutrals and to think only of those of belligerents. The practice was variable, and accommodated to the circumstances of the times rather than regulated by the perpetual maxims of equity.

Great trading peoples, such as the Dutch and the dwellers on the Baltic, sought relief from these stern laws which so hampered commerce, and they found a remedy in "special privileges," which granted to the holders of them the right to pass unmolested on the sea. The Hanseatic League led the way by obtaining special privileges for its flag from Charles VIII in 1464 and again in 1484, from Francis I in 1536, from Henry II in 1554, and from Henry IV in 1604. In 1615 it obtained from France, by treaty stipulation, the more formal and general acknowledgment that the flag of the Hanseatic League covered not only neutral goods but even the goods of enemies. This was a great step toward the enfranchisement of commerce. A few years later (1646) Holland also made a treaty with France, in which it was stipulated that the flags of each of

the two high contracting parties should cover even the merchandise of enemies. Four years later France and Spain made a similar agreement.

Special privileges had formed the entering wedge for special treaties, and these treaties brought in a new principle, which was then considered an exception to the rules of war, but which was destined in its turn to supersede the old law and from an exception to be raised to the rank of a rule. This principle proceeded on the theory that a neutral ship is a piece of neutral territory, and that, therefore, goods on this movable piece of neutral territory are exempt from capture just as truly as if they were on the *terra firma* of any neutral Government; any attempt to capture such goods being as much a violation of the sovereignty of the neutral state in the one case as in the other. The new doctrine began to gain a considerable amount of headway about the middle of the seventeenth century. And here Holland, as befits the birthplace of Grotius, is found in the forefront of the battle for civilization, urging the rights of neutrals. Nieuport endeavored to obtain from Cromwell a recognition of the principle "Vry Schip, vry goed"; but he could not win the consent of the English Government. Nevertheless, the system was gradually growing in favor throughout the Continent of Europe. It was not always accepted as a principle, but it came to be rather generally adopted as a practice. From 1654 to 1780 France made fifteen treaties on the lines laid down by the *Consolato del Mare*, and thirty-six treaties on the new principle, which declared that free ships made free goods, and enemy's ships enemy's goods.

While this reform was winning its way on the Continent, England clung tenaciously to the old principle which gave her the right to strike at her enemy's commerce wherever found; yet even England embodied the new doctrine in some of her treaties. [In the great Treaty of Utrecht the new principle was acknowledged, but not in such clear terms as might have been desired.]

In the middle of the eighteenth century a mighty champion of neutral rights appeared in the person of Frederick the Great, who addressed to the Government of Great Britain a remonstrance against interference with neutral commerce. But England would not recede from her position, and — by command of the King — Sir George Lee, Dr. Paul, Sir Dudley Ryder, and Mr. Murray (afterward Lord Mansfield) prepared a reply to Frederick's argument, sturdily maintaining England's ancient right, as set forth in the *Consolato del Mare*, to seize her enemy's goods wherever found. Frederick did not succeed in teaching England the

new manners, but another monarch was about to arise in the East who should give her some rude lessons. About 1780 the Empress Catherine became the champion of the new principle, which gave to neutrals the right to carry the goods of the enemy under protection of a neutral flag. In vain the British ambassador, Lord Malmesbury, tried to dissuade her from what he was pleased to call "a fantastical idea," unwarranted by the law of nations. Catherine wished to build up her commerce, and she was determined to support the revised system under which alone commerce could flourish.

Her opportunity came when two Russian ships were seized by Spain off Gibraltar. The Empress could be held back no longer. On February 28, 1780, she issued her famous proclamation setting forth the principle that the flag of a neutral covers the cargo. The northern Courts immediately rallied to Russia, and thus was formed the Armed Neutrality — a neutral league for the protection of commerce under neutral flags. The doctrine which had appeared some centuries earlier as a privilege and an exception had now become the doctrine accepted by the majority of nations. The young nation across the western seas, which was then in the midst of its struggle for existence, welcomed the proclamation of Catherine; and its Congress passed a resolution declaring its approval of the new regulations "founded upon principles of justice, equity, and moderation." England alone of the great nations held to the old principle. Her powerful navy had enabled her to inflict terrible destruction upon her enemy, while at the same time she had been able to protect her own trade by a system of convoy. But even England was forced to modify her practice somewhat, in view of this armed alliance of neutral powers ready to defend their trade. This great step in international law and in civilization had been brought about by the energetic action of the Empress of Russia, that country whose rulers have since done so much for humanity and for the law of nations.

Yet the new doctrine was not even then firmly established, for it had not received the sanction of the greatest maritime power — England. That sanction was not given until the middle of the nineteenth century, when England and France, being about to enter upon the Crimean War as allies, found it necessary to agree upon a rule for the conduct of their navies. The two nations had held opposing views. France had adopted the new doctrine, "Free ships, free goods; enemy's ships, enemy's goods." In other words, she did not consider the ownership of the goods themselves, but deemed them fair prize or not according to the flag which waved above them. England, on the contrary, had maintained the old

doctrine, paying no heed to the flag, but looking only at the ownership of the goods, in determining whether they were seizable or not.

The rule adopted by the two countries was a compromise. England waived the "right pertaining to her by the law of nations" to seize enemy's goods under neutral flags, and France gave up her right to seize neutral goods under an enemy's flag—a fortunate compromise which retained the best portions of two systems.

This agreement was made in 1854. Two years later at a meeting in Paris of the plenipotentiaries of the powers it was put into the form of a "Declaration." This paper, usually known as the Declaration of Paris, sets forth that it is useful to establish a uniform doctrine, in view of the fact that maritime rights in time of war have been the object of "regrettable contestations," and that the uncertainty of the rights and duties in similar circumstances gives opportunity for differences of opinion which may cause serious difficulties and even conflicts.

The rules established by the Declaration are:

- (1) Privateering is and remains abolished.
- (2) The neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
- (3) Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.
- (4) Blockades in order to be binding must be effective.

These principles were adopted by all the great powers of Europe with the exception of Spain, and by the principal countries of America, excepting the United States, Venezuela, and Mexico.

From the foregoing rapid sketch it will be seen that in the early days of navigation the laws of war bore heavily upon commerce. About the fifteenth century a glimmer of light penetrated the darkness when Holland and the cities of Germany obtained privileges for their flags. Gradually civilization and her handmaiden, commerce, won recognition of their rights, through privileges, through treaties, through the proclamation of Catherine, and through the Declaration of Paris. During all those centuries a slow but very substantial mitigation was taking place in the laws of war as applied to sea trade. As that mitigated practice received the sanction of time, it was raised from the rank of mere usage and became part of the law of nations.

The laws promulgated by the Declaration of Paris have remained the laws of the sea from that day to this; but the law of nations cannot stand still. It constantly presses forward to higher things. There is another step to be made in perfecting the law of the sea. The world

has gradually been preparing itself for the new development; and it seems that the time is at hand for formally accepting a new law, which shall declare the complete immunity of private property at sea in time of war as in time of peace, under an enemy's flag as well as under a neutral flag. For more than a century this principle of complete immunity has been making steady progress, and it must soon take the place of the present law, in the same way in which the present law took the place of its more ancient and less perfect predecessor. One of the earliest suggestions for the complete immunity of private property at sea was made by the Abbé de Mably, about the middle of the eighteenth century. A few years later the idea was warmly supported by such writers as Galiani, Linguet, and Azuni. The principle commended itself strongly to Franklin, who asked:

"Why should not the law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps; but, as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to as the future law of nations that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in surety?"

The list which he drew up included cultivators of the earth, fishermen, artists, mechanics, and "merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life." He continued by arguing that "if rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting."

Again we find him trying to secure in the treaty with England the insertion of an article neutralizing the sugar islands and abolishing privateering — the principal source of destruction of private property at sea. He writes to Hartley:

"Try, my friend, what you can do in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage which that power seems to give them of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families."

But his words fell on barren ground in England, which was not willing at that time to relinquish even the right to seize goods under a neutral flag. Franklin did not abandon the principle, however, and he succeeded in inserting it in our first treaty with Prussia in 1785.

In France the doctrine was looked upon with favor. M. de Versailles in 1792 presented to the National Assembly a *projet de loi* having

as its object the abolition of the seizure of private property at sea. In accordance with this decree the French Government proposed to the powers that negotiations be opened for the attainment of that object; but the United States of America alone returned a favorable reply. Some years later the Emperor Napoleon expressed the desire that the time might come when the liberal principles practised on land should be extended to the sea, and when the fleets of two powers should fight their battles without giving rise to the capture of merchant ships. It may be imagined, however, that British naval supremacy at that time had something to do with this benevolent desire on the part of the great conqueror. The idea continued to gain adherents, but was not put into practice until after Napoleon had passed from the scene and the House of Bourbon had been restored. This was in 1823, when, at the beginning of the French intervention in Spain, France proclaimed that she would not issue commissions to privateers or capture Spanish merchant ships except in case of breach of blockade.

This noble and enlightened action on the part of France animated the Government of the United States with a desire to see the rule adopted as one of the laws of nations; and the President instructed the Ministers at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg to open negotiations for that purpose.

In his Message to Congress in December, 1823, Mr. Monroe said:

"At the commencement of the recent war between France and Spain, it was declared by the French Government that it would grant no commissions to privateers, and that neither the commerce of Spain herself nor of neutral nations should be molested by the naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration, which appears to have been faithfully carried into effect, concurring with principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States from the first establishment of their independence, suggested the hope that the time had arrived when the proposal for adopting it as a permanent and invariable rule in all future maritime wars might meet the favorable consideration of the great European powers."

In response to the American proposal the Emperor of Russia authorized Count Nesselrode to say that "as soon as the powers whose consent he considers indispensable shall have shown the same disposition he will not be wanting in authorizing his ministers to discuss the different articles of an act which will be a crown of glory to modern diplomacy." Unfortunately, the other powers showed no disposition to adopt the rule.

The Declaration of Paris, in 1856, gave the United States another opportunity to revive the subject. This Government heartily approved the rules set forth in that Declaration as to the immunity of neutral goods under an enemy's flag and of enemy's goods under a neutral flag; but in view of the fact that its regular navy was small, it thought it

impolitic to give up the right to augment it by privateers unless the other powers should agree to grant complete immunity to all private property at sea. If the right of capture was to be retained at all, the United States wished to retain also the only means by which it could effectively retaliate upon a great maritime power. It therefore once more brought forward the same proposal which Franklin had made in the infancy of the Republic, namely, that privateering and the seizure of private property should both be abolished.

The proposal was well received, especially by Russia, France, and Holland. Prince Gortchakoff said that the American Secretary of State had not spoken in the interest of the United States alone, but that he had defended the interests of all the nations; that the adoption of the principle would crown the work of pacification and give an additional guarantee of the duration of peace. Even the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared it an "equitable principle." But the question was allowed to drop, and no conference was held to discuss the subject. Although no definite result was obtained, the proposal served to stimulate consideration of the subject, and to make the principle more familiar to statesmen as well as to merchants, and thus to hasten its ultimate adoption.

The question was brought up in the British Parliament by Mr. Lindsay, an important shipowner; and the Merchant Shipping Committee, of which he was a member, reported it to be desirable that all property not contraband of war should be respected. The Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Belfast, Hull, and Gloucester declared themselves in favor of the immunity of private property, and sent deputations to Lord Palmerston. In 1862 Cobden supported another motion in the House of Commons for the same purpose. Similar discussions took place in the legislative chambers of the Continent, and similar resolutions were passed by the continental boards of trade. Not only were several motions introduced in the British Parliament, but in 1860 England put in practice the principle of immunity in the war with China.

At the beginning of the war of 1866 Austria declared the exemption from capture of all private property at sea, upon condition that the enemy should adopt the same rule. Prussia and Italy complied. In 1870 the King of Prussia issued a similar declaration in regard to French ships; but as France preferred to exercise her right of capture, the Prussian ordinances were revoked.

In the following year the United States of America and Italy entered into a treaty, the twelfth article of which declared that, in the event of war between the high contracting parties, "the private property

of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party." Six years later Italy incorporated the principle in her statute laws, and decreed the immunity of private property at sea in all wars in which the enemy should adopt similar measures.

The doctrine has thus advanced with great rapidity during the past century. From an apparently impractical and romantic idea it has developed into a principle in actual practice. The next step should be the formal acceptance of the principle as one of the laws of nations.

At the Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1899 the United States again proposed to the powers the abolition of the capture of private property at sea. The Hon. Andrew D. White presented the American view, and the proposal was warmly supported by the Dutch delegation; but the Conference decided that the question should be left for consideration at some future time.

The chief opposition to the universal adoption of this new law will come from Great Britain. English ideas in regard to the question of maritime war have been most conservative. For centuries England clung tenaciously to the old laws of the *Consolato del Mare*, in spite of the strong current of opinion in favor of the more enlightened doctrine which declared that the flag covered the cargo. Now that she has accepted that doctrine, she is reluctant to abandon it for the still more liberal principle of complete immunity. One of the English arguments against the proposed law is the so-called doctrine of humanity, which was very clearly expressed by Sir Walter Phillimore at the meeting of the International Law Association at Rouen last year. He said:

"One object is to make war more humane, to diminish the sufferings of the combatants and the losses of the private citizen. No doubt many a citizen is brought to ruin by the confiscation of his property whether on sea or land. For this reason we should like to procure the immunity of private property. But a greater object is to prevent war, and, as a corollary, to bring to a speedy close any war that does break out. Experience shows that the fear of loss and the fact of loss are both powerful to prevent war and to bring about a speedy return of peace. More lives will be saved, fewer citizens will be maimed, if private property be seized and destroyed."

What shall we say, then? Is our civilization a failure? Shall we return to our ancestors' barbarous code, in order to make war more terrible and by this means to shorten it? If the "fear of loss and the fact of loss are both powerful to prevent war and to bring about a speedy return of peace," why should we not make that loss the greater by burning and pillaging cities and by confiscating private property on land?

Moreover, why did we abolish privateering, which is now dead in the eyes of international law, but which was formerly one of the greatest sources of destruction to private property at sea? It is by no means an admitted fact that the destruction of property is a factor in shortening the duration of war. I have quoted Lord Palmerston's denial of the proposition, but a more convincing witness than Lord Palmerston is history. What great nation has ever succumbed on account of commercial losses? Napoleon was not overthrown by the commercial losses of the French merchants, but by the battle of Waterloo. In the American Civil War the Confederate commerce was blockaded at every port, but it was the victory of the Union army which decided the contest. Capture of private property inflicts a severe loss usually upon both nations, but it does not appreciably contribute to the decision of the struggle.

There is another consideration which has more weight with Englishmen. For centuries England has been the greatest maritime power. In her wars with France she destroyed the commerce of her enemy and added millions of tons to her own merchant marine. "Her rulers and people became convinced," says Lawrence, "that it was far more important to her to retain the liberty of striking at the enemy's merchantmen than to secure the safety of her own." But things are not now as they were in the days of Napoleon. Then England could seize her enemy's goods even under a neutral flag, and she could protect her own commerce by a system of convoys. Now, under the rules to which England gave her formal sanction in 1856, the enemy's commerce will be safe from harm if shipped in neutral vessels. England might drive from the ocean the commercial flag of her enemy, but the enemy's commerce would go on in neutral ships.

On the other hand, British commerce is now so largely and so widely spread abroad over the globe that England can no longer effectively protect it as she could at the beginning of the last century. A single cruiser of the enemy could inflict enormous loss upon British sea trade. An illustration of this was seen in the American Civil War, when the *Alabama*, although built, equipped, and maintained under great difficulties, destroyed millions of dollars' worth of commerce. Trade is a timid creature, and the fear of capture would be enough to compel merchants to ship their goods in neutral vessels. The simple question of insurance rates would almost prohibit shipments under the British flag, and consequently British shipowners would have to tie up their ships at the docks or transfer them to neutral flags. If private property were exempt from capture, this unfortunate state of affairs would not be brought about. In

view of the fact that the British commercial fleet is many times as large as that of France, the tying up of her commerce would alone make the immunity of private property much more valuable to England than to France, in the event — *absit omen* — of a conflict between them.

But this is not all. England, on account of her insular position, depends entirely upon sea carriage for her commerce and even for her food. As for the Continental powers, it is not so with them. They can in case of necessity import their supplies by land. During the blockade of German ports in 1870, Germany was able to continue her commerce and receive her supplies, with a very small amount of inconvenience, across her land frontiers. England is entirely dependent upon the sea. It is true that she could still import in neutral ships; but, as M. de Laveleye has said, "as neutrals would not be able to transport the amount of goods which is now carried by the English merchant marine, the exports and imports necessary to the industrial life of England would be notably affected."

Englishmen have thought that they could protect certain sea routes for commerce under their own flag. It would be a bold merchant who would venture his goods in such an argosy, even assuming that insurance rates were not prohibitory, as an incident which happened a few months ago will illustrate. It is said that in the recent manœuvres of the British fleet the defending squadron was unable to protect the food routes, and that the attacking squadron captured in a few days over 130 merchantmen, including a P. & O. steamer.

Of course, even if private property were exempt from capture, there would still remain the danger that England's adversary would declare breadstuffs contraband of war, and under this pretext seize British supplies and endeavor to starve the English. This danger can be avoided, however. If the great maritime powers, by unanimous consent, declare private property exempt from capture, with the exception of contraband, they should by the same act define contraband and give a list thereof. Such a list, of course, would not include breadstuffs.

Although England holds back from accepting the doctrine of complete immunity of private property, there is no country which would benefit more by it, or any which stands to lose more by the present practice of capture. Her sea commerce is the largest, the most dispersed, and hence the most vulnerable. In case of war, she would not only be in danger of losing her immense carrying trade but, on account of her position, she would be unable to import sufficient material for her manufactures. Ruin would be brought not only upon her shipowners, but also

upon all her industries. Thousands of men would be thrown out of employment at the very moment when the cost of living was increased on account of the difficulties in importing the necessaries of life. If, however, private property were exempt from capture, British shipping and British industries would flourish in time of war as well as in time of peace. The British fleet would be free to occupy itself in protecting the ports of England, of India, and of the Colonies, instead of spending its time in a vain endeavor to guard the food routes, and to protect that enormous British commerce which is much too large and much too dispersed for any navy to guard effectively. England has become a mighty sea power under the old rule, but the conditions are changed; and as conditions change, policies must be changed to accord with them.

The new doctrine should commend itself to England on account of its practical benefit, as well as on account of its humanity and its accordance with the sentiments of modern civilization. Nearly all the other nations are already well disposed toward the proposed exemption.

The United States in her early years espoused the cause of neutral rights, and used physical force as well as moral influence to make the seas more free to peaceful commerce. On three occasions she has formally proposed the exemption of private property from capture at sea. Holland, the cradle of international law, has always been a champion of neutral rights; and at the Peace Conference, two years ago, her delegates supported the American proposition. France should also look upon the new rule with favor. It was practised by her in 1823 and in 1860, and it is in accordance with those traditions which made France such an important factor in the Armed Neutrality. Germany, too, has shown her desire to contribute to the amelioration of naval warfare. Frederick stood forward as an advocate of neutral rights in his day; and in our own time the great Founder of the German Empire proclaimed the immunity of private property at sea in the war with France. Italy has already accepted the doctrine, and formally incorporated it in her laws and in her treaties. Spain and Austria have both put the rule in practice. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have stood traditionally for the freedom of commerce. The rulers of Russia have always shown themselves champions of reform in international customs. The Empress Catherine, with her Armed Neutrality, effected one of the most important improvements ever made in maritime law; and the present Emperor, by his well-known sentiments of humanity, has shown himself ready to take that further step which, as his ancestor said through Count Nesselrode, will set a "crown of glory on modern diplomacy."

But the rulers and governors of the earth have much to occupy their attention. Many important questions are always upon the council table, and the councillors must needs take up first those matters which seem most practical and urgent. Such subjects as the immunity of private property at sea are neglected as idealistic. As long as this subject is presented simply as an academic question or as a dream of the humanitarian, it must necessarily be neglected by Governments. The question, however, has a most practical and material side. It is a question which interests directly and financially thousands of people in every country. It is of vital importance to those who go down to the sea in ships, and to those who occupy their business in great waters. It appeals not only to every shipowner, but also to every merchant whose goods are shipped upon the sea, to every farmer whose grain is sent abroad, to every manufacturer who sells to a foreign market, and to every banker who is dependent upon the prosperity of his countrymen.

The reform cannot be brought about by theorists alone. The Governments must be convinced that the reform is desired and needed by shipowners, merchants, and others directly and materially interested. If commerce demands the reform, Governments will take the matter in hand. Commerce, even British commerce, very decidedly expressed its approval of the principle of exemption about the time of the Declaration of Paris. But the idea was too new then; and "as a stranger it was more admired and less favored." It was looked upon with suspicion by Governments. Since that time much has happened. The world has become familiar with the principle of immunity. Governments have actually put it into practice, and have seen that it is good. Commerce has increased in size and in importance, and its future development requires the reform. Not only have the Governments and the people become prepared to receive the new principle, but commerce has become powerful enough to demand it. What is needed now is united effort on the part of shipowners, as well as boards of trade and similar bodies, in each nation. The present writer is about to take steps with a view to forming an international committee, the object of which shall be to secure the joint action of commercial bodies and of great financiers in petitioning their respective Governments to endeavor to secure the consent of the powers to a new law, which shall make all private property at sea exempt from capture in time of war as in time of peace. The adoption of this principle will be not only a crown of glory to modern diplomacy, but also the Magna Charta of commerce.

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

THE SPANISH TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION: A REJOINDER.

IN the August number of THE FORUM a remarkable article appears on "The Spanish Treaty Claims Commission" from the pen of Mr. José Ignacio Rodríguez. Its first sentence runs thus:

"Under the rather infelicitous name of 'The Spanish Treaty Claims Commission,' a new official organization has been started in Washington purporting to have for its object the adjudication and settlement of a certain class of claims of citizens of the United States against Spain."

Why infelicitous? Because, says the author of the article, it fails to express the real functions of the Commission, or to define the limits of its jurisdiction. He asserts that it is not a "court," as it assumes to be, but a mere "board of audit," and that under the title it assumes it can take jurisdiction of claims against Spain under any treaty we have ever made with that power — as, for instance, the treaty of 1819 for the acquisition of Florida, or that of February 17, 1834, providing for certain claims and indemnities. It might even refer to any treaty between Spain and any other power! Equally far-fetched is the contention, which is really an attack upon Congress and the President rather than upon the Commission, that the claims are not definitely located; that they might be in the Philippines, in Porto Rico, or in Spain herself, not in Cuba at all. The language of article VII of the treaty — "all claims that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba (February 24, 1895), and prior to exchange of ratifications of the present treaty (April 11, 1899)" — identifies the claims to be adjudicated as arising during the insurrection in Cuba, and by implication excludes all others. This is a sufficient identification of the claims.

In view of the express language of the act of March 2, 1901, and of the debates in Congress pending the treaty, the contention that the Commission was intended as a "board of audit," not a "court," is wholly untenable. The act provides, in substance, that the Commission shall have jurisdiction to receive, examine, and adjudicate all claims of citizens of the United States against Spain which the United States agreed

to adjudicate and settle by article VII of the treaty of December 10, 1898, according to the merits of the several cases, and the principles of equity and international law. If this is not a judicial tribunal, what is it? It is precisely of the same class as all Commissions for like purposes that have preceded it. The first was the Commission of three persons which was appointed under the treaty with Spain of February 22, 1819, to pass on the claims of citizens of the United States against Spain, and which Chief Justice Marshall, in a case before him, recognized as a "competent tribunal of exclusive jurisdiction to whose decrees the parties were bound."¹ It is similar to that appointed under the treaty with Mexico in 1848, to ascertain the validity and amount of claims of citizens of the United States against Mexico; to that appointed to adjust claims for and against Chili; and to the Mixed Commission under the Washington Treaty of 1871. All these were purely judicial in character and were clothed with the authority of courts of law.

The act of March 2, 1901 (Sections 4 and 5), authorizes the Commission to make all necessary rules and regulations of practice and procedure; to appoint a clerk, messengers, stenographers, typewriters, and interpreters, as well as commissioners to take testimony in such cases as might be brought before it. There is absolutely nothing in the act of March 2, 1901, or in the debates of Congress, to show that this Commission was intended as a "board of audit." The treaty might have demanded a gross sum from Spain to pay these claims, and Congress might have created a board of audit to distribute it; but nothing of the kind was done. Congress might have limited the claims to those on file in the State Department, providing for the completion of the claims upon the testimony filed, or might have referred them to a board of audit for this purpose; but neither of these courses was taken. On the contrary, when propositions were made in Congress to accept the testimony on file in the State Department for the use of the Commission, they were rejected; showing plainly that it was the policy and intention of Congress to make no discrimination, but to remit all the cases to this Commission to examine and adjudicate them on their merits as in a court of law or equity.

The original bill for the establishment of this Commission contained a provision that the reports, records, and other documents in these cases on file in the Department of State, amounting in all to \$38,000,000, should be furnished to the Commissioners on their order, to be given "such weight as evidence as the Commission might think just." The

¹ *Comegys vs. Vosse*. 1 Pet. 212.

latter clause was struck out, and the bill as passed simply provided that these records might be sent to the Commission upon its own motion, or at the request of claimants or of the attorney representing the United States before the Commission. It would have been monstrous to take such material as *ex parte* affidavits and certified copies of documents, without any cross-examination or other means for getting at the truth as to the merits of the claims, and then to send it to the Commission as evidence. But even if that provision had been retained in the bill it would not have sustained the position of Mr. Rodriguez, because the Commission was not directed to accept the evidence as final proof of the claims, but was only to give it such weight as the Commission might deem proper.

Mr. Rodriguez insists that this Commission differs from all that have preceded it; the responsibility in the case of Spain, under the treaty of 1819, being limited to \$5,000,000, and that of Mexico, under the treaty of 1848, being limited to \$3,250,000. And in all the other cases — such as the distribution of the \$80,000 *Virginus* indemnity, and of the \$15,500,000 of the Geneva award — it was limited to the amounts paid in cash by Spain and Great Britain, respectively, while in the case of Spain under the treaty of 1898 no limits have been fixed. "It might be \$16,000,000; it might be \$40,000,000; it might be still more." What of that? If Spain really owed our citizens \$100,000,000 on April 11, 1899, the United States has undertaken to pay it, and that is the end of the matter. It does not affect the principle in the least.

Here is an orderly tribunal — created by statute in pursuance of solemn treaty stipulations, and composed of five gentlemen of distinguished ability and learning, with a competent corps of assistants — whistled down the wind and characterized as a "new official organization started in Washington, purporting" to pass on certain claims, with no reason for its existence except by some mysterious process of self-evolution; a "monstrosity" sent into this breathing world half-finished and made up, and that so lamely that cynical critics "bark at it as it halts by them."

The writer of the article thinks that there is no power in the Commission to start each case "*de novo*, as if nothing had been done in it during the diplomatic discussion which preceded the war." He argues that as a "board of audit" it should take up the cases in the condition in which they stood in the State Department at the moment the Commission was organized and began its labors, because the State Department is the exclusive diplomatic organ of the Government, and what it did cannot be reviewed by any other Department or Commission with-

out official discourtesy. It would seem unnecessary to remind a "Doctor of Civil and Canonical Law" that war suspends all diplomacy and closes its channels, unless the treaty of peace has determined differently. The claims in the State Department fell to the ground the moment war was declared against Spain; and it was quite proper for the United States, as the sovereign, acting on behalf of its citizens, to take the cases out of the channel of diplomacy and refer them to this Commission for final adjudication. The United States had a perfect right to exonerate Spain, as a mark of "signal generosity" or for any other reason, from the payment of all claims of its citizens upon the conquered foe, and to assume the settlement of these claims itself — not at all an unusual thing in our history. This implies the right to determine the mode by which all asserted claims shall be adjudicated and the amount of them ascertained. Mr. Rodriguez complains that great injustice is done to claimants, who had prepared their cases and filed them in the State Department, by requiring them to proceed *de novo*. If the claims are honest and valid, no injustice can occur by the transfer to the Commission; but if none but claims pending in the State Department at the time the treaty was ratified could be considered, what would have become of other claimants, perhaps more numerous and with claims larger in amount, who had not prepared their cases for diplomatic action? They would have been without remedy as the treaty now stands.

The greatest "discourtesy" imaginable not to the State Department, but to two Presidents of the United States, Cleveland and McKinley, was proposed by Mr. Rodriguez himself. He says he wanted the Commission to adopt as "a guiding principle" a theory he formulated before them. This was for the Commission to recognize the "belligerent rights" of the Cubans during the insurrection — a view which, if adopted by the Commission, would have eliminated, he says, at least two-thirds of the cases from the docket. No doubt; and, as it would perhaps have involved some of his own cases before the Commission, his proposition certainly showed a commendable zeal to promote the interests of his adopted country. Of course, if "belligerent rights" had been recognized during the insurrection in Cuba, the insurgents would not have been a lawless "mob" for whose actions Spain was responsible under international law, and no claims could have originated. Both parties being "belligerents," the necessities of war would have relieved them from responsibility; for this excuses one or the other of the adherents of either power in the violation of the rights of person and property. What a scheme of vast economies!

The idea was not adopted, he says, because "the learned ex-congressman who represents the Attorney-General's office before the Claims Commission" threatened to "pack up his books and return to his home in the West" if the proposition found favor. Certainly a very unsatisfactory reason for a wise Commission to throw away an opportunity to save perhaps millions of money to the Government. There must have been other reasons for the action not disclosed by the paper in THE FORUM. Perhaps Mr. Rodriguez did not fully unbosom himself before the learned Commission, but from the tenor of his article he was evidently impressed with the idea that this was an instance of the irony of fate. He knew the honorable President of the Commission was an enthusiastic advocate of the recognition of "belligerent rights" for the Cubans in the Senate, and believed that by applying that doctrine in this case he might perform an important public service! But the ex-senator in his new capacity did not seem to share this feeling.

It would appear that Mr. Rodriguez wishes to fight the war over again, to fix its causes more definitely, and to settle the terms of peace. He goes back to "the memorable day on which Spain, the lawful sovereign of Cuba, was ordered by the United States to vacate her own territory," and wants to discuss "constitutional law and political science" to see "by what legal authority the President forced Spain to dismember her territory in favor of the United States." The President did nothing of the kind. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy he simply obeyed the will of Congress; and, as a part of the treaty-making power, he participated in settling the terms of peace by the Paris Treaty. The causes and conduct of the war with Spain have passed into history; and, without discussing them here, it is safe to say that no war ever fought will better stand the test of the scrutiny of the ages.

But I must take issue with the writer when he argues that the claims of citizens of the United States constituted the cause or any part of the cause of that war. It does not so appear from the diplomatic correspondence before the war, or from the resolution declaring war, or from the discussions in the Conference of Paris. There is a hazy intimation in Mr. Rodriguez's article that the Spanish negotiators at Paris regarded the cession of Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, together with Guam in the Ladroneas, as being in consideration, at least in part, of the relinquishment of the American claims; but that did not make them a *casus belli*. Relinquishment having been determined on from motives of generosity, the American negotiators may have borne in mind the existence of those claims when considering the

question of indemnity for the costs of the war. It was perfectly proper for them to do so, and yet to leave it as a question between the United States and its citizens, with which Spain had nothing to do. There was certainly no expression on the subject in the treaty, except what appears in articles II and VII; and if the American negotiators ever gave assurance to the Spaniards, as Mr. Rodriguez says, that it should appear on record that the relinquishment was in consideration of the cession, that record was not made.

On the theory that Spain has paid these American claims by cession of territory, Mr. Rodriguez contends that "the only thing to be done now by the United States in relation to them is to assess to each claimant in money the particular share which belongs to him of the lump sum disbursed by Spain in the shape of territory and sovereign rights." It would be interesting to see by what process this result could be accomplished. The \$15,500,000 of the Geneva award and the \$80,000 indemnity in the case of the *Virginus* were distributed among claimants without any difficulty; but what territory of the ceded islands would be converted into cash, what amount would be paid to these American claimants, and how would Mr. Rodriguez determine and distribute those "sovereign rights" which he says Spain parted with? The proposition is absolutely wild.

Mr. Rodriguez undoubtedly lays down a correct legal proposition when he says that the Government is as much bound to indemnify its citizens for claims used to purchase territory as for houses and lands taken for a public purpose. The trouble is in the application of the principle. It will first be necessary for Mr. Rodriguez to show that the relinquishment by the United States of the claims of its citizens upon Spain was, in whole or in part, the consideration for the cession of the Spanish territories. This has not been done, and cannot be done. The \$20,000,000 paid to Spain for the transfer of her sovereignty over the Philippines to the United States was to relieve the transaction of the feature of conquest. The acquisition of Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, except Cuba, and of the island of Guam was by conquest pure and simple, without the least element of purchase.

The author of the article makes another contention in which he is not alone, respecting a question upon which I believe the honorable commissioners are not agreed; namely, whether the Commission has power to send its officers to Cuba to take testimony, and to have witnesses punished for perjury, under the laws now existing. I believe it is intended to apply to Congress for such amendments to the act of

March 2, 1901, as will remove all embarrassment on this subject. I have never doubted that the Commission has this power under the law as it now stands, and that there is no need of any further legislation to take testimony or to punish for perjury.

The theory on which rests the argument against the power to take testimony in Cuba is, that Cuba is a "foreign country," and that the only way to take testimony is through letters rogatory under section 875 of the Revised Statutes, as the courts of the United States do, when witnesses reside in foreign countries. Letters rogatory would be an impracticable and unsatisfactory method of taking the testimony in the cases brought before this Commission. It would be impossible to frame interrogatories in advance to cover the various items of claims; and to detect fraud and collusion would require the presence of an officer on the ground to make investigation of the nature of the claims and of the character and reliability of the claimants and their witnesses.

It is true that the Supreme Court did hold in the *Neely* case (180 U. S.) that within the meaning of the amendment of section 5720 of the Revised Statutes in regard to extradition and for the purposes of the act of June 6, 1901, "Cuba is a foreign country." But there is no intimation anywhere in the decision that it was not competent for Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the government of the island pending the military occupation, or that it cannot do so now, or that it could not extend any law of the United States to the island, prior to the surrender of the sovereignty to the people of Cuba. The relation of Cuba to the United States is peculiar, but not mysterious. There has been so much false law applied to it, and so much misconception of the facts, that it has become as intricate as the celebrated Schleswig-Holstein question.

What is a foreign country? As defined by Judge Story and by the Supreme Court of the United States, "a foreign country is one exclusively within the sovereignty of a foreign nation, and without the sovereignty of the United States."¹ The status of Cuba depends, therefore, on where the sovereignty resides. Before the Paris Treaty that sovereignty was in Spain; and Cuba, being a dependency of Spain, was of course a "foreign country." But Spain relinquished her sovereignty by the treaty. Where did it go? Sovereignty must exist somewhere in the case of any country. It cannot be suspended in the air, like Mahomet's coffin. It did not go to Cuba, for neither Spain nor the United States recognized Cuba as an independent power; nor was that island a

¹ U. S. vs. Rice, 4 Wheat. 247, and *Fleming vs. Page*, 9 How. 614.

party to the treaty by which the sovereignty was relinquished. The sovereignty of necessity went to the United States. It is said that nature abhors a vacuum. It may be as truly said that the law despises an absurdity.

The confusion results from certain resolutions of Congress, by which a "trust" relation was established. Justice Harlan in the Neely case puts the matter thus:

"It is true that as between Spain and the United States — indeed as between the United States and all foreign nations — Cuba, upon the cessation of hostilities with Spain and after the Treaty of Paris, was to be treated as if it was a conquered territory. But as between the United States and Cuba that island is territory held in trust for the inhabitants of Cuba, to whom it rightfully belongs and to whose exclusive control it will be surrendered when a stable government shall have been established by their voluntary action."

The nature and extent of sovereignty are not changed by its being held "in trust." That relation is purely political and contingent. It is unknown to international law, and there is no power anywhere to enforce it. If the Cubans prove themselves incapable of forming or maintaining a "stable" government — of which matter the United States must be the judge — the sovereignty will remain in the United States, and it can deal with Cuba in the same way as with any of its territories. The experiment is soon to be tried, but until the withdrawal of the United States the power of legislation over the island is complete. Even if Cuba succeeds in establishing a stable government under her proposed constitution she will not possess absolute sovereignty. With the Platt amendments the suzerainty will remain in the United States, in a somewhat similar way to that of Great Britain over the so-called Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa, as established by the conventions of 1881 and 1884.

Upon assuming the position of Military Governor, General Brooke issued a proclamation to the effect that the plans of the President for the pacification of the island would be carried out through channels of civil administration under military control. He accordingly ordered on January 11, 1899, that this civil government should be administered by four departments, known as Departments of (1) State and Government, (2) Finance, (3) Justice and Public Instruction, and (4) Agriculture, Commerce, etc., each in the charge of a secretary. To these were transferred the various bureaus as they existed under Spanish rule. Subsequently he established a Supreme Court for the island, composed of a Chief Justice and six associates, as well as inferior courts for civil

and criminal matters. Under date of July 21, 1899, he promulgated a code known as the postal code, regulating postal affairs in Cuba. It provided for the appointment of a Director-General of Posts who should have control and management of the Department of Posts, defining numerous criminal offences and affixing the punishment of each. One of the offences charged against Neely was included in this postal code; the other offence charged against him was embraced in the penal code of the island which was in force when the war broke out, and which, by the order of the Military Governor, still remained in force. That is to say, the penal code of Spain for the island was adopted by the military authority of the United States, and was modified from time to time as the interest of good government required.

This action was the basis of all the government which Cuba has had since its occupation by the military authority of the United States. In authorizing this action the President was not a usurper, and the government he established was not despotic; it was liberal, beneficent, and superior to anything that had previously existed in the island. These orders and regulations for the government of Cuba, promulgated by Governor Brooke and Governor Wood, are laws of the United States as much as if they had been enacted by Congress — just as the ordinances of the subordinate corporations of towns and cities in the exercise of delegated legislative power are laws of the State.¹

This policy was not new. The same thing had been done in California and New Mexico in 1847 by the military authorities in the absence of any legislation by Congress, and the Supreme Court declared it to be perfectly constitutional.² Congress might have legislated for California and New Mexico the moment they came into our possession by conquest. The same body might have legislated for Cuba directly, for all purposes, from the time it came into our possession to the present hour, and until the sovereignty is turned over to the people of the island, if it ever is surrendered; for it would be absurd to say Congress could not do directly what it has permitted the President and his subordinates to do indirectly. When Congress passed the act of March 2, 1901, creating this Commission, it took judicial notice of the fact that most of the claimants and witnesses resided in Cuba; and, therefore, it must have intended that the commissioners authorized to take testimony in the cases brought before them were to be sent to Cuba. And when it provided that witnesses swearing falsely in such cases should be liable to prosecution for perjury in the same manner as when com-

¹ 109 Fed. Rep. 581.

² Cross vs. Harrison, 16 How. 613.

mitted in its courts of justice, Congress meant to extend the laws for perjury to the island. Congress, with its full legislative power over Cuba, might have enacted a law for perjury in these cases, and might have provided for its enforcement by the local authorities in Cuba. It would be a strange anomaly if it could not extend to that island a law already existing in the United States. If Congress could have legislated directly for all the purposes of government in Cuba — establishing courts, providing postal and penal codes, providing public schools, constructing public roads, improving the sanitation of cities, and doing a thousand and one other things — instead of permitting all this to be done by the Military Governor, it would be a still stranger anomaly if it could not extend to the island a law for the punishment of perjury. Nevertheless, the extension of the law of the United States to Cuba was never necessary, as under the local penal code there is abundant authority for the prosecution and punishment of perjury, as well as of other crimes, committed on the island.

Neely violated a provision of the postal code and a provision of the penal code, and then escaped to the United States. In the general confusion as to the legal relations of Cuba to the United States, even so able a man as the late Attorney-General of the United States lost his bearings, and thought it was necessary to amend the section (5720) of the Revised Statutes in regard to extradition so as to place Cuba in the category of a "foreign country." On the same day (June 6, 1901) an act was passed to provide for the extradition of persons charged with crime in Cuba. This law was attacked for unconstitutionality; but, as the Supreme Court correctly held, there was no merit in the points raised. Yet I think that this amendment of section 5720 and this act of June 6, 1901, were entirely works of supererogation. No such legislation was needed. Neely could have been taken back for trial in Cuba under existing laws, just as if he had committed his alleged offences in Oklahoma or Arizona. One of the points raised by counsel for Neely was that the crimes charged against him were offences against Spain, as the penal code was enacted by Spain, and that no offence was committed against the United States. But Justice Harlan replied that, Spain having withdrawn from the island, the offence was against her successor, the United States. This perhaps covered more ground than the learned Justice intended, but it furnished, in my opinion, the crucial test of this whole business in Cuba.

ROBERT HUTCHESON.

THE PRESENT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

THE message of the President of the United States to the Congress which will assemble on the first Monday of the current month will bear the signature of Theodore Roosevelt.

This one fact gives to the convening of the Fifty-seventh Congress an importance and interest which it would not otherwise possess. If we had still in the White House the President who bade Congress farewell on the fourth day of last March, and then, for the second time, assumed the solemn obligation of his high office, we should know that the current of legislation would follow a familiar groove, and that the annual message of the President would be little more than a repetition of last year's document. As it is, twenty years have elapsed since a Congress assembled under the peculiar circumstances which have been repeated in the accession of President Roosevelt. Conservative though he was, Chester A. Arthur's administration was marked by many historic episodes; and, notwithstanding the assurance which the present Chief Executive has given us of his intention to follow in the footsteps of his lamented predecessor, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt is a man of too much forcefulness and individuality to be a mere follower, no matter how plain the path which has been marked out for him.

Unquestionably, Mr. Roosevelt will have ideas of his own. How far these will go, and whether he will attempt to impress them upon Congress, are questions which the future alone can answer. President McKinley, to a very large degree, dominated Congress. With rare exceptions, those things which he desired were granted unto him. The secret of his success in this direction lay, first of all, in the fact that every senator and representative, without regard to party, was under obligation to him for the appointment of constituents to places in the army and navy — positions which, it will be remembered, were dispensed with impartial hand because of their non-political character. In addition to this, however, Congress was willing to oblige the President in all possible things, because he was held in high personal regard by the men who composed the National Legislature. He had served with

many of them in the Lower House; he knew how to deal with them as he would be dealt with; and he was so tactful and gracious that he won universal esteem.

One needs only to recall the constant bickering and friction between President Cleveland and the Congresses which were in session during his term of office, to realize the important bearing which the relations between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government have upon the destinies of the country. That memorable quarrel which finally reached a stage where the President was credited with expressing pleasure because Congress was "off his hands" was as unseemly as it was unwise. I do not believe we shall see unpleasant history repeat itself during Mr. Roosevelt's administration. President Roosevelt, it is true, has never actually served in Congress; but he has mingled with public men, and he has a mind sufficiently broad and catholic to prevent him from making the mistake which marred Mr. Cleveland's second term. For a short period last spring, during the special session of the Senate, Mr. Roosevelt presided over that body with dignity and tact, and was exceedingly careful to respect its traditions and adapt himself to its usages. The rumors which accredited him with the intention of revolutionizing the methods and rules of the Senate received his prompt denial. He would, I am sure, have continued to preside over the Senate with judicial impartiality and great conservatism, if tragic circumstances had not called him to higher office; and, being President, he will undoubtedly seek to cement still more firmly the pleasant associations which were then beginning to be enjoyed, both by the presiding officer in the chair and the senators upon the floor. He is known to possess a disposition more or less pugnacious; but, unless I am greatly mistaken, this pugnacity will not be displayed toward Congress.

Of the 357 members of the House no less than 198 are Republicans, a majority of 39; while in the Senate there are 55 Republicans as against 33 opposition, the State of Delaware being unrepresented. It will thus be seen that any legislation upon which the dominant party is united ought speedily to be enacted, especially if it is recommended by the President, the *ex officio* leader of his party. We may expect, however, to see Congress dawdle along until after the Christmas holidays before really beginning work, and this notwithstanding the fact that there will be no contest over the Speakership. Representative David B. Henderson, of Iowa, who officiated as Speaker of the House in the last Congress, will be again elected to that position; and his familiarity with men and measures should enable him to announce

promptly the personnel of the various Committees. In the Senate, the gavel laid down by Vice-President Roosevelt will be taken up by Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, who, during the special session of the Senate last spring, was elected President *pro tempore*, and who is admirably fitted for that office. There is no reason, therefore, why there should be any delay in either House in speedily setting the wheels of legislation in motion. If anything like reasonable progress is made, Congress ought to conclude its labors by the first of next June, and possibly at an earlier date.

The most important of the subjects which will be considered by Congress during the present session are, unquestionably, (1) reciprocity, and (2) the treaty with Great Britain relative to the Nicaragua canal. The ratification of the latter document, if achieved, is to be followed by the enactment of the bill authorizing the construction of the Isthmian waterway. Both of these topics — reciprocity and the treaty — were before Congress during the last session.

In the last public utterance of President McKinley — his speech at the Pan-American Exposition — he stood upon advanced ground regarding reciprocity. His arguments and assertions, prepared with great care and expressed with much clearness and force, were as follows:

“By sensible trade arrangements, which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and production, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?”

In furtherance of these views, which are known to receive the partial endorsement, at least, of President Roosevelt, it is the intention of the Administration to submit again to the Senate the reciprocity treaties which failed to be acted upon at the last session. This course

will, undoubtedly, arouse strong opposition. Republican senators are, as a rule, in the position of the humorist who regarded war as an excellent thing provided it enabled him to rid himself of his wife's relations. Reciprocity, as viewed by the average Republican in Congress, is admirable provided that it does not permit the import, either at a reduced tariff or through absolute free trade, of foreign goods in competition with the output of his own constituents.

Thus, the silk manufacturers of Paterson regard with much indignation the possible increased sale of French silks in this country by the lowering of the tariff bars under the guise of reciprocity. The importation of West Indian fruits, as proposed by the treaties with England concerning the British West Indian colonies, alarms the California and Florida fruit growers; while a loud and emphatic protest comes from the American wool producers, who very promptly discovered, in a reciprocity treaty with the Argentine Republic, a provision which would bring Argentine wool into the United States in direct and injurious competition with the home product. Already the representatives of the wool growers are preparing for the impending struggle. Senator Warren, of Wyoming, the President of the Wool Growers' Association, has recently made public a letter from Senator Foraker, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in which he says that the Argentine treaty is "dead," and predicts that if it is again sent to the Senate it can never be ratified. Senator Clark, of Wyoming, a committee colleague of Senator Foraker, goes even further. He says that not only is the Argentine treaty dead beyond the hope of resurrection, but that, as all the reciprocity treaties admit products of foreign countries that are also products of the United States, they are all doomed to defeat. More than this, Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, who is the guardian of the manufacturing interests of New England, has given notice that if any of these treaties are reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, he will move to have them referred to the Committee on Finance, of which he is the chairman, on the ground that they deal with tariff figures and are more commercial than diplomatic in their character. If ever the door of the Committee on Finance closes upon these reciprocity treaties, it will be for them like the sealing of the tomb.

The message of President Roosevelt will disclose how far he proposes to commit himself and his party to the reciprocity idea. The impression now current is that he will favor it in general terms while expressing opposition to any action that will injure an American industry, thus leaving it to the Senate to decide whether this injury is threat-

ened. It has been suggested that reciprocity can be accomplished by general legislation; but it would seem rather a hazardous undertaking to frame a general law upon the subject. If a few specific treaties are shown to fall heavily upon a comparatively limited number of producers, a general law might well be expected to create almost universal dissatisfaction. The very suggestion of such an enactment will arouse hostility. It is difficult to predict, at the threshold of Congress, exactly how the Republican majority will steer clear of the Scylla of necessary foreign markets for plethoric production, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of incensed producers, on the other.

The situation certainly offers ample opportunity for wise statesmanship. Only a few months have elapsed since the manufacturers of agricultural implements in the West were startled by the antagonistic attitude of Russia; while lately we have heard rumblings of exclusion tariff laws to be passed by Germany and Austria in order to keep out American goods, even as the manufactures of those countries are barred from the United States. It would not be remarkable if the advocates of reciprocity and the adherents of an undisturbed tariff neutralized themselves into non-action. Certainly the friends of the tariff system as embodied in the present law may be relied upon to oppose to the utmost any encroachment upon that system under the guise of reciprocity.

The tariff question is also destined to come before Congress in connection with the bill of Representative Babcock, of Wisconsin, who created something of a flurry during the closing hours of the last session by the introduction of a proposal to abolish the duty on steel and manufactures of steel. Mr. Babcock's measure is, primarily, aimed at the trusts; for he has discovered that great corporations are enabled to institute monopolies and charge exorbitant prices to American citizens through the operation of prohibitive tariffs, while the same products are sold cheaply abroad. When Congress reassembles, Mr. Babcock will re-introduce his bill with additional sections relating to glass and tin plate. He promises, in fact, to wage war against all trust-made articles the manufacture of which is protected by a high tariff against foreign competition, with a consequent monopoly in this country.

Mr. Babcock has been both commended and criticised. The high protectionists condemn his premises and his conclusions, complaining with some bitterness that he is removing the corner-stone from the edifice which they have so carefully erected, and which is, in fact, the sacred temple of the Republican party. The commendation which Mr. Babcock has received has not been confined to any one section of the

country, although, of course, it is most emphatically expressed in the Northwest, where tariff reform has always been more or less popular. In expressing the sentiments of his own people Mr. Babcock will encounter vigorous opposition. Already nearly all the members of the Ways and Means Committee, to which his measure must be referred and by which it must be reported, have declared themselves against any "tinkering with the tariff." It would not be surprising if the proposed law slumbered indefinitely in the Committee's archives, despite Mr. Babcock's argument that if a monopoly-creating tariff is not reformed by its friends, a drastic revision, such as afflicted the country during Mr. Cleveland's second administration, will be attempted by the enemies of protection, who would be swept into power upon a wave of hostile sentiment.

With the reciprocity treaties before the Senate and Mr. Babcock's anti-trust tariff reform bills in the House, there will be no lack of tariff talk in Congress. If, however, the treaties never see the light of day, and the Babcock bill rests silently upon the files of the Ways and Means Committee, very little opportunity will be afforded for public formal discussion, and the question will be confined to the speculation of the lobby and the cloak-room. In this, however, there will be a resemblance to smouldering fire. Non-action will not remove the threatened evil of a lack of foreign markets for surplus production, or banish the growing opinion that trusts are fostered by tariffs which prohibit competition. These problems must be met and solved sooner or later; and failure in the present Congress merely leaves the task to be undertaken at some later day.

The attitude of the Senate in favor of American ownership and control of the Isthmian waterway was so plainly manifested at the last session that Secretary Hay is not likely, in submitting a new treaty with Great Britain, to repeat the objectionable features of the document known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1900. These, it will be remembered, were the failure to abrogate specifically the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, in which the United States and Great Britain mutually agreed not to seek exclusive ownership of an Isthmian canal; the provision necessitating the agreement of all the European powers to the convention; the omission of a clause authorizing the United States to apply such measures as it might find necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order; and the prohibition of the fortification of the canal. The Committee on Foreign Relations offered amendments which more securely safeguarded the interests of the United States, and these changes

were adopted by practically unanimous votes. The treaty was then submitted to Great Britain for rejection or approval. It was not accepted; but Lord Pauncefote has returned to Washington with suggestions from Lord Salisbury which are to be drafted into a new agreement.

It is understood that Great Britain agrees to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which convention the United States and England declared that neither country would "ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal." In agreeing to this abrogation, the British Government does not ask a *quid pro quo*, no consideration or recompense being suggested or named, although common report credited British selfishness with desiring either a cession of Alaskan territory or trade advantages for the West Indian colonies. The treaty will, in addition, concede all the points for which the Senate so strenuously contended when the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was under consideration. The right of the United States to control, maintain, and defend the proposed canal is recognized, although in the former treaty fortifications were specifically prohibited. Instead of guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal in time of war, as well as during peace, as formerly provided, the new convention insures this neutrality only while peace prevails, so that the spectacle of hostile warships using the waterway will be averted. One provision of the former treaty is retained: the United States still agreeing not to discriminate in its own favor in the matter of tolls. This is the only clause of the new treaty which can possibly excite opposition; but I recall the fact that when Senator Bard, of California, proposed an amendment to the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, reserving the right of the United States to exercise this discrimination, his motion was defeated by a vote of twenty-seven yeas to forty-three nays. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that a satisfactory understanding between the United States and Great Britain will soon be reached; and that it will embody every point of advantage which patriotic interest can suggest. Even then there will be many honest souls who will inquire as to the necessity for a treaty with Great Britain regarding the construction of a canal upon the American continent by American engineers and American capital. The answer will be that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty must be still considered as binding, and that its summary abrogation would give unnecessary offence to the English Government. The reply may not be altogether satisfactory, but it is the only reason which seems to be advanced by those who regard a treaty with Great Britain as a condition precedent to the construction of the Isthmian canal.

When a treaty has been finally ratified, Congress may be expected to enact a bill, such as was agreed to in the House during the last session, fixing a limit of cost for the canal, authorizing the army engineers to begin the work, and appropriating a sum sufficient to start the enterprise. The necessary permission from the Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, if the Nicaragua route shall be finally accepted, will be obtained without difficulty, negotiations to that end having been inaugurated some months ago. At the same time it is expected that opposition to the Nicaraguan site will be stimulated by friends of the Panama route; while there are rumors that obstacles to the building of any Isthmian canal will be suggested by interests connected with the Suez company, the receipts of which will naturally be materially reduced when the rival pathway to the East is in operation. I do not believe, however, that these antagonistic influences will be effective. The desire of Congress to see the canal a reality is too sincere and universal to brook further delay; and if the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress accomplishes nothing else than the enactment of legislation which will insure the commencement of this great international enterprise, it will not have assembled in vain.

Other matters of importance which will occupy the attention of Congress include the question of extending the Geary Chinese Exclusion Act, which expires by limitation next May. The trades unions and other organized bodies of working-men in the West, and especially upon the Pacific slope, are even now agitating the necessity for continuing restrictive legislation; but the fact remains that the hostility toward the Chinese is not as bitter at the present time as it was ten years ago. Chinese labor is being found essential to the development of the coast States. In the end, however, Congress is likely to heed the protest of the labor organizations, and, with proper respect for the votes which they represent, to renew the Exclusion Act for another decade. It is to be hoped that, while this spirit of restriction is upon Congress, something will be done not only toward barring out the anarchists who seek a refuge within our gates, but also in the direction of deporting those who utter murderous doctrines. The Senate once passed, at the instance of Senator David B. Hill, of New York, a bill of this character which was carefully prepared, and which met with the unanimous approval of that body. It happily combined the protection of the community with the largest degree of individual liberty consistent with public safety. It failed, for some reason, in the House. Its revival at this time would be wise and opportune.

It is quite probable that the Democratic minority, having in view the Congressional elections next fall, will endeavor to agitate legislation against trusts, and to this end will support any and all efforts to secure consideration for the Babcock measures already mentioned. Even if no anti-trust enactment is secured, the pages of the Congressional Record will afford a convenient depository for speeches to be used during the next campaign.

It is also to be expected that the Philippine question will be again prominent. The legislation placed upon the statute books during the final hours of the last Congress, vesting in such persons as might be appointed by the President "all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands," was admitted to be tentative in its character. It provided for reports concerning the acts of this temporary administration, in order to supply "all information which may be useful to the Congress in providing for a more permanent government." The Republican leaders will, during the present session, attempt the task of formulating general legislation for the Philippines, regarding such action as an absolute necessity. The undertaking will be necessarily extensive; and in the House, as well as in the Senate, we may look for an exhaustive discussion of the Philippine question. The recent disturbances in the islands will afford the Democrats a much-desired text for condemning the acquisition of oriental territory; the Congressional campaign of 1902 being a natural inspiration for their oratory.

The conditions in Cuba are much more satisfactory, and much discussion is not likely to be provoked unless an attempt is made to arrange a reciprocity treaty with the new government of that island. In that case we may confidently anticipate an animated struggle in which the sugar and tobacco interests will be capably represented. It is hardly possible that a sincere effort will be made, at this early stage of Cuban development, to agitate for the annexation of the island. Had President McKinley been spared some action in this direction would have been inaugurated. There is no doubt that he looked forward to annexation as the ultimate solution of the Cuban problem. In his speech at Austin, Texas, while *en route* to the Pacific Coast, he uttered these significant sentences:

"The people of Texas, like the people of the thirteen original States, fought their way to independence, and, like them, came into the Union without any territorial probation, a perfected State. They conquered the right of self-government through the sword, and then sought association with the other States of the Republic. They thought it no sacrifice of their independence to pass from a Republic to a Sov-

ereign State in the Federal Union. It was the realization of their highest aspirations, and brought order, security, tranquillity, and opportunity to govern themselves. What a mighty acquisition and how rich with benefits for both Nation and State."

This utterance of President McKinley had a hidden meaning. It only needs the mere suggestion that Cuba was in his mind at the time to reveal the analogy between the Republic of Texas — which had conquered independence with the sword, which had thought it no sacrifice to become one of the United States, and which had realized all the blessings of a stable government thereby — and the conditions which have prevailed and are now existing in Cuba. Unquestionably, if President McKinley were happily still alive, we should hear some authoritative suggestions on the floor of Congress in line with his ideas. How far President Roosevelt is prepared to go in advocacy of Cuban annexation is purely a matter of conjecture.

The earnest endeavor made during the last session to pass a bill for the encouragement of the American merchant marine, commonly known as the ship subsidy bill, will be renewed. The measure will be presented in new form, embodying certain modifications designed to overcome the criticisms expressed by prominent members of the majority party. It will be remembered that the opposition to the bill last year was by no means confined to the Democrats. Their antagonism will continue, despite all amendment, for it is directed against the principles, and not the details, of the proposed measure. It might be added that the objections of many leading Republicans are so deep-rooted and so widespread that if the bill is changed to suit their views, it will not be satisfactory to those who hope to be benefited by its enactment. The chances for the passage of the bill, however, are undoubtedly improved by the fact that the present session of Congress is not limited by a fixed day of adjournment; but, even with this advantage, the fate of the subsidy legislation depends largely, if not entirely, upon the success which will attend the efforts of its advocates to unite the Republicans in Congress solidly in its support.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

THE EMPIRE OF ISLANDS.

THE island of Formosa stands to-day a Japanese sentinel at the very gates of the Chinese Empire. Think of it: a little island, half as large as Ireland, at the door of an empire larger than the United States! This fact in itself is significant of the vast importance of insular possessions at the present day. So late as twenty-five years ago the myriad islands of Oceanica were scarcely even studied as groups, while those lying upon what have now become great highways of travel were rarely, if ever, mentioned. Occasionally, it is true, a teacher at school might put the somewhat vague query: "Can you mention a group of islands lying in the Pacific, west of the United States?" and some enterprising youth, presumably familiar with the narrative of Captain Cook, would answer, "The Sandwich Islands"; whereupon the boys would wonder for a moment how so happy and suggestive a term could be applied to so remote and uninteresting a subject. At the close of the session, the myriad islands of the southern Pacific were swept together under the comprehensive term of Oceanica, and dismissed from further consideration.

Even to-day, notwithstanding many unmistakable indications that the subject is already of tremendous importance, the general knowledge concerning the numerous islands of the globe is very limited. Upon the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, even intelligent persons, fairly familiar with geography, were quite at sea concerning the location of the Azores and Cape Verde groups. They remembered that such islands existed; but where? The old maps were brought out, and there were the islands broadly in evidence, and invested for the time with a greater importance than the whole continents of Asia and Africa. Why? Because they shortened the distance to be traversed by Admiral Cervera's fleet. Here we have the secret of the marvellous transformation which has brought the numerous, widely scattered, and infinitely diversified islands of the world prominently to the front as a new factor upon the political chessboard. Shortening of distance, or in other words, rapidity of communication, has brought the continents of the world into

closer contact; has facilitated exploration and settlement abroad; and has powerfully stimulated the struggle for commercial and political supremacy. Yet underneath all this we find a clearly defined scheme of world-dominion,¹ gradually unfolding itself with the accuracy of a geometrical proposition, and spreading its lines over every portion of the globe. In view of the importance here accorded to insular possessions, it may be interesting to trace the gradual evolution of these scattered fragments of the earth's surface as the primary factors of geographical, commercial, and political development.

Our extraordinary geographical progress dates from the discovery of the Canary Islands, about 150 years before the advent of Columbus; and it was the discovery of these, the "Happy Isles" of tradition, that induced the Portuguese navigators to feel their way along the western coast of Africa. We have all observed the first sallies of little children from home. First they venture forth a little distance — a very little distance — and then hurriedly run back. They then become familiarized with the object of their fear, and warily proceed a little farther. Gradually, however, as they become more certain of their territory, they gain courage and risk very respectable excursions indeed. Such was the progress of the Portuguese along the African coast; and we shall perceive how, at this early stage of maritime exploration, islands already become invaluable *points d'appui* in a geographical sense. To the youthful-spirited and romantic adventurers, sailing out upon the Atlantic in their little caravels, the Canaries, sixty miles from the African coast, were a landmark upon the unknown deep. Nevertheless, every cape was to them still an object of terror. Over seventy-five years elapsed before they ventured beyond Nun — literally, "Cape No" — a significant term — and it was over eighteen years afterward that they rounded Cape Bojador (1434), so terrified were they by the fierce breakers which dashed upon that far-projecting reef.

The inexperienced explorers of that age still closely hugged the shore, when an event occurred which again appears to have given a tremendous stimulus to nautical exploration — the discovery of the Cape Verde group. The discovery of these islands (1445) by a party of mariners, who, greatly against their inclination, were driven thither by a storm, must have had an extraordinary significance in those early days of geographical discovery. The consciousness that there was land back of them — 320 miles out at sea — undoubtedly inspired to very bold ex-

¹ The word "scheme" is here used to signify, not a prearranged plan, but an organic evolution.

cursions navigators who had hitherto anxiously followed the coast-line; and this sense of security promoted the great enterprises which now followed in rapid succession. Within five years from the discovery of the Cape Verde group the Portuguese had penetrated to the southernmost point of Liberia; in other words, in five years they had boldly measured the same distance which before had consumed nearly twenty. They now proceed by leaps and bounds. One expedition pushes forward the Portuguese advance-posts — stone pillars bearing the arms of Portugal — 1,300 miles in nineteen months; and in the following year two caravels of fifty tons sweep the coast to Bird's Island, passing the Cape of Good Hope.

The wildest dreams of the Arabian conquerors now reappeared before the imagination of the enthusiastic and romantic Portuguese. Emissaries of the king, taking the continental route by way of the Levant, quickly passed around to the western coast of Africa to pave the way; and in 1497 Vasco da Gama's squadron at last triumphantly burst into that golden realm, the fabulous region of the Indies. The dazzling dream of centuries was fulfilled.

Here Europeans received their first lesson on the strategical importance of insular strongholds. Their ships, India-bound, landed at Mozambique and Mombasa on the African coast, whence they proceeded to Ormuz, Goa, and Cochin — all islets, excepting the last-mentioned, the fort of which was situated at the point of a long and extremely narrow peninsula, practically inaccessible. Thus was this marvellous though brief empire maintained: a few little detached insular strongholds commanding important strategical points; swift caravels, as superior to the Arabian bark as was Dewey's iron fleet to the obsolete squadron of Spain; and guns served by marksmen whose aim is said to have been almost infallible.

As the Canaries became the points of departure for the first timid sallies of the Portuguese, so with the accidental discovery of the Azores, 800 miles from the coast of Portugal, light at last began to dawn on the broad Atlantic. Indeed, when we consider the high geographical importance which the discovery of this archipelago must have had, we are compelled to realize that our treatment of islands has hitherto been akin to that sometimes extended to a humble servitor, who helps us to wealth and preferment, but who is dismissed and forgotten as soon as his services are no longer required. The discovery of the Azores was the slow rising of the curtain upon an infinite perspective. Visions of bright lands lying still farther out at sea now began to haunt the im-

agination; until finally, in the mind of the greatest visionary of that period, these dreams became invested with all the power of actuality. "Land beyond the Azores!" Such must have been the cry of the crew of Columbus, which drew them on and on like an invisible magnet to the great group of islands in the Caribbean.

Whether the reader believes in chance, or holds that the prow of Columbus was, amid shifting course and varying winds, directed by a divine agency, the fact remains, that the most carefully concocted plan could not have conducted the great navigator to any other spot quite so favorable to further exploration. Here were islands sufficiently isolated to insure security, yet commanding the entrance to the heart of two continents, and to the very centre of fertility. From this point Ponce de Leon could safely proceed to Florida, De Soto to the Mississippi, Cortez to Mexico, and Balboa to Panama; and here Europeans received their first lesson on the immense value of islands as bases for continental exploration.

In 1600, the empire of the islands beyond the confines of Europe was divided between Spain and Portugal; the former occupying such of the Antilles as she desired, the latter possessing all important groups appropriated in the East, with the exception of the Philippines and the Ladrões — groups forever famous as marking the termination of Magellan's memorable voyage around the world.

And now, after a general survey of the sixteenth century, we pass across the threshold into the seventeenth. What a change! History records no transformation more sudden and complete. It is like stepping from a brilliantly illuminated theatre into a cold, dark, drizzling atmosphere, where we are solely intent on drawing our wraps about us, and finding the shortest way to a warm fireside. We step at once from the most romantic into the most practical age. The brilliant Portuguese explorer is followed by the greatest merchant of history, the Hollander, with an eye single to the main chance, with an industry and a minuteness and exactness of detail never equalled — the exact counterpart of his predecessor, whose wild extravagance of plan proved alike his glory and his ruin. Instead of seeking a vast and splendid empire, with uncertainty of tenure, the practical Dutch merchants at once perceived the high value of the insular possessions of the East for commercial purposes. They preferred, therefore, to intrench themselves securely and permanently in the East Indies, not only to control the immense wealth of these islands, but to utilize them as commercial bases, from which they could safely reach all the principal depôts — most of them

minute island sentinels — upon the eastern seas. Yet not these alone, but all the groups discovered by the Portuguese, now became indispensable stepping-stones of commerce in that long, lonely, and laborious voyage between thrifty Holland and her far distant possessions in the East. Let us follow these little craft upon their voyage.

Leaving Amsterdam, the ships, instead of passing through the Channel, sailed around the northern coast of Scotland, between Shetland and Orkney, down the western coast of Ireland, giving it a very wide berth, however, and thence southward past the Azores to the Canaries — a long, circuitous, and laborious route, at first adopted to avoid hostile cruisers, and afterward retained as a safeguard against smuggling.

From the Canaries, the ships passed on to the Cape Verde group, where repairs were made and provisions taken on board. Here islands first acquire importance as commercial recruiting stations and supply-depots; and here, also, the Cape Verde group is again among the first to come into the foreground. The vessels now continued on their way to the Cape of Good Hope, where they remained for several weeks. It is an exemplification of one of the most tragic features of history that the descendants of those brave Hollanders, whose settlement at the Cape for more than 160 years constituted the only landmark in that distant region of the Southern Hemisphere, should be at last compelled to lose the independent position which they so long maintained.

Upon their departure from the Cape, the ships sailed eastward to the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam. Here they changed their course to the Straits of Sunda, through which they passed, skirting the islands leading to Batavia. On the return voyage St. Helena and Ascension, together with the Cape Verde group, served to break the long distance across the Atlantic to a far western point above the Banks of Newfoundland. Upon reaching the Banks they sailed far to the north again, to the Shetland Islands, where a convoy of cruisers awaited them. The whole voyage to and from Batavia extended over 36,000 miles — a distance equivalent to nearly one and one-half times the circumference of the globe, or to six round trips from New York to Liverpool. As we gaze back upon that distant period we are filled with admiration for the patience and industry which were needed to transport in a voyage so protracted, and by means of a fleet so small, freighted with a heavy equipment of sailors and soldiers, no less than \$2,500,000 worth of merchandise annually. In this connection, it is scarcely possible to overestimate the importance of the above-mentioned islands as havens and supply-depots. The insular acquisitions of Hol-

land at this time include the East Indies, Ceylon, and the Maldives — in short, all the most valuable insular possessions from a commercial point of view.

We also note a change of color in the Caribbean, where Spain is at last confronted by two formidable rivals — England and France. Instead of recognizing the value of her insular possessions — geographical, commercial, and strategical — Spain, like Portugal, in her eagerness to acquire, lost her foothold of valuable *points d'appui*. Guadeloupe and Martinique, at the very entrance to the Caribbean, are seized by France, which nation also chooses to divide with Spain the island of Hayti; the islands known as the Dutch West Indies, formerly claimed by the Spanish, are occupied by Holland; while England takes valuable Jamaica, and the Bahamas, as well as Barbadoes and most of the other islands of both the Windward and Leeward Groups. What a treasure trove! Yet surely this is not astonishing. Wherever the Spaniards went they left behind a swath of ruin and desolation; and in occupying several of the islands vacated by them, the English virtually seized upon a corpse. The fate of Spain has been particularly cruel. Yet in every instance the fearful retribution meted out to her has been fully merited. Frenzied and dazed with lust and rapine, her career may be compared to that of the infuriated bull of the arena, which succumbs at last beneath the steel of the toreador.

Islands, by reason of their position, develop an indomitable love of independence. Perhaps the most curious illustration of this spirit was furnished by the native inhabitants of the Canaries, a group secluded since the beginning of time until its discovery in the fourteenth century. Here a different language prevailed on each island; so that the inhabitants of one little rock scarcely understood their neighbors upon the next. Fuerteventura, little more than twice as large as the city of New York, was ruled by two rival kings, whose so-called states were separated by a wall completely dividing the island into two parts. Upon the Grand Canary, a trifle smaller than London, there were two capitals, thirty-three distinct settlements and two states, each ruled by its respective king and high priest, as well as by an oligarchical senate — a House of Lords, in other words — consisting of about two hundred members chosen from the nobility. Although the instance afforded by this Lilliputian domain is, perhaps, the most interesting and unique, the love of independence inspired by an insular environment is everywhere perceptible. Ancient Ireland had a king to every bog; and the descendants of these royalties have not yet finished the quarrel. In Samoa, until

recently, rival kings were installed with the regularity of officers of the watch; and even Hayti, the only island republic in the world, can scarcely be said to have had no history.

★ If we now proceed from single islands to more extensive archipelagoes, the intensity of the conflict increases, and piracy begins. Such was the condition found by Magellan in the Philippines, and by the Portuguese in other parts of the Malay Archipelago; and such was the phenomenon — hitherto accounted for upon political grounds — which inevitably arose in the neglected insular wilderness of the Caribbean. The game of hide-and-seek played among this maze of islands by the rovers and pirates of the seventeenth century constitutes a unique chapter of history. Here originated the proud titles of buccaneer, freebooter, and filibuster. From this school were graduated the famous Edward Teach — he of the ringlets and curls — and Captain Kidd, to disseminate the doctrine throughout the world. The seeds sown by the Spaniards now bore fruit, and the Caribbean was converted into a veritable hell, where the reckless elements of every nation held high carnival.

The stamping out of this hotbed of piracy is coeval with the sunrise of British colonial influence. We have seen how islands became the primary agents of daring maritime exploits, and later the indispensable starting points of continental exploration. We have seen how the minute geographical divisions seized by Portugal constituted the strategic bases upon which the power of that nation was based. During the maritime régime of the Dutch the East Indies are commercial bases; while all the scattered groups of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean become stepping-stones of commerce. With the advent of British power, islands, for the first time in history, become colonial centres which, like luminous bodies of the firmament, shed about them bright rays of civilization and culture.

Freedom and independence as defined by the Anglo-Saxon race are insular in their origin. Even the English colonies on the American Continent are widely scattered. Care is taken that a very broad margin be left between these bickering "independencioes," each of which desires to be completely insulated. Upon the whole, settlements are preferably made in different parts of the earth, and more particularly on islands; and, in this connection, it is significant that the most extensive, prosperous, and contented colony of England to-day is the island continent of Australia, in the farthest region of the antipodes. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the second colony in America should have been established on the Bermudas, that orphan group of the Atlantic.

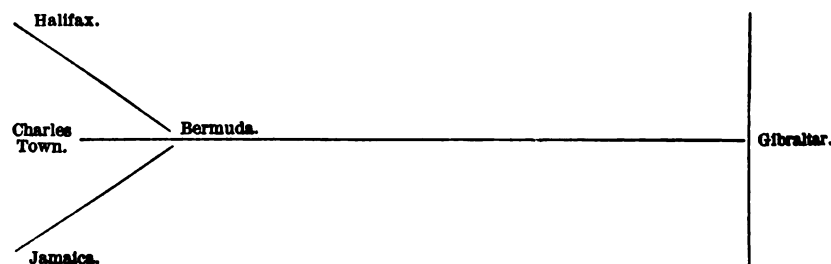
Bermuda typifies the British love of independence; Jamaica, the British genius for self-government. It is this extraordinary capacity for self-government which has enabled England to found the first successful and permanent colonies on islands — frequently the most difficult possessions to conquer and to maintain. The insular possessions of the Spaniards have never been colonies, but stamping-grounds. The Spanish ships sail from Cadiz to Havana to procure the “treasures of the King,” and the “jewels and *épingles* for the Queen”; while Jamaica sends her own vessels to England via Bermuda. The possessions of the Dutch East India Company, in the seventeenth century, were not then, as now, successful colonial centres, patterned on English models: they were mere commercial agencies, many of them actually situated on minute and well-protected islets scarcely perceptible on the map. As to France, we have but to compare the insular schemes of that nation with the upbuilding of England’s island possessions, amid darkness and tempest, slavery and piracy, to perceive upon what foundations the British Empire has been reared.

From the middle of the seventeenth century, when France made no further effort to strengthen her hold upon her newly acquired West Indian possessions than merely to send over a few experienced Jewish merchants to build up trade, to the present day, when she is generously permitted by England to retain the little fishing-stations, St. Pierre and Miquelon, as souvenirs of her once vast possessions in America, the French insular schemes have undoubtedly furnished the most valuable material to the comedy of history. Perhaps the most theatrical of these enterprises, however, was that which may be not inaptly designated as the “Organization of the Invincible Armada for the Grand Colonization of Madagascar.” The whole nation, with that generous enthusiasm for an idea which is its most striking characteristic, rose to the occasion. Louis XIV subscribed the enormous sum of 3,500,000 livres toward the enterprise; and every city of France followed his example. All the royal dockyards were thrown open; a bishop (!) was appointed to the “see of Madagascar”; and finally a great excursion fleet, in holiday array, set sail for this picnic ground of the East. Four hundred persons died on the voyage; and instead of finding an earthly paradise, the commander of the expedition was greeted by a few half-starved French colonists, the feeble remnant of an unsuccessful party of explorers. Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since then, and Madagascar, in homely phraseology, has not yet begun to be colonized. Now for the contrast! Within fourteen years after the conquest of that Spanish

graveyard, Jamaica, the white population had increased from 1,500 to 15,000, and the effective land and sea forces to over 5,000. Agriculture and commerce — absolutely unique features — had already found rapid extension; and in 1675 the records of the island show over 250 holdings. So much for Jamaica, which England has now held for about two centuries and a half, and which to-day constitutes the central stronghold of her beautiful and symmetrical web in the Caribbean.

Every island of Great Britain is a monument to her colonial genius. Even the infant isle of St. Helena, a barren rock selected as a recruiting station for India-bound vessels, is shortly after its first actual settlement by sufferers of the London Fire of 1666 converted into a purchaser equal to Burcoola, the port of Sumatra, and figures among the following group of giants as a "consumer" of the East India Company: Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Burcoola, St. Helena, and China.

In singular contrast to those of any other nation, therefore, the islands of Great Britain, first and foremost, become colonial centres; then milestones of commerce; then strategical bases; and, finally, upon the coast of that long-neglected continent, Africa, and upon the outskirts of Oceanica, *points d'appui* of exploration and discovery — a singular fact, that proves the completeness and intricacy of that scheme of world-dominion which properly begins with the conquest of Gibraltar. By the capture of this, the strongest natural fortress in the world, the thin lines of intercourse which had been spun between the scattered possessions of Great Britain were gathered up and strengthened at their weakest point; strange lines, neither nautical nor commercial, now appear upon the map; the corner-stone of the British Empire has been laid.



We have a wealth of literature treating of Great Britain's continental possessions, but not an essay touching upon the vast significance of her island empire. Yet the most valuable colonies of Great Britain upon the North American Continent have been lost; her first feeble threads

in South America were severed by the Monroe Doctrine; in Africa, to-day, she is fighting hard for consolidation; while, in Asia, she is slowly but surely drawing to meet an adversary, who, like Macduff in the play, seems alone to have been decreed invulnerable to the British arms. It is, therefore, primarily by means of her widely scattered islands that Great Britain has succeeded in spinning the threads of that subtile and intricate webwork which has enabled her to develop, to control, and to extend all those innumerable lines of intercommunication which are slowly but surely converting the globe from an inert body, consisting of numerous parts, into a living organism considered as a unit.

As we follow the extension of this webwork, islands altogether unknown, or of comparatively local importance, gradually acquire an extraordinary significance, beautifully exemplified by the three insular possessions severally acquired during the eighteenth century. The first of these, Gibraltar,¹ a barren rock, becomes the keystone, or, better, the central hub of the British Empire, and the first of that long list of insular sentinels and coast stations the gradual acquisition of which has to-day placed the British flag at the entrance to almost every sea, gulf, and channel upon the face of the globe. Situated midway between Europe and Africa, Asia and America, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that

“While stands Gibraltar, Britain shall stand;
When falls Gibraltar, Britain shall fall;”

and with Britain, the greatest, and, upon the whole, most beneficent scheme of empire since the days of the Roman World. Less important, though equally significant as marking a precedent, was the annexation of the Falklands (1765).

Britannia, of yore, was the Brunhild of history, “hedged round with hindering horrors,” that none but the most fearless might conquer and possess her. Behold how this historic precedent is repeated! The Bermudas are the “Deuil’s Ilands, feared and auoyded of all sea travellers alive, aboue any other place in the world”; the very name “St. Helena” has become a synonym for isolation; while the Falklands are situated in that region of gloom and desolation which alone, of all places visited by them, so appalled the sailors of Magellan that they clamored to return and rose in mutiny. The Falkland Islands were long regarded by many as an almost worthless bank of rocks. Yet, from this solitary outpost Great Britain could command the passage through the Straits of

¹ Gibraltar, although technically a promontory, is from the point of view of this discussion practically an island.

Magellan, as she controls, to-day, the turning-points of Europe, Asia (at Singapore), and Africa. In view of what has been stated it is hardly probable that she will readily forego the pleasure of participating in the control of the Nicaragua Canal, by means of which North and South America, long politically insulated by the Monroe Doctrine, will, broadly speaking, become converted into gigantic island-continents.

Trinidad, finally, the last of the three insular possessions acquired during the eighteenth century (1797), is likewise typical of a group; being the first representative of that long list of islands and partly insulated cities which may become operative as valves, completely regulating the ebb and flow of commerce. With the acquisition of Trinidad, England obtained easy access to all the gateways of the Orinoco; in 1807 she seized the island of Heligoland, at the mouth of the Elbe, and held it for eighty-three years, crippling the commerce of Germany during that period. In 1815, she made a bold dash for the partially insulated city of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi; and to-day she practically controls the Nile and the Niger — the only drop of bitterness in her cup being the absence of a tight little island at the mouth of the Congo.

The colossal contribution of the nineteenth century to the evolution of islands may be epitomized in a single sentence: steam and electricity, by shortening distance and facilitating communication, enforce the rapid consolidation of the British Empire, and reveal islands, at last, as the primary factors in a most ingenious and perfect system of dominion, based upon the entire geographical configuration of the globe — as the indispensable strands of a webwork, to-day completely encircling the earth. We perceive the central hubs, each different in character, and we can form a conception of the great strategical lines which unite the fabric, and which, in the event of attack or interference, may be drawn together like the snares of that great constructive and mathematical genius, the spider. The comparison may be carried still further. The world-wide commerce of England, with its universal radii of influence, with its enormous fleet, armed in time of war, and furnishing innumerable means of transportation and communication, may be not inaptly compared to the more intricate network of the web, supported by the strands or cables, it is true, yet knitting all these together into a composite fabric.

The possibility of becoming an integral unit of so vast a scheme — a factor which may materially affect the complexion of the political chessboard — has, within an incredibly short time, invested every avail-

able island with an extraordinary importance. I well remember that, about twenty years ago, we students at college used to repeat a sort of lugubrious rhyme about the far-away Sunda Islands — so far away, indeed, that whenever we arrived at the beginning of the fourth line, where the location was stated, we were obliged to halt and begin again:

Sumatra and Java,
Borneo and Celebes,
Are the mighty Sunda Islands
In the

Yet these islands, to-day, are our "next-door" neighbors in the Philippines. Even Micronesia, with its geographical nebulæ, is rapidly being brought distinctly within our circle of vision; while every contribution to the literature of this subject is welcomed with extraordinary enthusiasm. Why? Because, deep within the heart of Briton and Yankee alike, we may still find a touch of the eternally youthful spirit of our race — the spirit of our dearest and earliest acquaintance, Robinson Crusoe.

JOSEPH SOHN.

THE ETHICS OF THE LAST CHINA WAR.

THE July number of THE FORUM contained an article on "The Ethics of Loot," concerning which some have sarcastically remarked that there was in it much of loot and little of ethics. Even if so, its statement of facts was ethically correct. In spite of a supposed deterioration of moral sense, I now enter on a consideration of the larger question, the ethics of the war itself — a question calling for that delicate discrimination which a knowledge of the facts can alone furnish.

But, first, we must examine the ethics of the *casus belli*, direct and indirect. The real *casus belli*, as announced in the imperial declaration of war, was the demand by foreign admirals, on June 16, 1900, for the surrender of the Taku forts. In THE FORUM for January last I referred to one of the edicts, dated June 21, 1900, which reads in part:

"Yesterday a despatch was sent by the doyen of the consuls in Tientsin calling on us to deliver up the Taku forts into their keeping; otherwise they would be taken by force. These threats showed their aggressions. With tears have we announced the war in the ancestral shrines. . . . They rely on crafty schemes; our trust is in Heaven's justice. They depend on violence; we on humanity. Besides the righteousness of our cause, our provinces number more than twenty, our people more than 400,000,000, and it will not be difficult to vindicate the dignity of our country."

At first sight, it certainly seems as if war would have been prevented if the admirals had made no such threatening demand, and the foreign ministers had more strongly appealed to the better judgment of the imperial authorities. Several of the officials had intended, to my knowledge, to exert themselves for the restoration of order and the maintenance of friendliness with the Powers; but as soon as the ultimatum of the foreign admirals reached Peking, these intentions were transformed into indifference for the foreigner's security, if not into open and stubborn enmity. The Chinese Government, if at all anxious to retain its self-respect, could not very well hold aloof from a declaration of war. All the anti-foreign elements were consolidated; and where without the challenge there was only attack from Boxers, after the challenge there was the strong combination of Boxers and imperial troops. One of the consuls at Tientsin, on first hearing the proposition

to seize the Taku forts, exclaimed: "If you do you will be signing the death-warrant of every foreigner in the interior." In fact, the suddenness of the threat and the shock of collision took away all chance of escape from many helpless men, women, and children in the northern provinces.

The action of the admirals and ministers, viewed in this light, appears as altogether too precipitate, rash, and inconsiderate. Admiral Kempff stands out as the one man who did not "lose his head." If the foreign ministers had been men commanding respect by strong personality, fair-mindedness, and discriminating good sense; if as a body they had, as was once contemplated, boldly, firmly, and justly argued the peril, wrong, and folly of the existing situation, before the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager; and especially if the rising wave of fanatical Boxerism had been checked at an earlier date, I believe that the awful catastrophe that cast its shadow over the whole world, the necessity for an ultimatum, and the impulse to war might have been avoided. Taking circumstances even as they were, I am ready to say that *perhaps* the issue would have been for the best, if the surrender of the Taku forts had not been demanded, but that a careful calculation of the probabilities, with the accompanying sense of obligation, necessitated the ultimatum, serious and fatal as it was.

What, then, were the facts on the other side? As early as June 12, 1900, I presented to the princes and ministers of the Foreign Office, at their request, a statement on the necessity of dealing vigorously and promptly with the Boxer rising. I was given to understand that they were powerless, and that the Empress-Dowager could alone act. On June 17, before the action at Taku was known in Peking, an imperial edict was issued containing the following significant suggestion:

"If the ministers and their families wish to go for a time to Tientsin [what of the rest, and the native converts?], they must be protected on the way; but the railroad is not in working order. If they go by the cart road it will be difficult, and there is fear that perfect protection cannot be given. They would do better to abide here in peace."

And, oh, such peace!

In brief, the Boxers, unchecked by the Government, had already massacred two English missionaries half-way between Peking and Tientsin; the missionaries in Pao-ting-fu had been hopelessly cut off from escape to the coast; a chancellor of the Japanese legation had been butchered outside the gates of Peking by imperial soldiers; all foreign property in Peking, outside of the legation area and the North Cathe-

dral, had been destroyed; Boxers had begun their attack on Tientsin; hundreds of native converts had already been massacred, and others had deserted their homes and were in hiding, while the purpose seemed more and more real to exterminate every disciple of Western teachers; communication between Peking and the sea was effectually broken; and the foreign ministers, thwarted in every argument of reason, had sounded out the alarm: "Situation extremely grave; unless arrangements are made for immediate advance to Peking, it will be too late."

What is of more significance, mines were being laid around Taku, and 7,000 Chinese soldiers, under General Nich, with sixty field-guns, were ordered on June 16 to come up to Taku by train from the military rendezvous at Lutai, to oppose further foreign relief from outside. Considering what the military strength of the Chinese was, in and around Tientsin, it certainly seemed probable that if Taku was held by the Chinese and relief for foreigners should be cut off in approach by sea, the foreigners in Tientsin would be overcome and massacred, and after that there would easily follow the massacre of all foreigners in Peking. There was no time for delay. Prompt action was required. The admirals, with the exception of the American, saw that it was their duty to warn, to check, and to forestall the Chinese by informing the commander of the Taku forts that, as a matter of safety, those forts must temporarily be occupied by foreign troops.

A second and minor *casus belli* was the attack which the legation guard and civilians made on Boxers prior to the siege. This complaint is not referred to in imperial edicts, but was made by Prince Tuan, Duke Lan, and others, in a Grand Council of all the nobles and high ministers of state, on June 16, and again on June 20. "The foreigners have killed our Boxers; we must help the Boxers and kill the foreigners." The facts were these: After the foreigners in Peking had deserted their premises for combined defence, it was reported that bands of Chinese Christians were being surrounded and cut to pieces by the Boxers. With a laudable feeling of compassion, relief parties went out to rescue the converts, and, in so doing, killed several Boxers who were caught in the act of fiendish slaughter. Once or twice Boxers were fired upon as they drew near to assault the legations. Once Boxers who had gathered for their incantations had a few shots fired into them from the city wall behind the German legation.

It should be remembered that neither the Chinese soldiers nor their authorities had done anything whatever to restrain, inside the capital itself, the incendiarism, bloodshed, plunder, and anarchy which thou-

sands of Boxers were emboldened to carry on against foreigners and adherents of the Christian faith. Native authority stood aloof, while the awful carnival of maddened men, let loose as it were with blood-curdling yells from the very gates of hell, reigned throughout the city. If any defenceless Christian, with death staring him in the face, could be rescued, who will dare say that a wrong was done thereby? And yet, to be fair, we should perhaps acknowledge that, considering the inflamed condition of the populace, it would have been wiser if foreign parties, in their noble work of rescuing the helpless, had, beyond actual necessity, left the Boxers untouched, and had so avoided stirring the wrath of their sympathizers at Court.

Yet another cause of friction which terminated in the war, though technically not a *casus belli*, was the missionary propaganda throughout the country. As a rule, in Chinese criticisms, no distinction is made in the nationality of the missionary, or between Protestants and Roman Catholics. On July 18, 1900, when an informal armistice for a few days began in Peking, and the Court for the first time showed signs of discomfiture and an assumption of righteousness, an edict appeared, saying: "The reason for the fighting between the Chinese and foreigners sprang from a disagreement between the people and Christian converts. We could not but enter upon war when the forts at Taku were taken." Hence, so-called "missionary difficulties" are to be regarded as one root of the widespread tree of international collision.

Though a brief expression of opinion on this subject may be misconstrued, the matter cannot be eliminated if there is a desire to treat the more general problem fairly.

Is it wrong, then, to make converts in a country like China, if the outcome is to be trouble and perhaps war? Viewing missions from a political standpoint, not from a religious, it should be recognized that missionaries are the vanguard of Western civilization in China, opening up the country to new ideas of development, and conducing to the reception of enterprises and agents other than missionary. Moreover, they illustrate the character of Western civilization at its best, by lives of uprightness, honesty, and generosity. As a rule, I think it can be safely affirmed that British and American missionaries attend to their legitimate business with a sincere interest in promoting the welfare of all, and that in exceptional cases only do they intrude themselves on litigations of the natives.

Nevertheless, the work of proselytizing, even without a thought of using compulsion, inevitably causes friction. Any demarcation between

Christian Chinese and other Chinese, whether in conduct, custom, belief, or influence, will cause jealousy and suspicion. If Christian converts, because of their religious requirements, are exempt from certain exactions of custom, or if because of connection with their foreign teachers they are favored or protected in disagreements and quarrels with others, a feeling of resentment may be expected to arise. If Christians, like most Mohammedans in China, could live in communities apart, carrying on any business they pleased, free to observe the customs of their religion, and meeting the requirements of state through specially chosen representatives, much of this friction might be obviated. But missionaries, as a body, are not content to restrict the "sale of their wares," but want an "open door," and are influenced by a spirit of magnificent enterprise and the enthusiasm of conquests in new regions. They seek an extended market.

Put it down, then, that missionary operations, as usually carried on, will produce friction. As they have been carried on by certain emissaries, there have been and will continue to be local collisions, feuds, and much unrest. Political advantages through ecclesiastical intermeddlings never tend to peace and good-will. At their best, Christian missions have been openly permitted by the imperial Government all over China, and have received a commendable degree of protection for their agents and adherents. But, ever and anon, through some real ground of complaint, through some erroneous suspicion and superstitious fear, or through personal spite or an offence to public prejudice, a wave of persecution begins to roll, which, unchecked at the outset, soon breaks with tremendous desolation. If local officials, and especially members of the imperial Government, callously allow or zealously abet the craze against the church, as in the Boxer rising of 1900, then they inevitably see a result disastrous to pagan and to Christian alike.

And right here come in the difficulty and complication. If Chinese officials were just and trustworthy, it would only be necessary to find out the source of trouble, whether in Christian or non-Christian, and to devise a plan to make amends and confirm the right. Such a supposition being contrary to facts, the church, through some foreign power, will be tempted to strengthen an outside protectorate, assuring its converts that priest and people will stand together, and, if the worst comes to the worst, will die together. Hence it is that many Catholic missions, rather than desert their flock when danger comes, have fortified well-chosen places to ward off armed attacks.

The situation in troublous times is brought out in an edict of July 1, 1900. It says:

"Ever since foreign nations began the propagation of their religion, there have been many instances throughout the country of ill-feeling between people and converts. All this is due to faulty administration on the part of local authorities, giving rise to feuds. Converts are also the children of the state, and among them are not wanting good and worthy people; but they have been led away by false doctrines, and have depended on missionaries for help, with the result that they have committed many misdeeds. They hold stubbornly to their errors, and irreconcilable enmity has grown up between converts and people."

Anterior to the war of last year, and constituting a ground for it, were the ever-increasing aggressions of foreign powers. The inroads of Germany at Kiao-chow, of Russia at Port Arthur and Talien-wan, of Great Britain at Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon, and of France at Kuang-chao-wan; Italy's weak attempt in San-men Bay; and Japan's preëemptive claim, under certain eventualities, to the province of Fukien were so many "thorns in the flesh" to the body politic of China. A secret edict was sent forth to all the provinces near the close of 1899. Its language in part is as follows:

"The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavor to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. . . . It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances that nothing short of war would settle matters, he is expected to set himself resolutely to work to perform his duty to this end. . . . Never should the word 'peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials, nor should they even allow it to rest for a moment within their breasts. . . . Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves."

A few months after, I was talking with the cabinet minister, Kang Yi, who was a leading spirit in support of the Boxers, and afterward became their commander. He acknowledged the fact of such an edict, and emphasized the determination to resist, even by force of arms, any further attempts of foreign Powers to encroach on China's domains. Only some three months before the war I also met the notorious governor, Yu Hsien, who had officially started the Boxer organization in Shantung, and then went to Shansi to organize it in that province. He stated that the Boxers had been stirred up by high-handed actions of converts in the German-Catholic mission, but especially through the territorial aggressions of Germany in the province of Shantung.

War with one or all the Powers was certainly contemplated, and the feeling, whatever the purpose, was extermination. The Chinese were

becoming more and more enraged. When the actual declaration of war was made, the Emperor, referring to past relations with foreigners, said:

"At first they were amenable to Chinese control, but for the last thirty years they have taken advantage of China's forbearance to encroach on China's territory, trample on the Chinese people, and demand China's wealth. Every concession by China increased their confidence in violence. They oppressed peaceful citizens and insulted the gods and holy men, exciting the most burning indignation among the people."

Where was the right in this matter? I agree that the murder of the German missionaries in Shantung demanded some strong treatment, such as Germany was capable of giving; but I have never sympathized with her excessive — one might say, outrageous — demand. Still less ought one to sympathize with the irritating rush of other Powers for counterbalancing Germany's gain by appropriating more of China. Foreign diplomats might appear to be acting with fairness, since compacts were made with Chinese officials under the final approval of the Emperor; but none the less China yielded, not to a logical argument or a requirement of justice, but to the stern necessity of superior strength. And so the war, thought of for months, planned in secrecy, and longed for, if victory could only be assured, came at last in the hot summer days at the close of the century — China, not against Germany or Russia or Japan, but against the world!

Let us notice the right and the wrong of China's attitude and the attitude of the Powers in this unprecedented contest. (1) It was right for China, as a recognized sovereignty, to accept the challenge and to resist the inroads of outside nations. If China had rested the righteousness of her appeal to arms on the very apparent injustice with which different foreign nations persisted in treating her, the war would have been memorable as one of high principle. The mere fact that she was the weaker party would have brought her countless friends.

(2) China, however, was decidedly in the wrong, as well as short-sighted, in failing to distinguish between friendly and hostile nations. Even on the final challenge over the forts at Taku, why did not China attempt to specify the nations with which she undertook war, and omit those unconcerned in the challenge, such as the United States or the unrepresented nations like Austria and Holland? Even if she were ignorant of the exact situation, which is quite likely, she could have made some discrimination instead of generalizing all nations as "the enemy."

(3) Still more clearly, China was in the wrong by failing to recognize her friends among individual foreigners. Why should Sir Robert

Hart and his customs' staff, or Dr. Martin in the Imperial University, with his professors, all in the employ of China, be forced to take refuge in the legations? Why were they not befriended and utilized? Why was such a gallant man as Professor James shot down at the very time he was trying to save China?

(4) China was in the wrong in failing to protect non-combatant, private subjects of even the nations upon whom she was declaring war. For such a crime there would come most drastic retribution. So far as the imperial Government is concerned, she either forced such persons to become belligerent in self-defence, or violated all feelings of humanity by encompassing their death, and that, too, by barbaric methods. To be shot down, as dies the soldier on the battle-field, may be passed calmly by; but one's blood boils to think of delicate women, little children, and strong men, beheaded, outraged, cut to pieces, their bodies cast to dogs and wolves. The American missionaries, burned or slaughtered at Pao-ting-fu, had never given the slightest offence, and were from homes of Christian culture and refinement. The war was especially conspicuous for open and official countenance given to the cruelties of bloody massacre.

(5) China was in the wrong in attacking the legations and their official representatives. From a political standpoint China committed a most flagrant crime, and she knew it. The attack on the legations was a wrong which no Chinese are disposed to condone.

(6) China was in the wrong in plotting to kill those of her own people who, as officials, had tried to prevent war, or, as private subjects, had under the law accepted Christianity. The imperial Government and the imperial troops most distinctly favored the Boxers, who for months had been guilty of plunder, arson, and murder, and had oppressed the Christians, who at the worst had been high-handed and offensive in certain cases only.

As a measure of war, as well as being the purpose of the Boxers, native converts were compelled to a choice between recantation or death. The edict of July 2, already cited, says:

"The Throne is now exhorting all members of the Boxers to be loyal and patriotic, and to take part against the enemy, the people being of one mind. Knowing that the converts are also subjects owing fealty to the Throne, we also know that they form a distinct class and invite their own destruction. If they will change their hearts, there is no reason why they should not be allowed to escape from the net. . . . All converts who repent of their former errors and surrender to the authorities shall be allowed to reform, and their past will be overlooked."

Here, indeed, is a nice question in ethics. When two countries are

at war, shall the people of the one country, having accepted under their own Emperor's sanction the religion of the other country, be compelled to retract their religion, and attack their own instructors? Or shall they, convinced that the war is wrong and their religion right, be allowed to hold to their religion and remain aloof from the war?

(7) China was wrong in pandering to the lawlessness and atrocities of the Boxers, and incorporating them as a part of the Government. After a year of glaring misdemeanors, and even after they had created chaos in the capital, burning to the ground the most important business section with a loss of several millions of dollars, the Throne honored them by designating a prince and high officials to be their commanders, set apart revenue for their support, provided them with headquarters, and made this astounding statement: "All the Boxers are putting forth their utmost energy; the imperial family must not fall behind in harboring revenge against our enemies." All this was said and done, though the Throne had itself propounded the query: "We would like to know when in the history of a nation the condoning of anarchy among the people has made that nation strong?"

With respect to foreign powers: (1) It was their duty to rescue not only their official representatives, but all their own citizens in Peking and Tientsin, even if rescue involved war. The Chinese have had too much the impression that the killing of a foreigner, especially if a missionary, did not matter with some countries; and it was most desirable that they should see for once the reproof of a strong, combined, overpowering interference.

(2) The conduct of the Allies in their battles and onward march to Peking seldom, if ever, failed in observing the usages of warfare. There were cases of innocent Chinese, especially women, committing suicide through fright; but the stories of outrage need to be verified.

(3) The foreign Powers committed an error, perhaps, in allowing a strange muddle of war and peace, and in not declaring war in return for China's declaration — a war, however, clearly stated as directed not against the peaceful provinces, not against China as a whole, but against the imperial Manchu Court and the Boxers, who began the struggle. The war, once begun, should have been fought to the finish. It should have continued till the Chinese generals and army had surrendered, till the guilty leaders of outrage had been handed over, and till the political offenders, from the Empress-Dowager and Prince Tuan down, had yielded submission to the will of the conqueror.

(4) The treatment which North China, and especially Peking, re-

ceived after occupation seems to me, as an eye-witness, to have been in the main moderate and proper, if the provocation is taken into account. That which in common parlance has been termed "looting," and which in all the larger forms was officially conducted or permitted, was a punishment more mild than was deserved, and lighter than had already been meted out at the hands of the Chinese themselves. Exception may be taken to particular incidents; but, viewing the matter as a whole, I confess that I hold to the belief that some such treatment was needed as a preventive of similar occurrences. (Such obtuseness!) Cities and villages, seething with Boxers, made up "the enemy," as well as the Regulars, the Braves, and the Banner troops. There may have been too much pillaging of real friendly non-combatants — and none of such cases have I ever approved — but there was also, if anything, too little confiscation of the property of those not only active in the war, but responsible for outrages too awful to imagine, but too serious to be forgotten. I may be pardoned for believing that the statement which I made in THE FORUM for July is the only worthy defence to be made of the occurrences which have been called looting — more worthy than the attempt to class all "appropriation of food and clothing" (etc.) for foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians as outside the sphere of "loot" and so innocent and commendable, while all that others took is wrong and reprehensible.

As to punitive expeditions, there may likewise be criticism of particulars, but in the main they proved a necessary warning to the Chinese. Without them there would have been no security whatever. Better still would it have been if, in addition to punishment, there had been effected, in conjunction with Chinese authority, an orderly government in the province as in Peking, so that the way might have been prepared for peaceful and creditable transfer at the time of evacuation.

War at all times is regarded as unequal to the arts of peace in helping on either religion or morality. Whether the outcome of the last China war will conduce to the spread of righteousness, the inauguration of reforms, the beginning of mutual good-will, and the advancement of Christian missions, we cannot now determine. The political condition of the country and of international relations hardly makes one optimistic. In whatever light the situation is viewed, more dissatisfaction than cheerfulness will be felt at the bewildering maze of an unusual international relationship.

GILBERT REID.

ONE-SIDED TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

A VISITOR was recently shown through the rooms in which psychology is taught at one of America's famous schools for the training of teachers. The walls were covered with excellent diagrams and charts showing the different parts of the nervous system. The rooms were well supplied with expensive models of the brain and with delicate apparatus for testing the various kinds of nerve action. When the visitor was about to leave, the teacher told him she had no time to discuss *thinking* with her classes. Since this school is called the State Normal School, and is the only training school for teachers maintained at State expense in that Commonwealth, the visitor went away wondering whether that State would not ere long become missionary ground for the apostles of true education. To train, develop, and discipline the mind surely means more than the education of the spinal cord and of the gray matter of the brain. It involves more than the formation of habits based upon repeated nerve action. Important as the brain and the nervous system are in education, careful study of their functions cannot atone for the neglect of inquiry into the nature of thinking. The true test by which genuine teaching can be distinguished from its counterfeit, rote teaching, is found in thinking. The impressions conveyed to the mind through the gateways of knowledge must be interpreted and organized in thought; otherwise observation lessons have little value as factors in the mental growth of the child.

Many a young teacher has filled her mind with facts relating to nervous action, and with statements of the principles which are supposed to guide good teachers in all their teaching. Although these facts may prove valuable in the management of the individual child, and although the principles of teaching are at times helpful in making the needed preparation for giving a lesson, yet in the absorbing interest and enthusiasm which characterize instruction when it is at its best, these facts and principles sink into the subconscious realm, even if they are not entirely forgotten. At each step of the recitation the teacher's chief care is to make the pupils think the thoughts which the words enshrine; and

the supervisor tests the quality of instruction by ascertaining the quality of the thinking which the teacher begets in the pupils. If they repeat words without comprehending the meaning, the teaching is justly stigmatized as parrot work. If, on the other hand, they think the thoughts which the words embody, the class work, even if not above criticism, belongs to the category of good teaching. Mere nerve action may beget good habits; but if it does not involve the exercise of thought it cannot produce intelligent men and women. Routine work seldom appeals to the understanding; and review lessons which do not contain an element of new thought invariably tend to deaden the intellectual life. Whenever mental activity sinks to the level of mechanical routine, as in the excessive drill in number work either by the use of ratio-blocks or in the manipulation of the ten digits, the intelligence is apt to become dormant, and habit takes the place of thinking, although the exercises strike the casual observer as marvellous exhibitions of good teaching.

Let no one underestimate the importance of a careful study of the nervous system and the brain; nor should any one doubt that ultimately the discoveries of the psychological laboratory will prove valuable in constructing a rational system of pedagogy. But there are important, yea, fundamental questions in the science of education which cannot be solved by laboratory sections of the brain or by experiments upon the nerves of frogs and other animals. How to make a pupil think; how to cause him to know; by what means knowledge can be transformed into feeling, volition, and action; by what methods ideas can be made to germinate as seed thoughts, and bring forth a harvest of new thoughts, sentiments, and purposes — these are questions which, to say the least, deserve as much consideration on the part of those preparing to teach as the rate at which impressions upon the finger tips are conveyed to the brain.

Why has chess-playing never been introduced as part of the school curriculum? What school exercises concentrate attention more completely or beget more intense thinking than a good game of chess? Teaching has been defined as causing to know; and if the thinking which accompanies chess-playing gave the pupil as much valuable information, as much useful knowledge, as arithmetic and geography are believed to give, games of chess would long ago have found a place on the school programme. And yet many exercises which are defended on the ground that they cause the pupil to think, and that they furnish excellent discipline for the mental powers, do not leave a residuum of knowledge more extensive or more valuable than an average game of chess. Certain forms of thinking do not issue into knowing. The sequence of

ideas in day-dreams, the reveries of the bachelor gazing at the fire upon the open hearth, and the discussions in which youthful minds, fond of disputation, indulge on all sorts of social, political, and religious questions, seldom end in the kind of knowledge which Locke defines as "firm belief in what is true on sufficient ground."

Many a course of lectures on metaphysics, instead of deepening the student's convictions and sending him from the university with a sense of something to be achieved, leaves the mind in a state of doubt on the great questions of time and eternity. While such lectures without doubt beget vigorous thinking and strengthen the understanding, they neither impart useful knowledge nor spur the will to action. In this respect the technical and professional schools have a decided advantage over the schools whose leading aim is intellectual culture, because they send their graduates into the world with definite ideals and purposes. The very words "preaching," "healing," "law-practice," "dentistry," "engineering" convey the idea that the graduates of technical and professional schools go forth from their *alma mater* with the sense of something they must do for the sake of humanity, either in alleviating misery and suffering or in promoting progress and civilization. Teaching which begets vigorous thinking and yet bears fruit chiefly in doubt and scepticism, far too often leaves the heart cold, and ends in paralysis of the higher volitional functions. The best university teaching inspires the student with the conviction that the boundaries of human knowledge can be extended; that there is something which he can discover by research and investigation; and that it is his mission not only to preserve and transmit all the scientific knowledge in possession of the race in the department which he has made a specialty, but also to add new truth to the sum of truths which lie at the basis of our modern civilized life. From this point of view teaching as a science and as an art looms up in immeasurable grandeur and appeals to the student as worthy of the best efforts of a lifetime.

The over-emphasis of any field of investigation in the training of teachers is fraught with disastrous consequences. Education is a mixed science, and derives its data from a number of other fields of investigation. Reformers are apt to see one phase of the truth very clearly. In emphasizing what they see and feel, they are in danger of neglecting other phases of the truth. While doing some good and perhaps getting their names into the treatises on the history of education, they also do great harm by the one-sided work which they introduce into the schools. The reformer often becomes a deformer, making sad havoc by his experiments upon human beings. Many reformers have given the world splen-

did specimens of how not to do it. The visitor is often surprised to find how, in schools which were established to investigate educational problems by laboratory methods, the children being treated as means to an end very much like the materials used in laboratory experiments, everything gravitates, as the years pass, toward the traditional school; the reformers virtually acknowledging how difficult it is to improve upon that which has stood the test of ages. Reform will be possible as long as progress is possible; and it will be imperatively necessary wherever teachers go to extremes by emphasizing one phase of truth at the expense of other phases equally important. "One former is worth a thousand reformers"; and although the man himself may make little noise in the world, his work will get its stamp of approval from the successful career of the pupils whose minds were formed as well as informed under his tuition and guidance, and who were taught to think vigorously, to know clearly, to feel deeply, and to act well their part in the great drama of life.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER.

SUFFRAGE, NORTH AND SOUTH.

THERE has been a great deal of discussion during the last few years over the adoption by certain Southern States of new Constitutions which have had the effect of limiting suffrage. Much criticism and considerable sectional bitterness have been engendered by these constitutional provisions. The cause of this is evident enough, as it is quite apparent that the citizens of the Southern States have determined to maintain a dominant white political organization in the various localities, and that they can see no way to accomplish this except by restricting the privilege of voting on the part of the colored people. The regulations adopted in some States are more stringent than those in others, but the outcome everywhere has been a continued agitation. Resolutions of inquiry concerning the probable number of voters disfranchised have been offered in Congress, the object being of course to reduce the representation of the Southern States. The colored citizens of the North have strongly protested against the discrimination made by these constitutional enactments against their brethren living in the South. The question of race supremacy is involved, and is the moving cause for the amendments limiting suffrage. The entire social and political life of the South is said to be at stake.

The Civil War wrought violent changes in the material and social conditions of the Southern States, and years of tradition, long-standing customs, and well-established usages were cast to the four winds. The voting population was augmented by thousands of people who, with no experience in political life, had the ballot thrust upon them. Former landlords became tenants. In fact, the whole fabric of society had to be rebuilt. The federal Congress fixed the status of the negro so far as citizenship was concerned, and the white men of the South had to accept its decision under protest. The contest between the races has been waged with more or less intensity for almost thirty-five years. Much acrimonious discussion has been indulged in on the part of citizens of both North and South. Anathemas dire have been directed against political leaders for their attempt to disfranchise Southern Republicans.

Retorts come from the other side suggesting that the "Land of Dixie" has a perfect right to institute a system by which the votes of whites and blacks can be controlled upon such terms and conditions as may be deemed desirable; that the States of California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and other Commonwealths situated north of Mason and Dixon's line have prescribed qualifications necessary to vote, and that it is a poor rule that will not work both ways. And so the discussion proceeds with more or less earnestness.

Meantime the whole subject is to have the strong calcium light of figures thrown upon it. In other words, the data of the census office have reached the stage where they indicate how many people could exercise the right of suffrage in the absence of prohibitory enactments, how many decline to exercise the privilege of citizenship, and other equally interesting statistical facts. The Chief Statistician for Population has just completed a bulletin showing the population — by sex, nativity, color, voting age, and literacy and illiteracy — of all the States and Territories. For example, let us consider Alabama, Arkansas, California, and Connecticut. It is quite interesting to study the results somewhat in detail, relating to the States named, so far as they bear on the voting age of literacy and illiteracy.

Alabama is now in the throes of an election held for the purpose of adopting a new Constitution, and the question of limiting suffrage is the dominant issue. The members of the Constitutional Convention found that they had a population in the State of Alabama of 1,828,697, a growth in the last decade of about 315,860 people, or twenty-one per cent. It likewise appeared to the members of that body that they had 827,545 colored people to deal with, an increase of almost 150,000, or nearly twenty-two per cent, while the white people number 1,001,152, an increase since 1890 of twenty per cent. It can be readily seen that the blacks are growing in numbers in accordance with the scriptural injunction. Of this great mass of colored people we find that 181,500 are males over twenty-one years of age, and consequently voters under the former Constitution of the State of Alabama. Of the last number 108,000 are illiterate. The total number of white men entitled to vote if they chose to exercise the privilege is 232,296. It is noticeable that at the last Presidential election the entire black and white vote was only 162,300. In other words, only about seventy per cent of the entire voting population of the State of Alabama availed themselves of the right of citizenship. Inasmuch as there are in the State of Alabama over 200,000 white males over twenty-one years of age, and having

sufficient education to comply with any ordinary rules and requirements, it is quite evident that a large number failed to vote. This may be explained by the fact that the State of Alabama is hopelessly Democratic, and that a large number of her citizens did not think it necessary to go to the polls.

The statistical results are evidence that 31,600 of the white voters are illiterate, while those of the blacks who can neither read nor write make a total of about 140,000. These would be denied the right of ballot in case of the enforcement of stringent rules regarding suffrage. Accordingly, if the present Convention should see fit to adopt a law similar to that of California, Massachusetts, or Connecticut, it is evident that for every white man who lost his vote by reason of the lack of educational qualifications three black men would lose their votes. It may be said, in passing, that education is on the increase among the colored people of Alabama. In 1890 there were only 41,007 blacks who were literate; in 1900 there were 73,533; showing an increase of about 80 per cent in literacy among the blacks. It is quite evident that the younger generation is attending school, and is reaping the advantages of our generous educational system. Ten years ago an educational test would have disfranchised a great many of the colored race; now there will be 30,000 more who can utilize their valuable privileges than then.

Arkansas has apparently never taken very much interest in the matter of constitutional restrictions of suffrage. The increase in the population in that Commonwealth has not quite kept pace with that in some of the other Southern States, as she has only added about sixteen per cent to her people during the last decade. Practically the same conditions prevail in Arkansas as in Alabama, so far as concerns the increase in the colored population. The increase in Arkansas in the number of colored people was about twenty per cent, while the increase of the whites was only twelve per cent. It is apparent that if these two States can be considered fairly representative of the conditions in the South, the colored population is steadily on the increase, and in proportion quite as great as, if not greater than, the white. It is to be noted also that among the colored people entitled to vote literacy has increased on a basis of fifty per cent during the last decade, while the illiterates are less in number than ten years ago by three per cent; marking a steady advance, from an educational standpoint, in the State of Arkansas. History repeats itself in this State so far as voting is concerned. While in 1900 there were in the State of Arkansas 313,832 males of voting age,

at the election held during that year not more than 132,979 availed themselves of the privilege of going to the ballot box.

The white men entitled to vote, however, outnumber the blacks very materially in Arkansas, there being 226,593 white men and only 87,239 colored voters. In analyzing the figures returned from Arkansas, it is noticeable that the proportion of white illiterates is very large, being 23,522 out of a total of 226,000, in round numbers. Illiteracy on the part of the blacks is about 39,000 out of a total of 87,000 males over twenty-one. It can be readily seen that there would be no special advantage to the Arkansas people in passing stringent ballot laws, as the entire number of illiterates in the State is less than 63,000, of whom 23,000 are whites. In addition to this, the white voters greatly outnumber the blacks.

Let us consider the two other States in the group, California and Connecticut; the former, a rich agricultural and mineral State, a typical Western Commonwealth, progressive, and with a great future before it, in consequence of the possibilities of trade with the Orient just opening; the latter, a manufacturing State in the Eastern group, its population becoming rich through frugality and accumulation.

California has many Chinese, but it allows none of them to vote. That State enforces very strict regulations so far as the rest of its citizens are concerned. Its Constitution provides that no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language and write his name shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in the State. Out of 544,000 males of twenty-one years of age and over, only 302,000 availed themselves of the right to vote at the last Presidential election. There are of white, colored, and Chinese illiterates about 34,000. It is not observed that California insists upon a reduced representation in the Congressional body on account of the Chinese and other illiterates who do not vote in that State. The Chinese question in California seems to be righting itself; for while the number of Chinese reported in 1890 was 72,472, the present number, according to the last returns, is only 45,754; showing a decrease of almost forty per cent. The negroes, of whom there is a very small number, remain practically unchanged. The Japanese, however, have increased almost 1,000 per cent. In 1890, they numbered 1,147 only. According to the returns just tabulated, there are now 10,142 in California, which seems to indicate that the people of that State prefer the Japanese to their Mongolian brothers as residents within their borders.

In the State of Connecticut, where there is a male population of

voting age numbering 280,340, there are only 5,204 colored voters. The colored people apparently do not care for the climate of Connecticut. The great mass of the illiterates of this State consists of white people. There are but 719, out of the whole number of colored citizens, who do not read or write. On the other hand, there are 18,265 illiterate whites of voting age. This latter figure is almost unexplainable, as Connecticut is one of the oldest States, and has had, presumably, an excellent common-school system. Out of 280,000 men of voting age, 22,000 were apparently ruled out on account of restrictions concerning the right of suffrage. Article 29 of the State Constitution, adopted in October, 1897, provides that every person shall be able to read in the English language any article of the Constitution or any section of the statutes of the States before being admitted as an elector. Only 181,000 availed themselves of their political rights at the last Presidential election. It is quite difficult to understand this, as one would have expected from the political situation in Connecticut that all her citizens would take an interest in the outcome of the election.

We have briefly considered the situation in four States — two in the South, one in the West, and one in the Northeast — so far as restrictions obtain limiting suffrage. At least three Northern States have passed stringent laws. Alabama is about to enact similar legislation. Arkansas has none, except the payment of a poll tax. Virginia is just now changing her Constitution, and the question of suffrage excites great interest.

It is a fortunate thing that we are able to give the actual figures concerning the very interesting conditions involved in the whole plan of suffrage at this particular time. It is well that the discussion should go on, and that the whole country should realize that while attempts are being made in certain Southern States to limit the privilege of exercising the ballot, the same end has already been obtained in some Northern Commonwealths. Another very important fact to be gathered from the statistics published by the census bureau is the large number of people who are entitled to avail themselves of their political privileges and who fail to do so. It is evident that the spur should be used to induce people to take advantage of the rights accorded them under the Constitution.

The population of negroes throughout the entire country has increased practically in the same ratio as the white population, there being 8,840,789 as against 7,488,788 in the year 1890. The growth is a trifle over eighteen per cent. So it can be readily seen that the racial question is likely to be with us for years to come; for there is not the

slightest probability that the negro will occupy an unimportant place in our civilization. What to do with him is the problem.

The training of the school is of course a valuable factor so far as his future is concerned. The data thus far gained are a sufficient evidence that literacy among the colored race has made quite an appreciable increase during the last decade. For example, in Alabama 72.2 per cent of the colored people were illiterate in 1890, and in 1900 the number was reduced to 59.5 per cent; in Virginia the reduction was approximately a little over fourteen per cent; in Mississippi it was the same. Throughout the five States in the South containing the largest aggregate population the average reduction was about thirteen per cent, showing a hopeful gain in the number of those who can read and write. These facts have an important bearing upon the question of suffrage in the principal Southern States, for the reason that in most Commonwealths the educational qualification is a usual one, thus indicating that in the decades to come the colored man, by reason of his rudimentary instruction, will have more or less to say concerning the conditions of government.

The question as to just what occupation seems to be best adapted to the negro of the future is open to discussion. While the school system gives him many advantages in the way of a higher standing among his fellowmen, it is debatable whether he can put them to any practical use in the way of gaining a livelihood, save in so far as he utilizes his ability to read and write. There does not appear to be much opening for him in the field of clerical work, social distinctions making it impossible to give him the fullest opportunities in this direction. The suggestion made by Mr. Booker T. Washington, that he learn the trades, would apparently be the most practical solution of this vexing question. The colored man can be a good carpenter, a good stone-cutter, a good builder, and a good machinist; and from any one of these sources he can obtain a respectable livelihood. There seems to be really no satisfactory solution of this most complex, and at the same time interesting, problem in our social life, time apparently being needed to determine what results may be finally accomplished.

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.

RECIPROCITY AND FOREIGN TRADE.

THE great increase in the products of manufactures in the United States and the need of new markets in which to dispose of the surplus have brought into unusual prominence the subject of reciprocity. This means of extending trade received the approval of the Republican National Conventions in 1896 and in 1900. President McKinley appointed the Hon. John A. Kasson as a Special Commissioner to negotiate treaties for this purpose. Mr. Kasson succeeded in making limited reciprocal arrangements, not requiring further action by Congress, with France, Portugal, Italy, and Germany. These arrangements are now in effect. They were authorized under Section 3 of the Dingley tariff law. Section 4 of the same act provides for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties to be ratified by the Senate and "approved by Congress." Under that section Mr. Kasson negotiated treaties with Great Britain for the British West Indies, with Denmark for the Island of St. Croix, and also with France, the Argentine Republic, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. Pourparlers took place with Germany and Russia, but the negotiation of treaties with those two countries awaits the action of the Senate on the French treaty; Mr. Kasson having stated that if this treaty is not approved "it will be vain to attempt any others in Europe."

In the meantime there has been a growing agitation on the subject. President McKinley, in his last speech at Buffalo, made strong declarations in favor of reciprocity treaties, thus bringing the question into great prominence. Numerous commercial bodies throughout the country have declared in favor of such treaties, and the National Association of Manufacturers called a convention to consider the matter. President Roosevelt, when taking the oath of office, declared his purpose "to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley," a declaration which commits him, if not to the Kasson treaties, at least to that method of extending trade and opening new markets.

Some conception of the need of new markets may be gained from the census statistics of our national growth since 1870. The census of

that year showed an increase in the population, as compared with 1860, of 22.23 per cent. The gross value of manufactures in 1870 was \$3,385,000,000, an increase of seventy-nine per cent over 1860. Ten years later, in 1880, the population had increased 30.8 per cent, while the increase in the gross value of manufactures was fifty-eight per cent, the total being \$5,349,000,000. The next census, that of 1890, showed an increase in population of 24.86 per cent, and an increase in the gross value of manufactures of sixty-nine per cent, the total reaching the sum of \$9,056,000,000. The increase in the population reported by the census of 1900 was twenty-one per cent, while that in the gross value of manufactures, so far as the returns have been made up, was about fifty-four per cent. The gross value of manufactured products in 1900 will not vary far from \$13,000,000,000. The figures for the whole country will not be complete for some time yet, but they were complete for many of the States at the time this article was written. There is a large amount of duplication in the census returns of the gross value of products, owing to the fact that partially manufactured products which become the raw materials of ultimate products are counted more than once. The amount of this duplication, however, was proportionately the same at each census, so that the figures are correct for comparative purposes. This duplication will be eliminated for the first time in the final figures of the twelfth census, and the net products will, of course, be very much less than the gross products.

But for the purpose of comparison the gross products are properly used and show the stupendous proportions of our national growth in production. In the same time that the population increased 98.54 per cent, the value of the products of manufactures increased 260 per cent. Consumption has increased with the growing prosperity of the nation, but is far behind the increase in the products. Hence the pressing need of additional markets. For instance, the flour mills in the United States have the capacity to manufacture into flour in the period of eight months all the wheat grown in this country in a year; and yet in the last fiscal year 102,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported. The cotton mills in the United States can produce in eight months all the cotton goods that this country consumes in twelve months. Such facts as these demonstrate the absolute need of foreign markets. A reduction of the tariff does not provide additional markets. That was amply demonstrated under the Wilson tariff act. One of the great advantages claimed for that law by its authors was that it would greatly increase our exports. But the exports under the McKinley tariff law in the fis-

cal year of 1892 were \$147,671,210 greater than were the exports under the Wilson act in 1896, just before the election of Mr. McKinley as President. Reducing the tariff to increase the foreign trade of the country, particularly in the matter of exports, proved a disastrous experiment, while at the same time it brought about a large decrease in home consumption as a result of the closing of mills and the enforced idleness of an army of workmen. The passage of the Dingley law increasing duties led to an enormous increase in the exports, which were \$577,846,871 greater in the fiscal year of 1901 than in the fiscal year of 1896. There was a similar increase in exports after the passage of the McKinley act, which also increased duties, up to the time that the silver question and the probable repeal of the law, the result of an election, interfered with business. Exports are not increased by a reduction of duties which injures home industries.

The method of extending trade by reciprocity treaties has apparently grown greatly in public favor of late. There does not seem to be a very clear conception of what is precisely meant by reciprocity, which may account for the singular fact that both the advocates and the opponents of the protective tariff are advocating such treaties. For instance, the Republican State Convention in Iowa and the Democratic State Convention in Massachusetts both declared in favor of reciprocity treaties; and these treaties are advocated by both Republican and Democratic newspapers. Free-trade journals assert that reciprocity is either free trade under another name or is a step in the direction of free trade, but these assertions are resented by the advocates of the tariff. Both are in a measure right. It depends on the nature of the treaties. What are known as the Blaine reciprocity treaties — technically only agreements — negotiated under the authority of the McKinley law, did not lessen in any degree the protection afforded home industries by that act; but some of the Kasson treaties, negotiated under the authority of the Dingley law, provide for a reduction of rates which lessens the protection given, whether needed or not, to home industries. That accounts for the fact that those treaties have not been ratified by the Republican Senate. The Republicans were all satisfied with the Blaine reciprocity agreements. But the latter were unceremoniously abrogated by the Democrats, when they came into power under President Cleveland's second administration. The Kasson treaties have met with strong opposition in the Republican party, and with Democratic approval in proportion to Republican disapproval. The Democrats who approve those treaties believe, as a rule, that they are so many steps in the

direction of free trade. A similar view accounts for Republican disapproval.

Reciprocity treaties are not a new thing. They have been more or less common in Europe. One was negotiated between England and Portugal in 1703. The series of German treaties, beginning with that between Prussia and Hesse in 1828, led to the establishment of the Zollverein, and later, in 1853, to the treaty between the Zollverein and Austria. The treaty between England and France in 1860 was negotiated with the intention of aiding in bringing about free trade. President Hadley, of Yale University, tells in an article on reciprocity how Napoleon, unable to secure in the regular way a reduction of the French tariff, adopted the method of negotiating a reciprocity treaty with a view to giving the benefits of it to other nations under the most favored nation clause, thus indirectly accomplishing his purpose. President Hadley, himself an eminent free trader, declares that this system has worked "strongly in favor of free trade." No doubt that would be the effect whenever the duties on home products were reduced below the protective point, as it is contended would be the effect of some of the Kasson treaties. True reciprocity, as generally understood by Republicans, is described in the national platform of 1900 as a policy "so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets." It has been concisely and graphically defined by the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General, in these words:

"Its principle, rightly understood, is axiomatic. Brazil grows coffee and makes no machinery. We make machinery and grow no coffee. She needs the fabrics of our forges and factories, and we need the fruit of her tropical soil. We agree to concessions for her coffee and she agrees to concessions for our machinery. That is reciprocity."

President McKinley defined reciprocity in these words: "It is to afford new markets for our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, without loss to the American laborer of a single day's work that he might otherwise procure." In his inaugural address he declared himself in favor of reciprocity, "the end in view always to be the opening up of new markets for the products of our country, by granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves, and which do not involve any loss in labor to our own people, but tend to increase their employment." In the last speech he ever made, referring to this question of reciprocity, he said: "By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt

our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus."

That was the principle of the agreements made under the McKinley tariff law. The articles that were admitted to the United States under those treaties were sugar, tea, coffee, and hides. They were products which the United States was compelled to import to a very large extent if not altogether, and their importation did not involve any injurious competition with domestic products. Hence there was never any objection to those agreements. The same is true of the reciprocity agreements now in effect negotiated under Section 3 of the Dingley tariff act with France, Portugal, Italy, and Germany. They provide for the admission, at reduced rates, of argols, crude tartar, and wine lees crude; brandies; champagne and other sparkling wines; still wines and vermouth; and paintings and statuary. The admission of such articles does not involve competition with home products to an injurious extent.

But when Mr. Kasson went beyond the limits of what Republicans generally regard as true reciprocity, and provided for a reduction of duties on products of other nations that compete with similar products of the United States, the trouble began. The French treaty, the one that has aroused most opposition, was regarded as a test of how far Congress would be willing to go in carrying out reciprocity agreements of that kind. Mr. Kasson, in addressing the Senate Committee, said:

"I am holding back from any fresh negotiations, under the fourth section of the tariff act, in order to get the judgment of the Senate upon this plan of reciprocity, because I have put my best effort into this French treaty, and if it is not to be ratified, of course there is no propriety in my going on and making governmental embarrassment in that respect. If this highly advantageous treaty cannot be approved I consider it vain to attempt any others in Europe."

That being the situation, and the French treaty still awaiting the action of the Senate, an examination of its contents will give a better idea than can be obtained in any other way of the differences of opinion on this subject of reciprocity.

The fourth section of the tariff act provides for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, with such countries as shall make such return as is deemed to be for the interests of the United States, within two years from the time the act takes effect, by a reduction of duties to the extent of not more than twenty per cent on the part of the United States, or by the transfer from the dutiable to the free list of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States. These treaties were to last for

five years and then until abrogated, and were to be duly "ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress." Under this provision Mr. Kasson made the treaty with France, signed July 24, 1899, under which all products of the United States excepting horses, butter, cast iron, boots and shoes, machine tools, eggs, cheese, honey, and a few other things were to be admitted to France at the minimum rates of duties, the tariff act of that country providing for minimum and maximum rates. In return it was provided that certain specified products of France or Algeria should be admitted to the United States at reductions in duty varying from five to twenty per cent of the existing rates. The specified articles to be admitted at this reduction in duty from France or Algeria were 463 in number, including silk goods, cotton goods, gloves, articles of flax and hemp, chemicals, perfumery, earthenware and glassware to a limited extent, cutlery, plants and seeds, hats, musical instruments, etc.

These things are nearly all produced in the United States. This at once brought up the question as to whether or not the reduction of duties provided for in the treaty on any of these articles would hurt home industries. Mr. Kasson took the ground that no injury would result, or that if any did follow it would be very small and would be more than counterbalanced by the benefits that would accrue to other industries which would secure entrance into France under the minimum rates of duty, the United States now having to pay the maximum rates. The Home Market Club of Boston, the American Iron and Steel Association, and other protective-tariff organizations opposed the treaty on the ground that it would injure American industries. The battle was fought before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and as a result the treaty was not reported to the Senate. It is still pending, however, but with little prospect of its ratification.

Mr. Kasson holds that such of the duties as would be dispensed with under the treaty with France are surplus duties not needed by the American industries concerned. If they are surplus duties and not needed, the concession would be of no advantage to France. If the home industries could compete successfully under the reduced duties, the French products affected could not be sold in the United States any more than is now the case; and if France were making genuine concessions to the United States she would be giving something for nothing. It is not probable that France contemplated doing anything of the kind. A very little investigation will show that some of the American industries concerned would either have to reduce prices — and that generally means

a reduction in wages — to meet this increased competition, or else they would suffer a partial loss of the home market. For instance, the treaty provides for a reduction of five per cent in the duties on the manufactures of silk. During the calendar year of 1900 the imports of silk goods from France, under the present rates of duty, were valued at \$14,360,318; and it is clear that these imports would be largely increased by any reduction of duties. The importations of silk in 1900 from all countries aggregated \$30,000,000 in value. That demonstrates that the United States manufacturers of silk are not able, under the tariff as it now exists, to supply anything like the entire demand of the home market. The Senate Committee was informed that a number of silk mills closed during the last season because of their inability to dispose of their products at a profit. According to those engaged in this industry a reduction of duties, under such circumstances, would clearly be injurious to it. The industry has been built up to large proportions by the protective tariff, the total production last year reaching, according to the census, the gross value of \$107,256,258. That the duties are neither prohibitory nor excessive is proved by the large importations.

Cotton goods afford another case in point. A reduction is made of twenty per cent in the duties on knitted goods of cotton. In the fiscal year of 1901 such knitted goods were imported to the extent of \$5,461,704; showing clearly that the duties are not high enough at present to exclude this class of goods. It is true that the imports of cotton knitted goods from France were only \$343,731 in value, though the imports of all cotton goods from France, on which reduced rates are provided, aggregated \$5,550,460. But the ratification of the French treaty necessarily means the ratification of similar treaties with other countries. Mr. Kasson himself explained to the Senate Committee that he was only waiting for the Senate to act on this particular treaty to determine whether or not to go on negotiating similar treaties with Germany and other countries. The imports of cotton goods from all countries similar to those on which reductions of duties are provided for in the French treaty aggregated in value in the last fiscal year about \$30,000,000. It is evident that there is no surplus duty there. In the cotton knitted goods industry alone 100,000 people are employed in the United States. Anything which affects that industry to its injury will hurt all these people.

The treaty makes a concession of twenty per cent, the entire duty, on furs for hats. Previous to the McKinley law our hatters imported cut fur. The duty caused the cutting to be done in this country.

Mills were established in several States, and have been doing a good business. The French treaty entirely removes the protection, so far as France is concerned, on furs for hats. This would mean the end of the fur-cutting industry in the United States, or a reduction of wages. A cut is made of ten per cent on gloves. The glove-making industry has grown in the United States to large proportions since fair protection was given under our tariff laws; and yet in 1900 we imported \$6,107,765 worth of gloves. France supplied \$2,260,999 of that total, and Germany \$2,796,024. Any concession made to France will also have to be made to Germany, or Germany can be depended upon to retaliate promptly. Can it be said that there is any surplus duty on gloves now when the importations aggregate in value such a large amount? A great deal of our foreign trade is done on a profit of five per cent or less. A reduction of ten per cent in the duties on gloves apparently means a large increase in the importations, which must take a considerable part of the home market away from our home producers. It is not necessary to quote further from that treaty to show why the Senate refused to ratify it, and why it has small prospect of ratification in the future.

The treaties with Great Britain for the West India Islands, and with some of the countries to the south of us, provide for the admission of fruits and vegetables at reduced rates of duty. These treaties were opposed by California senators and by some of the Southern senators on the ground that these reductions of duty would result in dangerous competition with the products of those States, particularly with the important citrus industry of California, to say nothing of the effect on Porto Rico. The Argentine treaty provided, among other things, for a reduction of twenty per cent in the duty on wool. The average import cost of fine Argentine wool in 1900 was about sixteen cents a pound, and the same wool in October of this year cost only eight cents. A reduction in the duty of twenty per cent would probably bring in so much of that wool at so low a cost as to involve a reduction in the price of American wool, which would injure the important wool-growing industry. The Argentine Republic produces vast quantities of wool, and the wool growers vigorously assert that a reduction in the duty such as that proposed in the treaty would be injurious to this American industry. That is why the Argentine treaty was not ratified by the Senate. If the duty on raw wool were reduced, it would involve a reduction in the duty on the manufactures of wool, because that duty was fixed in harmony with the duty on the raw material.

Hence the ratification of the Argentine treaty might have involved further tariff legislation with all its evil consequences. It seems clear that President McKinley's declaration in favor of treaties "granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves," was violated by the French and Argentine treaties. Some industries, such as the agricultural-implement industry, would be benefited by both the French and the Argentine treaties, but others would be injured, and President McKinley in his last speech declared against "interrupting home production."

President Roosevelt has wisely uttered the warning that "we have got to remember that our first duty is to our own people," a very pertinent remark when it is considered that of the aggregate product of the twenty-two largest manufacturing industries in the United States, by the census of 1890, only 6.9 per cent in value was exported. The production reached \$5,341,272,850 in value, and the exports \$368,778,051. It appears by the census figures that the gross value of the products of manufactures in 1900 was about \$13,000,000,000. The exports of manufactures in that year aggregated in value \$433,851,756, or about three per cent of the total product. The tremendous importance of the home market is thus made clear. When concessions in duties on competing products are made we either give to the foreign competitor a part of our home market, or we give him nothing for something, provided that he gives us anything in return. That some industries will be injured under this treaty seems indisputable. Mr. James Deering, in a vigorous advocacy of the French treaty before the Senate Committee, speaking for the manufacturers of agricultural implements, said: "From our investigation of this matter we are led to believe — I state this with an object — that the advantages of the reciprocity treaty proposed are largely with America, and that those manufacturers who would be favored by the treaty would be much more benefited financially than those manufacturers who would be injured financially." A truism; but what Mr. Deering intended to say was that the manufacturers who would be benefited would gain more than the injured manufacturers would lose, as he explained that the implement manufacturers believed in "the greatest good of the greatest number." The admission that the treaty would be injurious to certain industries makes its advocacy in direct conflict with President McKinley's declaration that no industry should be injured. The people of this country will hardly agree that to benefit two men another man should be robbed of something he now has.

Some change in our commercial relations with France is evidently

needed. We are now unjustly discriminated against by that country. France has a peculiar tariff system which American legislators might well take into consideration, if such a system would not be in conflict with our Constitution. She has a general high protective tariff that applies to all the world, and a "minimum tariff," varying according to articles from fifteen per cent to seventy-five per cent, with an average of about twenty-five per cent, below the general or maximum tariff. On certain articles the rates are the same in both tariffs, and there is a free list. The minimum tariff is given to such countries only as make special concessions to France in return. All the nations of Europe, excepting Portugal, have the benefit of the minimum tariff. The United States is in the same category as Portugal.

France annually imports considerably over \$100,000,000 in value of manufactures. The United States supplies a little over two per cent of that total. Great Britain supplies about thirty-six per cent, and Germany about twenty-six per cent. Of the merchandise from all countries imported by France free of duty, excepting raw silk and wool, the United States, competing on equal terms, furnishes, according to Mr. Kasson, thirty-six per cent; and of the dutiable merchandise on which the rates are the same in both the maximum and minimum tariffs the United States supplies thirty-five per cent. But of the merchandise imports subject to maximum and minimum rates the United States supplies only about two per cent. These figures are given by Mr. Kasson to show what the United States might gain by getting the benefit of the minimum rates. He says that the treaty would involve a loss of about \$1,000,000 in duties on existing imports from France and would increase our exports from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000. But if the United States makes reciprocal concessions France must necessarily increase her exports to this country to the same amount. And France sends to us goods manufactured in a high degree, while we send to her largely raw products. A \$30,000,000 increase in her sales here would take that much of our market away from some home producers to benefit others, who would increase their sales in France.

France discriminates against the United States in many ways. She more than doubled the duties on our meat products very suddenly, raising both maximum and minimum rates, so that when the reciprocity treaty should take effect the duties would still be high. A bill was introduced in the French Assembly to double the duty on cotton-seed oil, and then notice was given that it would be suspended awaiting the result of the reciprocity negotiations. Maximum rates were also increased

on other of our products. Steps were taken to impose the maximum rate on our petroleum, now admitted at the minimum rate. That proposition was "held up" pending the outcome of the treaty negotiations. Russian petroleum has the minimum rate. The maximum rate would increase the duty on American petroleum, if the same quantity were imported, by \$4,500,000 annually. Mr. Kasson says: "We cannot now send a box of goods on a steamer sailing under the United States flag to Southampton or Antwerp, or other port outside of France, and have it transshipped and go into France at the same rate of duty as if shipped direct to a French port" — a discrimination against American steamship lines. There are discriminating orders against American cattle, sheep, etc. Export bounties are paid on flour to drive the United States out of the English and other markets.

If we take as our basis the trade of 1897, we find that the loss of revenue the United States would sustain under the French treaty would amount to about \$1,000,000, while on the same basis the French, according to Mr. Kasson, would lose less than \$300,000. But the French negotiator declared that if the treaty were not ratified petroleum and cotton-seed oil would be taken off the minimum tariff and subjected to the maximum tariff rates, which, if taken into consideration, would make the French loss about \$5,000,000. The question is: Shall the United States be forced into a treaty by such threats? No discrimination whatever is made by us against any foreign nation; and yet we are directly and avowedly discriminated against by France, Germany, and some other countries.

France sells to the United States a great deal more than she buys in return; hence any talk of her making a tariff war against this country is absurd. In the fiscal year of 1901, according to the Treasury statistics, the imports from France were \$75,454,098, and the exports to that country \$78,923,914. But owing to our faulty system of statistics, about \$15,000,000 of exports to Switzerland are counted as exports to France. For instance, our figures show imports from Switzerland in 1900 of \$17,393,268 and exports of \$250,477 in value. That on the face of it is absurd. As a matter of fact, as shown by the official returns of Switzerland, that country imports from the United States nearly as much as it exports to this country. But under our statistical system exports are counted as going to the country where they are landed; and as nearly all our exports to Switzerland go through France, they appear in our statistics as exports to France. Hence, when we deduct the exports to Switzerland, as shown by the official returns of that

country, from the total of the exports to France, the French imports from the United States are reduced to about \$63,000,000, as compared with our imports from France of over \$75,000,000, leaving a balance in favor of France of about \$12,000,000.

That shows the folly of French threats of "retaliation," which mean more discrimination. There is a provision in our statutes¹ which authorizes the President, when satisfied that unjust discriminations are made by any foreign state against any product of the United States, to retaliate by excluding from the United States such products of such foreign state as he may deem proper, until such discrimination against the United States is removed. A judicious use of that power would probably soon end the discriminations which are made by the French against the United States, and which apply to no other country, and would relieve us of threats of further discriminations.

When we go outside of the lines laid down in the last Republican National platform favoring treaties that "open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce," it is very difficult to make a reciprocity treaty not in conflict with the protective tariff. With one exception, all treaties that have been made to include for admission into the United States at lower rates of duty articles that we produce have been refused ratification by the Senate or have failed to receive the approval of Congress. The treaty of 1854 with Canada did admit from that country articles produced in the United States; and as a result it was a failure so far as this country was concerned, and was abrogated by our Government. In the fiscal year of 1854, the last one before the treaty went into effect, the exports from the United States to Canada, as given by the Treasury Department, aggregated in value \$24,157,612, while for the fiscal year of 1866, the last one while the treaty was in effect, the exports were in value \$23,439,115, a loss of \$718,497. On the other hand, the imports from Canada in 1854 were \$8,784,412 in value, and in 1866 they were \$48,133,599, an increase of nearly 500 per cent, showing the jug-handled effect of that treaty. In 1874 another treaty was negotiated, but the United States Senate refused to ratify it.

The next commercial treaty, that made with the Hawaiian Islands, was more for political than for commercial purposes; but during nearly the whole time of its existence the annual imports from Hawaii were several times greater than the exports to that country. A treaty was negotiated with Mexico which would have admitted some things produced in the United States, but Congress refused to carry it into effect.

¹ Section 5 of the Act of August 30, 1890.

Under the Harrison administration there was negotiated with France a treaty which was not ratified, and which failed also to receive the approval of the French Chamber of Deputies. The reciprocity agreements made under the McKinley law of 1890 neither raised nor lowered duties. Sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides were placed on the free list by that law, and the President was authorized to reimpose duties, as specified in the act, on those articles coming from countries which imposed duties or other exactions upon products of the United States which he might "deem to be reciprocally unequal and unjust." Colombia, Haiti, and Venezuela refused to make any reciprocal return, and duties were accordingly reimposed on such products coming from those countries. But Brazil and some other countries made in return reductions on certain products of the United States. Those agreements benefited some industries, though the statistics do not show very great benefits as a whole excepting in the case of Cuba. Under the treaty with Guatemala, the first agreement to take effect under that law, the exports were less every year the treaty was in effect than was the case the year before it came into operation. With Honduras there was the same result. The same thing was true of Nicaragua, and the exports to Salvador and the British West Indies made a like showing. In the case of Santo Domingo there was a slight increase in exports. The exports to Cuba more than doubled, and those to Porto Rico remained about stationary. In the case of Brazil there was a considerable decline after the first year the treaty was in effect. In the case of British Guiana there was a slight increase. There was a very large decline after the first year in the exports to Austria-Hungary, and no particular change in the case of Germany.

While in the aggregate trade there did not seem to be any very marked improvement under those reciprocity agreements, excepting in the case of Cuba and British Guiana, yet the treaties to a large extent were in effect at a time of declining trade generally, and thus were not fairly tested. Eight of the twelve reciprocity agreements went into effect in 1892, the year of the defeat of the Republican party in a presidential election, which made it fairly certain that a law would be passed reducing the tariff rates, and abrogating these reciprocity agreements, which, in connection with the prospects as to other legislation, had a very injurious effect on commerce. The decline in exports was not as great in the case of the reciprocity countries as it was in the case of those countries not included in such agreements. The exports of flour, iron, and steel were considerably larger to the countries included in these

agreements while they were in force than had been the case previously. The undiplomatic way in which the Democrats cancelled those agreements caused a good deal of ill-feeling on the part of the nations concerned; and, as a result, Austria, Germany, and some other countries began to discriminate against the United States, and have kept up that practice more or less ever since.

The United States has apparently made a mistake in putting coffee and some other things on the free list instead of using them for reciprocity purposes. This applies particularly to South America. Of its products imported into the United States ninety-two per cent are admitted free of duty. But of the United States exports to the countries of South America we pay duty on all. We furnish to those countries fifteen per cent of their imports and purchase of them thirty per cent of their exports; showing in their case that buying from a country does not result in return sales. In ten years we sold to the countries south of us \$904,000,000, while we bought of them \$2,135,000,000. In thirty years we purchased of Brazil \$1,500,000,000 worth of her products, and sold to her only about \$250,000,000 worth of our products, which compelled us to pay the enormous sum of \$1,250,000,000 in gold or its equivalent to settle the balance of trade. Nearly every cent of that sum has gone into the pockets of European merchants and manufacturers. The exchange alone charged by the London bankers on this business, as reported by a congressional committee, aggregated at least \$10,000,000, and we paid to owners of English ships \$30,000,000 in the same transaction. And yet Brazil to-day discriminates against us. She charges a higher duty on flour, for instance, when it comes from the United States than when it comes from the Argentine Republic. She does this in return for a reduction of duties by the Argentine Republic on Brazilian coffee, whereas we admit that coffee free of duty, and in the last fiscal year imported from Brazil \$70,643,347 in value of her products, while the Argentine Republic did not take \$4,000,000 worth. This illustrates how the United States has thrown away opportunities for reciprocal trade by putting an article like coffee on the free list, and then submitting to unjust discrimination on the part of such a country as Brazil, from which we import nearly six times as much as we export to her.

One great obstacle in the way of the extension of our commerce is our lack of steamship facilities. Much of our trade with South America is done by way of Europe. The United States has not a single line of steamships running to the River Plate, although, as the United States

Minister at Buenos Ayres reports, there are "numberless lines of European steamships running to and from the River Plate." He relates how trade has to be carried on with the United States by way of Europe, and shows how impossible it is for it to grow much under such conditions. And the River Plate is not alone in this respect. Without direct and frequent steamship communication trade cannot be successfully conducted with any country; and as long as we continue to depend on foreigners to do our ocean-carrying trade, our exports to South America and many other countries will remain of comparatively small importance, and reciprocity treaties will not help us much.

E. J. GIBSON.

LICENSED GAMBLING IN BELGIUM.

Not long ago the well-beloved son of a wealthy and influential citizen of Belgium lost a fortune in one of the great gambling establishments that flourish so vigorously in that country under the protection of the laws of the kingdom. This young man's experience at the gaming tables was by no means exceptional. A like misfortune had overtaken many young men before him, and it has overtaken many since; but in this particular instance it appears to have had the effect of arousing the righteous indignation of a resourceful father, who is popularly credited with having caused the introduction of an anti-gambling bill into the Belgium Parliament. This bill divided the attention of that legislative body, at its late session, with a radical measure for the extension of the popular suffrage throughout the kingdom, proposals for the reorganization of the army, and the Congo bill, definitely assigning to Belgium a place among the colonizing nations of Europe.

The agitation awakened by this movement possesses a peculiar interest and significance, by reason of the fact that Belgium may now be said to be the only important country in Europe where gambling organizations flourish practically by the authority of the general Government, and where gaming clubs are conducted under the direct surveillance of representatives of the governments of those cities where such establishments exist. To be sure, Monaco furnishes a conspicuous exception to this statement; but inasmuch as that little principality ranks as the personal perquisite of its reigning prince, who conducts the affairs of his miniature realm to suit his own inclinations, regardless of the wishes of his subjects, it is scarcely necessary to consider Monte Carlo in this reckoning. It is likewise a notorious fact that gambling, in one form or another, and on a more or less extensive scale, is carried on under distinguished patronage in nearly all the great capitals of Europe, where gambling scandals, affecting the character and reputation of people high in social, political, and military station, frequently challenge the attention of the authorities. In nearly all the continental watering-places there are *cercles* in the casinos where roulette, baccarat, and *petits che-*

vauz are played, on a comparatively small scale, without any pretence of official interference. Outside of Belgium and Monaco, however, these and other games of chance are played in defiance of law, and only where the local authorities choose to wink at them.

Under existing conditions in Belgium, authority is given to the communal governments of Ostende, Spa, and certain other municipalities to permit games of chance to be played within their jurisdiction, under such regulation, and in consideration of such pecuniary compensation, as they may severally prescribe. For the purpose of illustrating the practical operation of this privilege and the extent to which advantage is taken of it, it will be sufficient to describe its application to Ostende, the great cosmopolitan watering-place on the Belgian coast, which attracts tens of thousands of outside visitors during the summer season, and provides very much the same sort of entertainment in summer as Monte Carlo does during the other seasons of the year.

Ostende is within less than six hours' journey from the great capitals of London, Paris, and Brussels, and with its refreshingly cool and invigorating sea-breezes, and extensive hotel accommodations, it incidentally offers peculiarly strong and easily accessible attractions to the vast throngs of gay and festive dwellers in the leading European capitals, who crave more pungent and lively recreation than is afforded them at the more quiet and conventional summer resorts. All the countries of Europe, as well as North and South America, are numerously and conspicuously represented at Ostende during the summer season; and no effort is spared by the local authorities to provide the kind of dissipation these representatives of cosmopolis seek. The daily routine is at once brilliant, giddy, and gorgeous; and the spectacle presented during a pleasant summer afternoon or evening on the magnificent terra-cotta promenade, which stretches for more than three miles along this section of the coast of the North Sea, is unrivalled for color, vivacity, and brilliancy. On the outer side of the promenade is the beautiful beach, thronged with rollicking bathers and little children with their nurses, playing in the sand, and on the inner side is a long row of hotels, restaurants, and private villas, with picturesque and imposing façades heightening the effect of the panorama. Looming high above the rest, on an abrupt promontory, is the royal chalet where King Leopold enjoys the summer sea-breezes when he is not yachting up and down the adjacent main. There is no lack of popular diversions provided for all sorts of tastes, and they achieve their obvious purpose of attracting all sorts of people.

The central feature of the fine array of architecture on the sea front is the Kursaal, wherein music, theatrical performances, and dancing and lounging accommodations are provided for those who pay a modest price for admission thereto. This Kursaal was erected and is owned and conducted by the city, as is the gambling hall, which is practically under the same roof. The gambling establishment is nominally controlled and managed by a single individual, who is understood to have a number of Berlin bankers as his silent partners. In payment for the exclusive privilege of carrying on the gambling business under municipal surveillance, this man pays to the municipality of Ostende 2,500,000 francs annually. The latest concession was granted two years ago on somewhat higher terms than those obtained under the previous grants, and it has two years yet to run, unless it is sooner terminated by the enactment of the proposed law prohibiting the making of contracts for such purposes, and cancelling all those now in existence. During the four years covered by the present concession, therefore, the amount of money which the management of the gaming tables has agreed to pay to the city of Ostende is 10,000,000 francs.

The annual budget of the city, for defraying all current municipal expenditures, according to the figures set forth in the latest official documents, is only about 2,000,000 francs, so that the revenue derived from this gambling concession is more than sufficient to meet all the expenses of conducting the city's affairs. As a matter of fact, however, only about one-fifth of the revenue thus derived, or 500,000 francs, is annually devoted to the defraying of the current expenses of the municipality. The balance required for the municipal budget is obtained from the very large revenues received from the baths, the Kursaal proper, and the other institutions that have been established by the city at the expense of the gambling establishment for the special accommodation of summer visitors. With these constantly increasing sources of revenue to rely upon, not only are the tax-payers of Ostende practically relieved of nearly all the burdens of local taxation for carrying on their government, but they have the satisfaction of realizing that they have also a large annual balance to the good for permanent improvements, the cost of which comes out of the pockets of others than those whom they directly benefit. In addition to the 500,000 francs annually deducted from the proceeds of the gambling concession, about 200,000 francs of this fund are devoted to certain forms of charity, leaving about 1,800,000 francs of the annual gambling revenue for what may be termed a public improvement fund.

It is due to the authorities of Ostende to say that they have made good use of their money. In an official document recently issued, over the signature of the burgomaster of the city, setting forth how the gambling revenues have been used and how essential they are held to be to the continued welfare and prosperity of the city, it is shown that during the existence of the system of licensing the Ostende gaming tables, the city has been enabled to erect beautiful avenues, promenades, dykes, and public buildings for various purposes, besides purchasing and laying out public parks, gardens, and squares. In this same curious and instructive document, which appears to have been issued for the purpose of defeating the proposed anti-gambling legislation, the burgomaster points out that with the aid of these gambling revenues during the next two years it will be possible for the city to add to its attractions by erecting two new churches, some new school-houses, a new fire-engine house, and a new gas-house, and to make additional harbor improvements, without expense to the taxpayers. It will have to be allowed that this constitutes a tempting sort of programme, even though a somewhat incongruous one, considering the character of the benefits sought and the methods of obtaining them. Under the present financial methods of the municipality there is no doubt that Ostende possesses all the charms of a tax-payers' paradise, however far removed it may be from other paradisaic characteristics. But for the taxes imposed by the general Government throughout the kingdom the people of Ostende would have practically no charges whatever to meet in their corporate capacity.

In addition to the financial considerations urged in favor of the maintenance of the present status with respect to licensed gambling, there is heard the familiar argument that vice in some of its features is bound to flourish to a greater or less extent at all times and everywhere, and that it is better that certain forms of it should be permitted to exist under strict official surveillance than that it should be suffered to go on unrestrained and in the dark. There is no doubt that this surveillance is rigidly maintained in the Ostende gambling establishment. No one is admitted to the Ostende club whose name and residence are not officially registered. There is no gambling tolerated in the city outside the licensed gambling establishment, which is ostensibly conducted after the manner of a private club. Entrance thereto is surrounded by certain formalities, which, though not exceedingly rigid, are sufficiently so to hide the play from the public gaze, without putting it beyond the range of official supervision. It is necessary for those who desire to avail themselves of the club's privileges to make formal application, and to await the delibe-

rate action of the management on their application. This action is never taken until after the expiration of two days, during which time an investigation is had as to the genuineness of the applicant's representations concerning himself, as set forth in his application for membership. In this respect the procedure is different from that which obtains at Monte Carlo, where the rule is to admit applicants for admission to the gambling hall without any hesitation or delay, and without charge. At Ostende the admission fee is twenty francs, which operates to exclude nearly all persons excepting those who wish to play, whereas at Monte Carlo the gambling rooms are generally overrun with curious spectators.

Nevertheless, at the height of the season the gorgeous and spacious salons of the Ostende club are generally crowded with men and women, in about equal proportions; and the regulation evening dress of the men and the toilettes and jewels of the women make the scene about the tables as dazzling as it is demoralizing. Roulette and *trente et quarante* are the favorite games, the former generally for low and the latter for high stakes. The minimum stake is five francs, and the maximum is 12,000 francs. The maximum limit is frequently played by the more experienced and reckless gamblers, and the total winnings and losings of a day or a night are undoubtedly of enormous proportions. Just what these proportions are is known only to the inside management. That they are uniformly large can be readily inferred from the fact that it is no uncommon thing to see a single player win or lose 250,000 francs at a single sitting. With hundreds of players at the tables, playing day and night, with chips representing all the way from five to a thousand francs, it is not difficult to reach the conclusion that upward of a million francs are daily lost and won at these tables — and they are generally lost by the players. No doubt the game is fair and square enough, as such games go. It is not necessary for the proprietors of gambling establishments at Ostende or elsewhere to take any unfair advantage of their patrons in order to win their money. Their main reliance is on the recklessness and foolhardiness of the average gambler, who never knows how to stop playing until he has lost his last sou.

Considering the high stakes wagered by so many players at Ostende, the fact that the concession readily fetches 2,500,000 francs annually is not surprising. No doubt it is worth many times that sum to the concessionaires, and they are naturally prepared to spend a great deal of money to defeat the present effort to suppress the system which gives them and their associates a monopoly of the gambling business in the chief watering-place of the kingdom. The amount of money won and

lost at Ostende has grown of late to such enormous proportions that the operations of the gambling establishment have become a continental scandal which has now challenged the attention of the Government in a manner that does not admit of evasion. The experience of the aggrieved parent, before alluded to, brought the excesses of licensed gambling home to a Belgian fireside, and emphasized the demoralizing influence of this form of vice, under whatever auspices it flourishes. Hitherto the Belgian apologists for the existing state of things have been so far disposed to compound with vice as to be willing to allow their municipalities to reap the pecuniary benefits of tolerating the gaming tables so long as the great majority of their victims were summer visitors, away from home. They have entirely ignored the obvious fact that such a gigantic gambling establishment as the Club du Kursaal d'Ostende, "*sous la haute surveillance de la Ville*," could not exist in any community without showing the results of its contaminating influences at home as well as abroad.

The Belgian conscience has been perceptibly quickened by the discussions of the proposed legislation against the gaming tables, and the strength of the anti-gambling movement has surprised its most sanguine promoters. As originally introduced in the Lower Branch of the Legislature the bill commanded an overwhelming majority of the deputies. It was subsequently amended in the Upper House so as to arrange that its provisions should not take effect until the expiration of two years, and that the localities affected by it should be indemnified for the losses which they would sustain under its operations; Ostende and Spa, for example, being granted under these modifications of the bill 5,000,000 and 3,000,000 francs, respectively, to compensate them for the pecuniary loss it is contended they would suffer by the closing of their expensive gambling halls. These amendments were in turn overwhelmingly rejected by the Lower House; and the parliamentary session closed in August with the two branches of the Legislature at loggerheads on this subject.

There is little room for doubt, however, that a satisfactory agreement will be reached when the session is resumed this winter, and that the end of licensed gambling in Belgium is not far off. The forces of delay and obstruction, in one form or another, may operate as temporary setbacks, but they can hardly withstand the tremendous moral uprising that has followed the uncovering of the operations of the gambling halls now protected by the general Government. The debates in Parliament, when the anti-gambling bill was under consideration, emphasized the

fact that Belgium stands alone among the representative Governments of Europe in countenancing this sort of thing. There was no serious effort made by the minority to defend the license system, and their efforts were mainly directed toward delay. They were generally willing to allow the bill to become a law at the expiration of the present concession, thus practically acknowledging the ultimate triumph of the anti-gambling movement.

The sudden shutting off of the large revenue now coming to those localities where licensed gambling establishments exist may temporarily affect the local treasuries that have profited so heavily by the sale of these concessions, and may make it necessary for the resident tax-payers to reach down somewhat deeper into their pockets to provide the wherewithal to meet their municipal expenditures; but this can scarcely be reckoned an intolerable hardship. Ultimately this shifting of the burden of taxation and the attendant purification of the local atmosphere must work to their advantage, as similar heroic treatment operated for the benefit of Homburg, Wiesbaden, Baden Baden, and Carlsbad, when licensed gambling was abolished in Germany. Since this change was made the population of these spas has more than doubled, and they are more popular and prosperous resorts for a better class of summer visitors than they were in the days of their notorious gambling halls. The outlook for the Belgian summer watering-places when regenerated will not be so dark as the champions of legalized gambling would like to have people believe. As Catholic Deputy Woerst said in leading the debate on the bill, the time has gone by when a civilized Government can afford to compound with vice by giving it shelter, no matter what the pecuniary inducements may be. And his declaration was cheered to the echo.

GEORGE F. BABBITT.

THE UNITED STATES CONSULAR SERVICE.

THE trade conditions of our nation are rapidly changing. The United States is to-day an exporter instead of an importer, a creditor rather than a debtor, in its international relations. This new situation, due largely to the efforts of our leading merchants and manufacturers, has stimulated nearly every element of business activity, until all our commercial forces may be said to be vying with each other in increasing the demand for American products throughout the world. It is to be expected that those who seek to promote trade with foreign countries will avail themselves of every possible opportunity to take advantage of favorable conditions, to establish new relations and to increase existing facilities. Naturally, they turn for assistance to the regularly authorized commercial representatives of the Government, the United States consular officers, not only because of the popular belief that the consular department is available for use, but owing to the fact that the greatest benefits we as a nation can derive from this service are those resulting from the fostering and promoting of American export trade.

Since there exists a diversity of opinion concerning the general efficiency of this department as a factor in the development of our commerce, I shall present in this article some evidence, collected as the result of an investigation made during the summer of 1900, when, as the special representative of the National Business League of Chicago, I visited many of the capitals and other large cities of Great Britain and Continental Europe. These particulars may furnish thought for reflecting minds.

Our consular service was primarily created to protect the lives and property of our citizens in foreign countries, and, in some degree, to promote their welfare. Probably its chief object at first was to protect American shipping, then an extensive factor in our foreign trade. For these reasons it was placed in the Department of State. As the functions of this department are of a legal or diplomatic character, the consular bureau was not constituted or technically organized for what is now its more important duty, that of fostering American commerce. So, while the service required has been altered in scope and character,

the administration of the department, though somewhat modified to meet the new conditions, remains practically the same. Proper credit must, however, be given to those in direct charge of this bureau for meeting, so far as has been possible under existing congressional limitations, these rapidly increasing and practically new demands, which should rightfully be deferred to a Department of Commerce and Industries.

Yet, notwithstanding these peculiar conditions, which considerably handicap the efficiency of the department, the United States consular service, when regarded as a whole and compared with that of other nations, ranks creditably for general ability and integrity. A certain limited number of our consuls-general and consuls have shown remarkable proficiency in conducting their offices; and while they have added lustre to our repute and done much to aggrandize the service, as viewed from a business standpoint, they have but demonstrated more fully the wonderful possibilities of the department, and thrown into clearer light the incompetency of a large percentage of their associates. The present system of collecting and promptly publishing commercial news has won well-merited praise for the service; but the credit belongs to the bureau chiefs in Washington, aided by a few good consuls, rather than to congressional legislation or to the efficiency of the whole administration. It is true that, under existing circumstances, our foreign trade has been extended until we have become one of the greatest export nations in the world; but this is due, in a great measure, to the enterprise and business sagacity of our merchants, large numbers of whom have sought out and secured to themselves the markets of the world, independently of, and practically unaided by, the consular department.

To secure proficient service, this department must be divested of all political influence, and, in my opinion, must be regulated by such legislation as will place it in the hands of a competent non-partisan board, having full control, and invested with the power to make all appointments and such rules and regulations as will best serve our general interests. The most glaring defects of our present system are our methods of appointment, the lack of sufficient salary — except in a few cases — the insecurity and usually short term of office, and the absence of classification on any rational basis.

Undoubtedly this service was first brought into disrepute by being used as a political asset with which to pay campaign obligations. While this corrupt policy has been ameliorated during the last three or four administrations, particularly under the present régime, the department still affords many indications of the presence of that influence

which is destructive to perfect democratic government — the spoils system. Although, as is well known, the appointing power is delegated to the President, it is impossible for him to acquire a personal knowledge of every applicant; therefore, under existing methods, he is easily misled by the politicians of his party.

Reviewing the consular list I am led to believe that the more important positions — probably filled by men who before appointment were personally known to the President in power — are, as a rule, held by consuls-general and consuls of ability, while many of the intermediate and lower officials, candidates mostly selected at the request of politicians, display gross ignorance and incompetency. The argument advanced by politicians — and it is they who are defending the present system, possibly on account of the patronage it affords — is that it is necessary for our foreign representatives to be in accord with the President and party in power, and in close touch with them. This same argument might as well be applied to the Supreme Court of the United States. Without attempting to discuss its application to our diplomatic corps, whose members hold close relations with the administration, we must remember that our consular officers are but the business and judicial representatives of the Government. Their selection and retention, therefore, should depend upon qualification rather than political creed or partisan service.

There would appear, however, to be no good reason why the responsibility of making these appointments should be forced upon the President. If they are made without painstaking care in each individual case an imperfect service will result. On the other hand, to investigate each applicant closely necessitates the expenditure of a vast amount of time, and detracts from the dignity of the office of our chief executive. The task should be spared him by its transference to properly organized boards, which will base all such appointments on the fitness of each applicant for the particular office to be filled.

I find that the duties incumbent upon our consular service are far more numerous and varied than those performed in other consular bureaus. As a rule, foreign consuls are not forced to examine into the values of merchandise or to certify invoices of goods about to be exported to their respective countries. Moreover, our people are preëminently imbued with travelling propensities, and many of them seem to regard our consuls as free information bureaus, with a fund at their disposal to be used for the entertainment of all who claim to live under the Stars and Stripes.

The dignity and the standing of our country demand that our consular service should be administered according to the highest standards of intelligence, integrity, and business sagacity. Appointees should be not only versed in commercial affairs, but capable of interpreting and applying the laws of our own country as well as those of the nation to which they are assigned. In many countries we have full jurisdiction over our own citizens. They cannot be tried or sued except in our consular courts, so that delegates to such countries should be chosen from men who have had considerable legal experience. They should be capable of solving intricate business problems, should understand the rules and regulations of marine service, and should be proficient in at least one language other than English, as a rule that of the country to which they are appointed. This latter qualification should be imperative; its significance being particularly manifest in the East, where foreign consuls are at the mercy of native interpreters. That the latter have often proved unreliable and have misled our consuls is well known; and a system that permits and furthers such conditions is necessarily imperfect. The old-time assertion that the incoming consul need not institute changes among the subordinate office employees is little less than absurd, particularly when their retention, as is now generally the case, only perpetuates a method that results to our disadvantage.

Our system will remain thus faulty until such time as each consul shall be chosen solely with reference to his adaptability for the particular place in view. A single case, called to my attention while in France, aptly illustrates this point. During a former administration the United States consul to a certain French city was transferred to a German city without change of salary. He spoke French fluently, possessed an intimate knowledge of French business methods, understood the class of business that circulated through his hands, and had satisfactorily fulfilled the duties of the French office. He was unable, however, to speak German, and was wholly unacquainted with the character of the German business which it would be requisite for him to handle. His successor was a man without any business experience or other special qualifications, and did not understand the French language. The latter stated as a reason for his being located in the French city that he was offered his choice of two places, one in France and the other that to which the first-mentioned consul was transferred; but preferring France to Germany as a place of residence, he chose the former.

As a rule a newly appointed consul has little, if any, conception of the duties he will be required to perform. Seldom does he realize that

he should combine the qualifications of a successful business man, a lawyer, a judge, and a diplomat. The sooner it is understood that editors who have rendered party service, ministers in failing health, lawyers without a practice, merchants who have not succeeded in business, or professional politicians without marked legal and commercial ability cannot readily be converted into efficient consuls, the better it will be for the whole country.

I am not, as yet, impressed with the advisability of the movement to establish school or college departments for the purpose of fitting men for the consular service. Unless extreme care were exercised in the admission of students, the department would be filled in a few years with men technically qualified, but practically incapable of administering the affairs of a consular office. The first question asked by a business man of an applicant for an important position in his house is, "What experience have you had in my line?" not, "From what college did you graduate?" or, "What commercial courses have you taken?"—in other words, "From actual service, what do you know about the conduct of my business?" If this same question were propounded to every applicant for a consular position, and he were obliged to prove his efficiency for the appointment, the department would soon become a more important factor in extending American trade.

While civil-service examination should be a necessary requisite to appointment, this examination should be broad enough in its scope to test the practical qualifications of the applicant, whether for first appointment to the service or for subsequent advancement. The British system, while not strictly competitive, is efficient because of its searching investigation, and its promotion according to merit, as demonstrated by actual service. Advancement is secured not alone by a high percentage gained in a technical examination, but from a general record made under strict discipline, as well as a rigid system of inspection which is seldom mitigated. English consuls when newly appointed are generally more capable than ours, because of their early training in the state department or in minor consular positions, or, as is usually the case, in both. This is particularly true in China, where England maintains a corps of students who become versed not only in the language, but in the laws and customs of that country. These students, if graduated after three years' study, are sent to various parts of China to act as clerks and petty officers in the various consulates. They are then promoted from time to time according to merit, until they become consuls. A similar system might be adopted with great profit by our own country.

Everything possible should be attempted to render each consulate typically American. Instances are on record where many of our consular agents were unable to converse in English, and did not display a United States flag. Provision should be made for the regular issuing of our colors at Government expense, and for their constant display, that the headquarters of every consular officer may be indicated by the Stars and Stripes.

The commercial value of a superior consular department cannot be overestimated. Were our entire system in the hands of competent men, a few years would find this nation practically dominating the markets of the world. This, however, cannot be accomplished under the supervision of such a class of appointees as can afford to accept the salaries now paid by this Government. In a majority of cases the salaries offered do not attract the types of men who are best qualified to render superior service. A limited number of places, affording fixed salaries and notarial fees, prove most lucrative positions. These, with few exceptions, are creditably filled, for the reason that qualified men can afford to seek and accept them.

Considering the expense of living in many foreign cities, together with the social demands upon the representative of a great nation, nearly, if not all, the fixed salaries offered are wholly inadequate. In many instances they amount to only one-half or one-third of those paid by foreign countries. After consulting the salary list, I was led to doubt if among English-speaking people any other service could be found where equal results are secured for such prices as are paid in this department. The salaries of our various consular officers should not only largely exceed their present rates, but they should be advanced beyond the amounts proposed in the various bills recently presented before Congress. A man competent to fill a consular position, and wishing engagement in this service, would, as a rule, were he eligible, do much better to enter the service of some foreign country. This is a deplorable fact; yet congressmen when confronted with this statement only point to the large number of applicants for each position, the small amount of salary stipulated being fully recognized.

That the foreign representatives of American merchants and manufacturers possess, as a class, superior ability to that of a large proportion of our consuls located in the same cities is a fact well known to managers of commercial houses. This condition is due entirely to the methods of selection and the larger salaries paid in the case of representatives of private firms. It is also well known that many well-qualified consuls

have been forced to resign their positions because the salary allowed them did not meet living expenses; and many cases are on record where consuls have been obliged to draw upon their private resources in order to retain their positions and gain the recognition to which a representative of this Government is well entitled. It is also admitted that not only many of our consuls, but certain members of our diplomatic corps, must annually expend for living and entertaining a sum far in excess of their fees and perquisites. As the representatives of a great nation they are compelled to maintain a high social position, and must entertain as often and as lavishly as do the representatives of other nations, though receiving much smaller salaries. They must be courteous and hospitable toward all our countrymen, and must pay due honor to all naval, military, and other officials of our Government who visit them. Consequently, there are many offices that can be filled appropriately only by men who can afford to place their private incomes at the disposal of this Government, a condition which can be regarded only as highly discreditable.

Under our present system salaries are too largely contingent on the receipts of each particular office. Unfortunately this amount is not always in proportion to the business transacted or the ability required to administer properly affairs at that place. The salary should be regulated by the character of the service required, regardless of the amount received by the Government through such office. In addition to their salaries, consular officials should be allowed travelling expenses to and from their posts, with the privilege of returning to the United States at certain intervals. Consuls sent to localities of minor importance should not be expected to render their services in exchange for a salary so small as scarcely to constitute a bare living. If a station is not important enough to warrant the expenditure of an amount that will secure the services of an efficient man it may well be abandoned.

Not only does the United States service pay inadequate salaries to its consuls, but the sums appropriated for its offices and secretaries are in most cases totally insufficient. Since a foreign country is adjudged by the character and surroundings of its accredited representatives, it results from the meagre pittance apportioned for the use and service of our foreign representatives that a great many of our consulates throw discredit on this nation. Many of the lower grades of consuls and consular agents are quartered in shabby rooms, anywhere from the basement to the attic, and in indiscriminate classes of buildings — factories, shops, offices, living rooms in cheap tenement houses, etc., the great majority of which plainly show that their habitation as a consulate is purely a side

issue. I doubt if such petty economy can be found in any other department of our Government, and it seems unfortunate that it should pertain to the one department above all others which should create the best impression abroad. Every foreign office of this Government should be so equipped as to betoken not only the dignity, but the liberality, of this great nation.

Certain salaries as stipulated are proportionate to the amount of fees secured. The fee system, so far as relates to official charges, detracts, I believe, not only from the standard of the service, but from the dignity of this Government. In so far, at least, as it affects transactions with the citizens of other countries, it might well be abolished. If fees are to be collected they should become, in all cases — official, notarial, or legal — the property of the Government. If this were the case the large incomes derived from a limited number of posts would be credited to the department in general, and a more equitable division of salaries might be secured. After consulting with a large number of well-informed members of the service, I am led to recommend the adoption of a stamp system, stamps to be affixed to every document according to the value of the fee collected. Under the existing system, all official fees collected by consuls are paid into the Government treasury, while such fees as are collected by consular agents, if not exceeding \$2,000, are divided equally between the agent and the consul under whom he serves. As each consul may possibly increase his salary to the amount of \$1,000 by securing the appointment of, or retaining, one or more consular agents in adjacent cities, he is usually willing, and sometimes anxious, that such appointments be made, though the business handled by such agent would otherwise pass through his office.

Of our 700 consulate officers more than half are consular agents. The salaries of these agents consist of the notarial fees and half the official fees collected by each, with the provision, as before stated, that half of the latter shall not exceed \$1,000. These agents are usually local residents or native business men. They receive no pay for furnishing statistics or information valuable to our exporters. Frequently they are interested in lines of goods of home production or produced by some country other than ours. Naturally, they are opposed to the introduction of American goods into their respective countries. Besides this, our Government allows them to collect a fee of two dollars and fifty cents for every certified invoice of goods sent from their own districts to the United States, and offers them nothing for counter-shipments from this country into theirs. As a result of this system, according to

the testimony of many exporters, the consular agent is a detriment and a menace to American export trade; and the sooner every such office is abolished, or a radical change is made in its management, the better it will be for the commerce of this country. In fact, as Hon. Charles Denby, formerly Minister to China, has well said:

"The consular agent is allowed to do business, usually over the protest of the merchants who are engaged in importing or exporting. All the invoices of the exports pass through the agent's hands, and he is enabled to ascertain the values put on their goods by the merchants, and may thus give valuable hints as to their business."

If, however, consular agents *are* necessary, they should be required to speak English, and should be paid a fixed salary; and their duties should be so regulated that they will act as our agents and in the interests of this Government, rather than for the benefit of the country in which they are located. Our system might well be reversed, either by omitting official fees entirely, or by so changing their disposition that they will become Government funds. It should also offer inducements to every consular agent to increase the markets for our surplus products.

As the term of each consular office is limited by the will of the administration, and as the latter is likely to be changed every four years, the department offers no inducement for men to perfect themselves in this particular service. It is fair to presume that a consul who possesses average ability will in four years acquire a fair knowledge of the requirements of his office and become acquainted with the language, the people, and the business pertaining to his work. A system that permits such a man to be recalled, simply through change of administration, is not only unbusiness-like, but impractical. As a matter of fact, our consular service may be regarded as a sort of school, conducted at Government expense, in which we admit and educate favored politicians, and from which — with each succeeding administration — we graduate a certain number of disciplined, if non-competent, business men. The reverse of our system prevails in many foreign countries, where not only are such positions reasonably permanent, with advancement according to merit, but the cares incident to old age are alleviated by a pension in reward for a life of faithful service.

The commercial affairs of this nation should be so conducted as to form a superior example of administration to which every citizen might point with pride, whose service every son might aspire to enter, and whose plans and systems every company and corporation might copy. Instead of this our methods are most unbusiness-like, and we permit

men of experience and aptitude to be replaced by those without equal experience and without other qualification than partisan service.

The absence of systematic classification, based on the character and extent of the work to be performed, is to be observed on every hand. Our salary adjustment is not only unfair, but unmethodical. One class of consulates, for instance, is paid a certain salary, while another class, with less work to be performed and requiring men of less ability, receives a much larger remuneration. Our ranks and grades of consular officers are without system. We have consuls-general; consuls who receive a salary but are permitted to engage in business; consuls who receive fees alone and negotiate other business; vice consuls; commercial agents who cannot manipulate trade; commercial agents who are allowed to transact business; deputy consuls; consular agents; marshals; interpreters; and consular clerks, the latter comprising the only class who retain office for life or continued satisfactory service.

It is singular that the rank of office bears no relation either to the ability or to the experience necessary to execute its duties properly, or to the remuneration received therefrom. Congress has from time to time enacted laws that such and such cities should be occupied by an officer with a certain title and salary. A study of the "Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States," a pamphlet issued by the State Department, clearly demonstrates the necessity for a complete reorganization and proper classification of the service. Instead of a fixed salary being apportioned for each city, consular officers should be graded in rank, each rank, like that of the army, to be paid a certain salary, and the official of that rank to receive that salary as long as he remains in that position. This would not only simplify the transference of officers from one post to another, but would prevent the struggle now engaged in to secure appointment in certain desirable cities. Promotion should, in all cases, mount from grade to grade, with a time limit between successive steps. General qualifications rather than seniority of service should be the basis of preferment. Such a system would not only serve as a stimulus to those now in service, but would bring to the department the highest type of applicants, men whose ambition it would be to do honor to their country by honoring themselves.

The rank of the officers to be assigned to certain cities should be specified under the jurisdiction of the managing board, subject to regulations similar to those now employed in the army. All consuls-general should be in fact what they are in name, and should be given more extended authority over the consuls in their districts, so that all com-

munications as well as the work of such other consuls might pass under their notice.

I believe our service would be advanced by the appointment of a body of consulate examiners to visit each office and report at certain intervals on its status, not particularly for the purpose of discovering fraud or illegal practices, but to confer and advise with each official with a view to securing correct interpretations of existing practices and uniformity of work in general. Our banking and post-office systems and our treasury and other departments are especially equipped in this manner, and there would seem to be no good reason why our consular department should not profit by being conducted in a similar fashion. I was informed through reliable sources that a certain United States consul in a French city had not been at his post for ten months, and had no English-speaking employee in his office—a condition belittling to this country and one that could not arise under a proper system of inspection.

Our consular service is now largely a business organization, and should have its origin and management in a business department. It must be acknowledged that men competent to administer affairs of state are not necessarily experts in commercial matters. The time has now arrived when the Government should separate these two departments, and give us a more business-like administration of our commercial affairs. England not only maintains her consular department on a purely business basis, but in addition, since a consul-general has no standing in Court circles, appoints a commercial attaché as a member of her embassy. It is his duty, as a business expert, to report to the ambassador and advise with him concerning all treaties or questions pertaining thereto that are of a commercial character—a field not independently covered by this country.

While an improved system of selecting consuls and a lengthened tenure of office will accomplish much in the way of reform, no decided benefits can be secured so long as congressmen insist that this department must be nearly or quite self-sustaining, and assume that it is not the duty of the Government to find markets for mercantile houses. There would appear to be no reason why the consular service should be self-supporting any more than the army, the navy, the department of agriculture, or the marine-hospital service. The army and navy are maintained for the protection of the lives, freedom, and property of our people; the department of agriculture was instituted to collect and disseminate information of value to our farming communities; our marine-

hospital service was created to protect public health. Our consuls are expected to serve our whole nation, not only commercially, but in every other way that pertains to our welfare; and, as in the case of the army and navy, the expense of the department should be assumed by the national treasury.

Congressmen do not hesitate to adopt measures that annually increase a pension account resulting from our Civil War, or to vote large sums for the support of the army, navy, and agricultural departments, etc.; but they seem to disregard the fact that a nation can meet such appropriations only when prosperous, and that prosperity largely depends on negotiating our surplus products. The agricultural department is a most desirable investment, and, while seemingly conducted for the profit of a single class of producers, is of great benefit to all our people. Our consular representatives are the acknowledged business agents of a Government known far and wide as unexcelled for its practical, energetic, and resourceful qualities. An improved consular service will aid in extending our markets for the products of our soil as well as for our manufactured goods, and our people will gladly indorse and pay for a first-class service as soon as it is divested of political influence and is placed on a rational business basis. Owing to incompetent organization and management our export interests suffer, and we are neglecting golden commercial opportunities. Competition in raw and manufactured goods is constantly increasing. Each nation recognizes in us to-day her most powerful business rival. The world is on the threshold of a great commercial era. Civilization is advancing with such a volume of accumulating strength as was never before anticipated. If we would be borne upward on the crest of this mighty wave, we must clear our craft of the political barnacles that have hitherto impeded its progress; we must cast overboard many of the ancient systems and customs with which we have been weighted down; and, setting our sails, we must seize the helm with the purpose of achieving the highest success by federated action.

Our consular service is each year becoming more closely identified with American foreign commerce, and we can increase the latter by improving the former. This advancement can be secured only by a policy so liberal as to attract to the work men of better calibre and special ability. By concerted action we can effect the necessary legislation. By the agency of our consuls throughout the world let us develop this country into the greatest of all producing nations, and make the word "America" a synonym for sagacity, commercial intelligence, and integrity.

CHARLES TRUAX.

LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

THE difference between the civilized man and the barbarian consists largely in the fact that the latter lives upon natural products, while the former, through his own labor, has made raw materials and the forces of nature minister to his comfort. In raising himself to a better material condition man has elevated his mental and moral status also. The untutored savage of Africa or Australia finds his whole sustenance in the fruits of the earth and the wild animals, which he manages to kill with great difficulty. It is not true that his life is one of ease. All travelers unite in saying that he works constantly and diligently for an existence which is far from satisfactory even to himself. On the steppes of Asia the tribesmen live largely from the cultivation of flocks. Their civilization is crude compared with that of Western nations, though they have managed to establish a higher social condition than the African.

In our studies of history it is disappointing to read of the high state of civilization in the valleys of the Tigris and the Nile, or in the peninsulas that jut out into the Mediterranean, which existed thousands of years ago, and then vanished almost completely. This disappearance would seem to indicate that civilization is transitory and unsubstantial. The philosopher, however, sees in it the story of an imperfect civilization — one which was confined within too small territorial limits and to an insignificant portion of the inhabitants of the nations involved. He finds the keynote in the fact that there were lacking in those times the means of preserving and disseminating what was achieved. We can all believe that if there had been railways and newspapers in the days of Augustus the mighty hordes of barbarians that later swept down on the nations could have been turned back. China with her 400,000,000 people has been recently defeated by little Japan, and more recently still has made but feeble resistance to a few thousand Western soldiers.

Perhaps in no other way has the accumulated force of civilization been so impressed upon the nations of the world as by the artistic and industrial expositions that have been held in the last fifty years. The impressions made by these have been indelibly stamped not only on the

individual, but upon the whole of civilized mankind. Their practical demonstrations could not have been accomplished by any academic methods. The senses have been affected and the whole intellectual range has been stimulated not only by the individual displays, but also by the exhibits *en masse*, which in so many ways have illustrated man's conquest of nature.

These exhibitions are new in a certain sense only. In the most ancient times fairs were held where merchants from far and near came to sell and to buy, and these were by no means unimportant in many ways. The travellers carried to their homes new ideas and spread learning to some extent; but the lack of facilities already mentioned hampered them greatly. To this day at Nijni-Novgorod, in Russia, is held an annual fair which in many respects is the most important institution of Northeastern Europe and Northwestern Asia; but it is neither conceived nor carried out on the plan of the modern exposition, which is not for immediate purposes of barter, but is intended to serve a higher and more lasting purpose.

The first international exhibition worthy the name was held in London just fifty years ago. Compared with those of recent years, it was a small affair, and yet it probably required more original planning than any that has taken place since. The first step costs the most. It was in furthering the Crystal Palace exhibition, which he originated and to which he gave his most intense energies, that the Prince Consort, the husband of Queen Victoria, broke down his health and is believed to have materially shortened his life. He was a man of unusual abilities and keen foresight. He believed that this exhibition would give an immense impetus to national trade, and in this he was entirely correct. Every other exhibition has had the same effect. As already stated, it was a small affair, but only relatively speaking. It must not be forgotten that these fairs are possible only as the result of modern mechanical methods, by which enormous buildings can be constructed cheaply. Great space is required to accommodate exhibits; but buildings fitted for this purpose are useful for nothing else, and, with a few exceptions, all have passed away as rapidly as they were constructed. The Crystal Palace, built almost entirely of iron and glass, was in its day a marvel of engineering skill, and was itself in many respects the most important exhibit of all. Although it taxed the ingenuity and skill of designers and constructors, it would now be considered a small contract. This was long before the days of structural steel buildings, and at a time when railway bridges were the highest form of engineering

achievement. Indeed, out of railway bridge problems have come most of our advances in the steel and iron industry. Many important questions were given up, because there seemed to be no immediate necessity for their solution; but in railway construction bridges were absolutely necessary — hence the developments of the present day.

The Crystal Palace show opened the eyes of the world to the possibilities and importance of such an institution. Others followed quickly: at Dublin in 1853, at New York in 1853, at Paris in 1855, at South Kensington in 1862, at Constantinople in 1863, at Melbourne in 1866, and at Vienna in 1873, as well as a few others which were not really international. None of these, however, made an impression on the world equal to that of the first, though the exhibition at Vienna was superior in many respects. It was not until 1876, when in Philadelphia was held an exhibition to glorify the centennial of American Independence, that the institution reached its present state of development.

It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of this fair to the people of the United States, as concerns both our own interests and those of foreign nations. It opened our own eyes, as well as those of others. It was the first adequate expression in a material way of the dignity, wealth, and resources of the nation. In the last few years we have attained a place that has, perhaps, made us too boastful. We must not forget that twenty-five years ago our situation was far different. For one hundred years we had wrestled with ourselves, and, though we had survived storm and shock, we were not looked upon as having solved the problem of democracy. Through all that period our development had been watched by statesmen of Europe, and few seemed to have confidence in our future. When the Civil War came we were generally believed by Europe to be on the verge of dissolution. By means of the arts of diplomacy we managed to prevent interference on the part of foreign nations in behalf of the Confederacy; but there came from across the water sympathy and aid, without which the war would have ended sooner. We should not forget that at the most critical period of the war the dying hours of the Prince Consort were given to softening the British answer in the Trent case; and it is possible that but for his influence we might have been plunged into a war with Great Britain.

Even after the war was over there were those who believed that peace could not be lasting and that dissolution must come. One effect of this war was that it took more than a million of Northern men at a time from the field of normal activities, and suddenly left them in 1865

without employment. But for the sudden increase in the construction of railways, and the donation by the Government of free farms to all who asked, we might have faced a crisis more troublesome than the war itself. There was an immediate exodus of ex-soldiers and others to the farms and mining camps of the West, which relieved the congestion in the older centres. Within a few years the bald prairies were alive with farmers whose crops soon found a market in the East and in Europe.

In addition there were many manufacturing establishments which from 1861 to 1865 had been actively employed in making the *matériel* of war. When the war was over these had to turn to new channels, and our manufacturing received a new impetus greatly stimulated by the ingenuity of American inventors. In the height of what seemed great prosperity came the panic of 1873, which ruined thousands and almost prostrated industry. Here again the European pessimists found a theme from which to moralize upon the weakness of the nation and to predict the most unpleasant things for the future. They forgot that our wealth lay in the ingenuity, ambition, and perseverance of our people, and in the boundless material resources of the country as yet undeveloped. These were unconquerable, and in 1876 the nation was able to make an exhibit which was as astonishing to ourselves as to others.

This exhibition was really an enterprise of Philadelphians, who felt a natural pride in furthering it, because the Declaration of Independence was passed in that city. All the money was raised in the city and State, except a loan of \$2,000,000, made by Congress, which was later repaid. The exhibition was held in Fairmount Park, and an immense amount of space was devoted to it. Here for the first time a really international fair was held. The idea of such institutions had been growing in importance in the minds of European nations, and, furthermore, all were interested in getting a share of the commerce of this country. At that time we bought abroad enormous amounts of manufactured goods of every kind; and, as our grain was in great demand, there existed a commerce that it was desirable to make more and more of a reciprocal character. In consequence, apart from large exhibits by individuals from all over the world, there grew up a small city of buildings, erected by the Governments themselves, wherein exhibits of a special character were held.

Most persons are familiar with the character of the exposition buildings at Philadelphia, since they have been constantly reproduced ever since. They were built of iron and wood; and, though not marvels of engineering skill or particularly attractive to the eye, they were notable

for size, convenience, and especially rapidity of construction. The opening exercises were also remarkable by reason of the presence of President Grant and of Emperor Dom Pedro, of Brazil, who simultaneously started the great Corliss engine that set the machinery in motion. On this occasion was played an original composition by Richard Wagner, intended to typify and glorify the triumph of the United States. It is said that for this he received a greater sum than for any other short composition he ever wrote; but it was a flat failure, and probably has not been produced since that time.

Among the features of this exhibition were a few of such lasting importance that they require some attention. As already said, we had become rather boastful of our accomplishments in war and peace, and were inclined to think that all others were effete and beneath consideration. This refers to the masses and not to those who had the best of reasons to know to the contrary. Millions of Americans, therefore, on beholding for the first time what the rest of the world was doing, received a rude shock. It is true that our own exhibits were naturally in excess of those of other countries, and that in some qualities they were not exceeded; but in the aggregate the pride of vain boasters received a decided blow. While we demonstrated then that in matters purely utilitarian we were in many respects ahead of others, there was no other branch in which we had any reason to brag.

What appealed most to visitors and surprised most those who had never had the advantage of foreign travel was the character of those things that were concerned with public display, personal adornment, and home decoration. Many who read this will remember that the color at times seemed absolutely garish, and at first disquieting. It was not long, however, before the newness wore off, and the visitors saw, in the wonderful displays of fabrics, decorations, wall papers, architectural details, and bric-a-brac, an exhibition of beauty in form and color that was pleasing. The result of all this was apparent upon our manufacturers and upon the tastes of the people. Those who remember the average home of 1875, even among well-to-do classes, with its sombre wall papers, dark hangings, and home-made ornaments, and who compare it with the home even of the prosperous mechanic of this day, with its bright carpets and wall-papers, and its pretty decorations of every kind, can see what an enormous advantage has been gained. Nearly all of this is due to the Philadelphia exposition.

Secondly, the visitors gained a practical idea of the way things were done. Neither before nor since has any exposition shown in all its

operations the workings of so many kinds of machinery. There have been more machines exhibited since, but the characteristic of this fair was that nearly every one was in active operation. There are to-day in existence hundreds of thousands of souvenirs of this exposition, which the purchasers saw made with their own eyes.

· Lastly, it should be said of this exposition that it greatly cemented the national spirit, and helped to assuage the sectional bitterness that had grown out of the war. It made us feel no less proud of our history than before, and it also stimulated us to those better things which have since been accomplished in so great a measure.

The Paris expositions of 1878, 1889, and 1900 were distinctive from all others that have been held. Their keynote was beauty, and in this they succeeded to an admirable extent. Their only shortcomings arose from the lack of sufficient space in which to house the exhibits properly. The displays in the fine arts have never been exceeded. The mechanical exhibits were not as representative of civilization at large as of France in particular. The advantage of Paris as a place for such exhibitions is obvious, and the fairs can hardly be dissociated from their environment. The exhibition of 1889 was remarkable for the construction of the Eiffel Tower, almost 1,000 feet high, which was the physical keynote of the fair.

A feature that was introduced by the Paris exhibitions, and has become noteworthy in every exhibition since, was the so-called Midway exhibits. Those who look upon them as mere vulgar or grotesque exhibitions for sordid gain have failed to grasp the reason of their popularity. It cannot be denied that in all the collections of this kind there have been offences against good taste, and at times almost against good morals. But what made the sensation at Paris and ever since, and gave them an attraction irresistible even to the sternest moralist, lay in the fact that they formed a sort of microcosm, wherein might be seen all the nations of the earth more or less as they lived at home. If man is "the proper study of mankind," he is certainly also the most interesting. The object-lessons given in these exhibits have contributed more to the general knowledge of man in his various differentiations than all the books that are in existence. Though the purpose of gathering dancing girls from Cairo, savages from the Soudan, and fakirs from India was undoubtedly that of gain, it cannot be denied that the Midway exhibits have formed not only the most popular, but also one of the most instructive, features of such exhibitions. Every human being is too apt to take himself or his neighbor as the standard of civilization, and ut-

terly to ignore the existence of any other standard. To these an object-lesson of this sort has been highly instructive. Even in the Dahomey village at Chicago were found those who represented both high and low types of human nature. It was my privilege to become acquainted with a number of these, and to talk to them fully on many matters. It was with some surprise and no little satisfaction that I discovered the Dahomeyan to be in many respects just such a man as the average citizen of Chicago or Boston, or of the plains of Kansas. These Dahomeyans lacked the arts and conventions of society. They were guided more by caprice and passion, perhaps, than most of us, though there may be room for an argument as to their general status, as they seemed to have fewer of the baser intellectual passions than some of those pretending to a higher civilization. Yet, as a whole, they seemed to regulate their conduct much on the lines of those more favored in their environment. They showed a good nature in conduct, as well as in thought, beyond what one might have expected. Those who studied closely the various phases of human nature at these exhibitions found in them the highest enjoyment and profit.

In the World's Fair at Chicago there were elements of various kinds which permitted a display such as the world had never seen before and is not likely soon to see again. This is no disparagement of other exhibitions, but it is a fact that must not be overlooked in discussing the value of such institutions. The elements of vital importance were location, size, unlimited money, new constructive methods, and international coöperation.

There never was a location so delightful or adequate. It permitted not only a harmonious distribution of the enormous buildings, but a display of landscape gardening on a scale never before attempted, while from the waters of Lake Michigan was contrived a series of canals and basins that reminded one of Venice. To this was added what at that time was a new feature — the great use of electricity, which lighted up not only the buildings, but the grounds, the borders of the canals, the fountains, and the lagoons, the result being a delightful dream of beauty.

But the location was happy not only in its actual site, but in its relation to the whole country. In 1876 enormous crowds were in attendance, but visitors from west of the Alleghanies were in a great minority, from not only territorial but financial reasons. Chicago has been made the sport of paragraphers for many years; yet the city itself was the greatest exhibit of 1893, in so far as the energy and enterprise of its people were concerned. In 1870 it lay in ashes; in 1893 it con-

tained over 1,000,000 inhabitants, and, if not representing in the aggregate the highest culture, was the best expression of the commercial development of the country. It was fortunate that there was so large an attendance from Europe, because the visitors were largely those who could not believe that there was anything beyond the Alleghanies except a crude civilization comparable only with the steppes of Siberia. It was an education for Europe to find 1,000 miles from the Atlantic a great city which in many forms of physical expression had no equal.

As to the buildings themselves, they were on a scale attempted neither before nor since, and yet were cheaper than many smaller ones previously erected. By this time we had learned more about steel construction than any other nation on earth. The adoption of "staff" as an accessory was not original, but was used on an unprecedented scale. Plaster-of-Paris and shavings formed a material of beauty and ample stability for the purpose, not only for buildings, but for decorations. There were literally thousands of decorative figures, from the simplest designs to the most elaborate compositions of heroic size which embellished buildings and grounds, giving an air of artistic verisimilitude to the whole that was not diminished by the knowledge that all was unsubstantial. Indeed, the "White City" was most imposing from the outside. The exhibits were all that the world afforded and were individually interesting, but were so numerous that a visitor could not pretend to comprehend them in detail. Most people preferred to view the scene of beauty by day or night from the outside, and to glance hurriedly at what was within. To tell the truth, there was some disappointment in the fact that so many of the exhibits were "dead," even in the mechanical departments. There were more machines than in 1876, including many that on the former occasion were not dreamed of; yet there was not an exhibition of the doing of things equal to that at Philadelphia. The mechanic could read the machine and stand in wonder; but the ordinary citizen would have preferred to see more of the actual process of the manufacture of finished products from the raw material. The electrical exhibition was one of the most interesting; and it was noteworthy that though only seventeen years had passed, there was devoted to this branch of science a building almost as large as the largest at Philadelphia. At the latter exhibition almost the only novel electric exhibit was an experimental telephone.

The Chicago exposition was notable in that it showed how far this nation had progressed in the preceding seventeen years. Here again Europe made a fine showing, but the contrast was not so glaring. We

had learned many things. In the mechanical arts and sciences we had, for the most part, no superiors; and in many respects we led easily, not only in ingenuity and simplicity of operation, but through the demonstrated fact that our methods of construction were superior to others. One of the most impressive features of the exhibition to those who understood mechanics was the machinery designed to make machines. In this line the United States stands so far in the lead that it has no competitor; and this is to a large extent responsible for the tremendous expansion of trade that we have enjoyed since that time. The American does things more quickly and more cheaply than any other nation on earth; and, as this is an unsentimental age, it is natural that he should get trade from all over the world. Our mechanical pole is longer than that of any other nation, and we knock the most persimmons.

One of the reasons why the "dead" exhibits in all the buildings failed to be as attractive as was possible grew out of the fact that the department store had arisen since the Centennial, and as a direct outgrowth of it. In 1876 Stewart's store in the city of New York was considered one of the wonders of the world. Yet it was simply what was then known as a "drygoods" store, and was devoted to that branch of the business only. To-day it would be considered small compared with some of the establishments that have since arisen, which are ready to supply at a moment's notice anything from a pound of steak to a tiara of diamonds. It was perhaps due more to Mr. John Wanamaker than to anyone else that this diversity of commodities was introduced. He saw the exhibition in 1876, and immediately began to model his store on that basis, with the result that there are now in every city of even moderate size stores which are in themselves an exhibition of the world's progress in the arts and manufactures.

There was another feature of the Chicago fair that made a great impression. Women figured in it to an extent never before known. The first attempt to make woman's work an important feature was made in 1876, when, under the leadership of Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, a great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, a building was erected for the exclusive exhibition of what women had done. At that time there was an agitation for the greater freedom of women in political and social affairs. This movement has since grown to enormous proportions, so that when at Chicago there was exhibited the fruit of the labor of women in the arts and sciences it awakened general surprise and approval. This building was designed by a woman and decorated by women, and all that was contained in it showed what woman had accomplished in this

country outside that domain of cooking and dish-washing to which the sex had been so long condemned by men. Out of this exhibit has come much good, for it was shown that, in designing fabrics, wall papers, and works of art, women possessed not only originality, but a sense of beauty and of delicacy of form, and a regard for proportion that were astonishing to those who believed that men were the only creators on earth.

Let those who were at Chicago now cast back their remembrance as a whole, and they will see not so much the details of that marvellous collection as the immense mass of it all. What remains indelibly fixed is the "White City" of marble, by day richly robed, at night in gorgeous electric colors, with fountains playing, gondolas moving, with beauty in form and construction all around. Nothing like it has ever so nearly approached the impossible ideals of oriental imagination; no stories of Aladdin's creations or tales of mysterious cities of fable have made such an impression as this marvellous city by Lake Michigan, where the whole world gathered to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. At Paris last year there was a higher expression of beauty in detail; there were more surprising effects on the Seine; but the impossibility of collecting together all that was shown made the impression less permanent.

Of the Buffalo exposition this year it is not necessary to speak in detail, because it has been discussed so fully in the daily press. The keynote of it was electricity. It was this mysterious display of an incomprehensible power that impressed one most. The exhibition was by comparison small, though artistically it was beautifully arranged; and the buildings, instead of being white, were all garbed in a scheme of color which struck the uncouth observer as garish, but which, when studied, was seen to be worked out on a plan of æsthetics both precise and charming. It was pleasing to the eye and restful compared with the glare of Chicago. It marked a distinct advance; and, while the exhibits were notable, the exhibition was marvellous in the fact that it was the visual expression of the power of the falling waters at Niagara. If there had been no falls near by there would have been no exhibition. It is because the mind of man has been able to harness the greatest force of its kind in the civilized world, and make it minister to his material wants, that Buffalo and its fair were notable. When Father Hennepin stood and gazed for the first time on the waters of Niagara, he little thought that this first vision of a white man foreshadowed the day when, within an easy day's walk from where he stood, there would be

a city larger than the Paris or the London of his time, where almost every industry would take its impetus from those falls.

If it were possible that, in the spirit, this first missionary to the Red men of the Lakes could have stood at the arch in Buffalo at the end of twilight any night of the recent summer, he would have beheld a scene which even his terrestrial conceptions of paradise could hardly have exceeded. When the shadows fell over the landscape and the outlines of the beautiful buildings were faintly marked against the sky, and there came a hush on the assembled multitude, he would have heard the strains of "Nearer, my God, to Thee" softly played by the most famous military bands in the world. Then as he looked across a lagoon surrounded by masterpieces of architecture, crowned at the end by a lofty and graceful tower, he would have seen what to his earlier imagination would have been a miracle. When darkness had fallen there would have come a brief subdued pink outline of every building, of the fountains and lagoon, as if glow-worms by millions were arranged in geometrical precision. Standing in wonder, he would have seen it gradually increase in brilliancy, until finally, as the band swelled the fortissimo note of praise, there would burst on his vision the whole fair in a myriad of diamond-sparkling lights, the most wonderful scene ever beheld by terrestrial eyes. Here was the apotheosis of Niagara Falls, a scene worth travelling round the globe to behold, and one which was no more impressive in its æsthetic sense than in that material value it so well typified.

One might say that the Centennial represented Uncle Sam as a strong man rejoicing to run a race; that the Chicago Fair showed him rich in the possession of power and potential wealth; and that Buffalo represented Columbia resplendent in jewels, the most beauteous the mind of man has ever conceived.

Indeed, expositions have a twofold value. They impart knowledge, and, what is far better, they stimulate the imagination. What the average man learns in cold demonstration is seldom of ethical value, because it is impossible of application. But in stimulating the imagination, whether it appeals to his sense of beauty, of power, of the possibilities that lie within himself, or of the dignity of manhood and the majesty of national grandeur, these expositions have had and must ever have a lasting power for good. Surely no one who saw all these manifestations of the wonders worked by man can ever forget them, or can ever cease to be stimulated to higher and nobler purposes.

JOSEPH M. ROGERS.

WRITERS IN THE DECEMBER FORUM.

MR. GEORGE F. BABBITT is a native of New England, and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1872. Joined the editorial staff of "The Boston Post." Subsequently went to "The Boston Herald," with which newspaper he is now connected in an editorial capacity. Has travelled extensively abroad, and his contribution to this number of THE FORUM is one of the results of his studies and personal observations in foreign countries. Mr. Babbitt was a health commissioner of the city of Boston from 1879 to 1900.

PROF. RUDOLF EUCKEN, born in Germany in 1846, has been Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena since 1874. Several of his philosophic works, notably "Die Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart" and "Die Lebensanschauungen der Grossen Denker," are very widely known.

MR. E. J. GIBSON has been manager of the Washington bureau of "The Philadelphia Press," and an editorial writer on that newspaper, for thirteen years. Began newspaper work on the Rochester "Democrat," and at the age of twenty-two was editor and manager of the Oswego, N. Y., "Daily Times." Was for ten years a member of the staff of the New York "Tribune," and later managing editor of the Baltimore "News." Was a war correspondent in Cuba, and has written extensively from Europe and elsewhere for the "Press."

HON. ROBERT HUTCHESON was born in Pennsylvania in 1828 and removed at an early age with his parents to Ohio. Was educated in the common schools and at Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. Studied law and became a prominent member of the bar of that State. Was a member of the Ohio Legislature for four years, in House and Senate. Removed to New Orleans, in 1870, and served for four years as Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Louisiana. Has resided in Washington, D. C., for the last twenty-five years. Is a member of the bar and Examiner in Chancery for the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Has been an occasional contributor to the "Washington Post" for several years on topics involving questions of constitutional and international law.

HON. WILLIAM R. MERRIAM was born in 1849 at Wadham's Mills, Essex County, N. Y. Graduated from Racine College in 1871. Became clerk in 1871, Cashier in 1873, Vice-President in 1880, and President in 1882 of the Merchants' National Bank of St. Paul, Minn. Was elected member of the Minnesota Legislature in 1882 and Speaker in 1886. Was Governor of Minnesota from 1889 to 1892. Is Director of the United States Census.

REV. GILBERT REID, D.D., was born on Long Island in 1857. Graduated in 1879 from Hamilton College, and in 1882 from Union Theological Seminary. Commenced missionary work in China the same year in connection with the Presbyterian

Church. In 1894 withdrew from the Presbyterian Board, and undertook a new mission among the higher classes, from which has grown the International Institute of China. During the China-Japan war acted as correspondent for the London "Times," and during the recent war as correspondent for the London "Morning Post." For ten months was interpreter to the British forces, most of the time in administration of Peking. Dr. Reid is author of "Glances at China," "Reunion of Christendom," and other works.

MR. JOSEPH M. ROGERS was born in Ohio in 1861, and was graduated from Berea College, Ky., in 1879. Then conducted a newspaper in Wisconsin. In 1885 removed to Philadelphia, where he has been connected ever since with "The Philadelphia Inquirer," with the exception of a few years spent in New York as Sunday editor of "The New York Herald" and managing editor of "McClure's Magazine." Has written many articles for magazines and reviews, and has published a "History of the United States." At present is literary editor of "The Philadelphia Inquirer."

DR. NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER was born in Maxatawny township, Berks County, Pa., in 1849. Was graduated at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Studied afterward in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, and later at the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, and Leipsic. Was Professor in Franklin and Marshall College 1875-1877, and Principal of the Keystone State Normal School, Kutztown, Pa., 1877-1893. Is now serving his third term as State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania. Is the Editor of the "Pennsylvania School Journal" and of "Bible Readings for Schools," and author of a treatise on "Thinking and Learning to Think" (vol. i of Lippincott's Educational Series). During the absence of Prof. M. G. Brumbaugh as Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico, Dr. Schaeffer has had charge of the department of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania.

MR. JOSEPH SOHN was born in New York City in 1862. Was educated at the College of the City of New York and in Berlin, Germany. Is a graduate of the Neue Akademie der Tonkunst in the latter city. Has filled several editorial positions and is a frequent contributor to the magazines.

MR. CHARLES TRUAX is President of Truax, Greene & Co., Physicians' and Hospital Supplies, Chicago. He was appointed last year by the National Business League of Chicago to visit Great Britain and Continental Europe and make investigations on the subject discussed in his present article.

MR. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST, a native of New York, is one of the best-known and ablest writers on political subjects at the National capital. For a number of years has occupied an editorial position on the Washington "Post," in charge of the Congressional and political work.

MR. JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY was born in 1866 at Baltimore, Md. Has devoted his life to diplomacy and international law and also to the cultivation of international relations. A number of his writings upon historical and diplomatic questions have appeared in the magazines of England and America. Mr. Whiteley is Vice-President, and one of the founders, of the International Congress of Diplomatic History. Is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, a member of La Société d'Histoire Diplomatique, of France, and a corresponding member of La Société des Etudes Historiques, of Paris.

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THE MILITARY DUTY OF THE ENGINEERING INSTITUTIONS.

THERE are but few engineering educational institutions in this country that are not continuous beneficiaries of State or national aid. Over one-half of these colleges of mechanic arts receive direct aid from the national Government. With but few exceptions, the remainder receive direct or indirect support from municipal or State authorities. Endowments received from individuals and grants appropriated from public funds have been given for the betterment of the community, and not for the aggrandizement of the college. Every institution, therefore, that accepts or seeks such bounty is under moral responsibility to contribute something to the advancement of scientific knowledge, and to regard its resources and equipment as applicable at all times for the benefit and defence of the state.

The acceptance of a munificent bequest and the expenditure of a public appropriation are trusts which entail a duty upon the trustees, council, or governors of every beneficiary institution. The responsibility of supervision does not end by gathering together a competent faculty, securing the necessary equipment and apparatus, and laying out a well-regulated course of instruction for a few hundred or even a few thousand students. The duty of the college to the student may be satisfied by such a procedure. Its duty to the nation does not cease until every graduate has been taught patriotism and love of country, and has been trained to utilize, at least in part, his scientific knowledge for the defence of the

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country. There is even more than this due to the state from the engineering institutions; for the full measure of their obligations cannot be required until there shall be found many graduates whose special training fits them for performing executive military duties.

In calling upon the colleges of mechanic arts to help in training men for military and naval duties, as well as for industrial and scientific pursuits, there need be no fear of swinging the pendulum of militarism too far. Our experience has shown that too little, rather than too much, attention has been given to the development and encouragement of martial spirit and character. It was because the profession of arms was held in high esteem and regard by the people of the South that the Confederacy was able to make the great showing that it did. If the same interest had been taken by the North in military affairs the civil war would have ended a year sooner. It is even possible that the Spanish-American war might have been averted if more attention had been given throughout the country, during the previous decade, to military training and studies. It was because Continental Europe thought that we neither desired nor were trained to fight that the United States was several times treated very cavalierly by those powers having a strong navy. It was, therefore, not surprising that Spain believed that our indifference to military affairs would prevent us from engaging in war. It was our industrial and financial resources that gave us a pronounced military advantage. It was our superior technical training and skill that caused our battleships at Santiago to overhaul armored cruisers that did not possess an efficient engineering force beneath the protective deck.

By this time our people should thoroughly understand that the best guarantee for peace is a powerful and efficient army and navy, whose directing personnel is capable of expansion at short notice from a trained and intelligent reserve. The reluctance to maintain a standing army commensurate with our requirements has been countenanced only because it has been hoped, and at times even believed, that this nation in periods of emergency could secure all the trained men necessary by simply issuing a call for volunteers. If such volunteers are good enough for the severest possible test, that of actual warfare, surely they must be good enough for peace service. The efficiency of volunteers has been repeatedly tested, and the fact has been conclusively established that experience and training are essential to the development of every recruit. It is dangerous to national safety to encourage the belief that the inexperienced, though zealous, volunteer can take at short notice the place of a man systematically trained in military duties. West Point and Annapolis

have justified their existence, and it is fatuous to reckon upon untrained men accomplishing the work done by the graduates of these schools.

The war with Spain was waged so successfully and expeditiously on both land and sea that it has probably given a majority of our citizens over-confidence as to our military security. The disadvantages under which Spain labored in operating far from a home base, and in being without funds to conduct war, cannot be appreciated by the public at large. Our advance in population, wealth, and general intelligence has had a tendency to make us feel that the semblance of an army and navy is all that is required. From this and other causes, it will probably be a long time before this nation will sanction a great standing army or a powerful navy. It will certainly not countenance extensive education by the Government of military and naval officers in the expensive manner in which the work is now carried on. As the unfortunate and unjust impression also exists that the graduates of West Point and Annapolis consider themselves a privileged class, it will be quite difficult to induce Congress to do much toward extending the scope and work of these institutions.

The army and the navy will annually require, even for peace duty, more officers than West Point and Annapolis can supply. It is hardly possible that Congress can be induced to enlarge these schools to the size demanded by the nation's requirements. As many competent officers must be secured for both the army and the navy from sources outside Annapolis and West Point, it is my belief that these military necessities can be met by calling upon the technological colleges to perform the duties which are within their power, and which in honor they are bound to undertake. In order to secure a sufficient and effective directing personnel for the army and the navy, it has been proposed to commission, from the graduates of the technological colleges, those young men who are able to complete successfully a course of technical and military instruction prescribed by officials of the Government.

It needs no argument to show that a large and skilled reserve of technical experts might be secured for the military service by placing the Government in close touch with the technological schools. Even the best of their graduates might be obtained for the army and the navy at comparatively little cost. The general Government has been exceedingly successful in founding and supporting agricultural experiment stations, where the study of agricultural problems has been systematically carried on. It is just as logical for the several colleges to undertake the work of giving these students military, as mechanical and

agricultural, instruction; and if a tithe of the success that has been met with in one case can be secured in the other, then great good must result from the experiment.

The military question is in many respects an engineering question. There are one hundred scientific colleges in this country which are capable of giving instruction necessary to fit their graduates for important engineering duties; and it is not unreasonable to presume that a majority of these institutions could give military instruction if substantial inducement were offered for carrying on the work. The more carefully this question is looked into, the more convinced will one be that in this industrial age the engineer will be the great factor in modern warfare, whether the contest be waged by land or by sea. Engineering instruction fits one for executive work; and with each succeeding year the management and control of great commercial enterprises are being intrusted more and more to those who have had technical instruction and training.

There are engineers in Europe, as well as in America, who are controlling and directing more employees than are comprised in the entire personnel of the United States navy. An engineering mind is a directing and military mind, and it can be employed for the accomplishment of strategical and tactical movements. The rapidity with which an army corps can be moved may decide the destiny of a nation; and the success of this work, under existing conditions, is more likely to be dependent upon the superintendent of a railroad than upon a military commander. The executive ability of the managing engineers of our great industrial plants, in expeditiously furnishing munitions of war, may be of greater benefit than the enrolment of an army corps. As for the development of the future naval officer, President Roosevelt has declared, after careful study of the question, that he must be "a fighting engineer."

In analyzing the thoroughness and completeness of technical instruction Mr. William D. Ennis thus speaks, in "The Engineering Magazine" for November last, of the consequences of engineering training:

It gives thoroughness first of all, for no progress is possible in mechanical operations without thorough mastery of each step. It gives a command of details. It develops a graphic habit of thought, an ability to picture abstract things, and to make mere conceptions real. It emphasizes the necessity of recording, transcribing, comparing, and perfecting one's observations until the elementary facts have been clearly sifted out and the basic principles mastered. And at no stage, especially if coupled with rational and competent scientific study, is it other than broadening to every faculty of the mind. More than all these, it creates the courage and ability to grapple with new conditions with a confidence born of a thorough understanding of the natural laws involved, that unerringly define, limit, and control even uninvestigated phenomena.

It is because the management and control of vast enterprises have been drifting into the hands of the engineer that the commercial and industrial prosperity of the country has been secured. To succeed in engineering work one must have the ability to design, and the will and resource to execute. The future will show that he who is most competent to direct is also best able to plan. Those who by force of will, character, and attainments possess such attributes are fully competent to grasp the fundamental principles of military science and tactics; for many of the qualities demanded of a great engineer are identical with those essential to successful military command.

It is also demanded of the military commander of this century that he shall possess administrative qualities. Not many years ago a careful investigation showed that every graduate of West Point and Annapolis who voluntarily resigned his commission achieved success in civil life. As one contemplates the fact that the military-naval graduates possess a training which fits them for industrial pursuits, and that at least a third of the graduates of the engineering institutions enter upon vocations which are more of an executive than a technical nature, it is evident that there is not a wide difference separating the work of West Point and Annapolis from other technological institutions.

With each succeeding year the curricula of the military and naval academies have more closely approached those of the best schools of technology. At the present time, therefore, it can be confidently asserted that there are scores of institutions that could carry on, at least in part, the work that is now done at Annapolis and West Point. Paradoxical as it may be, there are two scientific institutions in this country that give a better course in naval architecture than the one given at the naval academy. There are at least four colleges that possess as complete and extended a course in marine engineering as the one established at Annapolis. This is because the technological colleges spend more money and employ more men in the undertaking. There are a dozen institutions whose course in electricity far surpasses that given either at Annapolis or West Point. As for the courses of instruction in modern languages, physics, chemistry, and applied mechanics, there are a score of colleges that devote as much time to instruction, and that possess laboratories as complete as those at the Government schools. At the naval and military academies much time must necessarily be devoted to professional studies; and yet in after life a good part of this advanced professional instruction is utilized by specialists only.

There may be a difference of opinion as to whether the Government

schools are giving more recognition to the applied sciences, or whether the scientific institutions are seeking to give more prominence to the enforcement of discipline and to the physical development of the undergraduate. The success of the Annapolis and West Point graduates along commercial and technical lines, and the high state of efficiency and discipline maintained by military officers who have been educated and trained in technological schools only, demonstrate that the general character of the educational work of the Government institutions and the schools of technology is not widely separated. In fact, it is because the work of the engineering and military professions is strikingly similar in many respects that there cannot be a fundamental difference in the training and education of those who seek such careers. The following points of comparison are worth noting:

(1) In the military and naval services, as in the engineering profession, the work of every man, from the humblest to the highest, is likely to come under the direct scrutiny of his peers, by whom its merits and faults are easily discerned, and upon whom his preferment is often directly or indirectly dependent. (2) Neither the soldier, the sailor, nor the engineer pretends that there are any mysteries in his profession. All three recognize the truth that it does not pay to keep professional secrets, but that special information that has been acquired should be communicated directly to all in the profession. (3) As in the military and naval so in the engineering profession, no two problems are generally alike. Specific differences will exist that will make each work a special study, and bring forth the best that is in the individual. (4) What has been said in "The Engineering Magazine" of the engineering profession will also apply to the military or naval, as to the requisites for success:

These methods of successful management are not dependent upon unusual talents or abilities, but rather upon high and rigidly-adhered-to ideals of conduct and usefulness. They involve a patience with, and command of, details; the ability to grasp salient points, to analyze and classify data; readiness for emergencies and unfamiliar conditions; a progressive spirit; resourcefulness, of self and in subordinates; and, more than all, the faculty (and desire) to use men of ability by gaining their interest and coöperation, and, having ascertained their most efficient field, by trusting them without interference.

(5) The world also judges the work of the engineer and the military commander alike. The public cannot see when experts of other professions make mistakes, as their errors can be hushed up and remain secrets forever. Errors of the engineering and military professions never escape public criticism. If a bridge falls, a dam breaks, a boiler bursts, or an engine fails to do the work for which it is designed, the fact can-

not be hid. In the same manner military weaknesses and errors of judgment are patent to the people at large. Success must be achieved by the soldier and engineer; for failures are never forgiven.

(6) The greatest tribute that can be paid to the work of the naval, military, and engineering professions is to mention the fact that there is a high standard of integrity and honor existing among the members. Particularly can the noble words of Ruskin be applied to these three professions:

And so with all other brave and rightly trained men. Their work is first, their fee second — very important always but still second. And with some people just as certainly the fee is first and the work second, as with brave people the work is first and the fee second. And this is no small distinction. It is the whole distinction in a man; distinction between life and death in him, between Heaven and Hell for him. You cannot serve two masters; you must serve one or the other. So then you have it in brief term; work first, you are God's servant; fee first, you are the fiend's.

(7) As physical and moral courage are essential to the engineer in the performance of efficient work, an engineering training does not unfit one but aids him for future military duty. It is significant that the most courageous individual act performed in the naval service during the late war was the conning of the *Merrimac* to the channel of Santiago harbor. The man selected for this dangerous mission was a naval constructor, a static engineer, who, although a graduate of Annapolis, had practically never performed executive line duties as a commissioned officer previous to undertaking his heroic and brilliant deed. The distinguishing act of personal valor performed by one connected with the army, and one which was productive of immediate and exceedingly important results, was the capture of the Philippine commander-in-chief by a commissioned field officer, who less than four years ago was a subordinate official in the Agricultural Department. This matchless deed, wonderful in its conception, and startling in its execution, was the work of a graduate of an agricultural and mechanical college. It is strikingly suggestive that it was reserved for these two men, whose development and training were along engineering lines, to typify best the nation's ideal of signal gallantry and heroism. These examples are the most brilliant of the many that could be given of the aptitude and adaptability of an engineering mind for military duties. The successful manner in which the former engineer officers of the navy qualified for line duties may afford confirmatory proof of how closely allied is mechanical engineering to military science and tactics.

The tendency of the engineering and military professions to work along similar lines is also evidenced by the fact that the world now

speaks of the greatest of the business and engineering leaders as "captains of industry," and regards the best military commanders as able administrators possessing engineering and constructive minds. This tendency, even to an interchange of title upon the part of the military and engineering organizations, shows the trend of events. The nation which will thus recognize the fact that there is a great military reserve strength in the engineering element, will command a military advantage that may be of incalculable benefit in time of war.

The advantages accruing from having the scientific institutions undertake the work of doing some military duty would be of a threefold nature: (1) It would aid, in a practical way, the engineering student; (2) it would be of material benefit to the scientific colleges; and (3) it would be a military gain to the nation.

Many students would undoubtedly take a course of instruction that had met with the approval of either the War or the Navy Department, since they would be assured that such an engineering course would be a very practical one. There would be substantial reward awaiting those who successfully completed the course, since students successfully passing a prescribed examination would be given a probationary appointment in either the army or the navy. While serving as officers during this probationary period, not only would they receive advanced practical instruction, but the experience acquired would be of value to them throughout their lives. It would also undoubtedly be the policy of both the War and Navy Departments to establish post-graduate courses of instruction for the young men entering the services from institutions other than the military and naval academies.

The admission of the graduates of such institutions into the army and the navy would not only provide an additional field of employment for the best of such men, but would immediately awaken a spirit of emulation among all those whose work is to be subjected to the practical tests of an examination almost absolutely uniform for all parts of the United States. The reaction of such a competition upon the military and naval academies would not fail to be highly beneficial to these national institutions.

The benefits to the scientific colleges and technical institutions would be of a progressive nature; for in stimulating the student and developing the study of the arts and sciences, the curriculum would be improved to a remarkable degree. In general, it may be said that the following direct advantages would be derived by the engineering institutions: the efficient and thorough supervision of engineering instruction; the com-

missioning of their graduates in the military and naval services; the assistance of the national Government in the establishment of mechanical laboratories by the loan of machines and appliances which would be of great value for educational purposes, and yet unserviceable for use on shipboard or in the camp; the encouragement afforded by bringing the colleges into friendly competition with the academies; the establishment and development of successful technical schools in commonwealths where such colleges of mechanic arts and sciences do not exist.

The scientific colleges would certainly be stimulated by undertaking this military work. Before the successful establishment of such colleges, we were greatly dependent upon foreign-trained men and aliens for this service. Can it be doubted that it would be wise to establish an effective system of supervision and support for these institutions, to the end that their graduates — already the picked men of the country in a mechanical sense — may be turned toward Government needs and possible Government service, and that they may be stimulated to devise and invent appliances which shall make our arms irresistible on land and sea? In France and Germany, two or three years of the best part of a man's life are exacted in the performance of military routine duties. What a great waste of force and what an enormously increased taxation in consequence! How much better it would be to give thousands of selected young men a scientific and military education wherein they might be taught only the underlying principles in the art of war!

The national Government would also be the recipient of substantial benefits by such a course of procedure. Not only would there be secured a great technical reserve, which could be utilized in time of war, but scores of schools would be in a condition to educate men to replace even this reserve, if the exigencies of the nation should demand such action.

It seems obvious, too, that the presence in the army and navy of a considerable number of officers drawn directly from civil life, after they had received their training in other than Government schools, would be not only of advantage to the military and naval personnel, but would serve to awaken and maintain among the people of the country a healthy interest in both services.

Oliver Wendell Holmes has somewhere happily said: "A man's mind is now and then stretched by a new idea, and does not afterwards shrink to its former dimensions." So it will be with those pessimists who believe that honest criticism of any institution tends to abridge its work. When the young cadets from Annapolis and West Point also came in contact with technical students, whose preceptors had been the distin-

guished college presidents of the country, there might be a stretch to the intellect of these young officers which would result in good to themselves and to the military and naval services. And when the young college graduates came under the discipline of experienced and cultured military and naval officers, and learned how to obey as well as to command, there might be a stretch of their usefulness and powers which would be noticed and commented upon by their classmates in civil life.

In bringing the graduates of Annapolis and West Point into competition with the young men from outside life, a healthy rivalry would be created between the two military schools and the scientific institutions. It may be that the academic boards of West Point and Annapolis, as well as the trustees of many scientific institutions, will have very little inclination to encourage extended military training and instruction. If either the naval or military academy has any doubt as to its ability to send forth, for military duties, men superior to those sent out by the engineering colleges, then something is radically wrong with their course of instruction. As the college, as well as the citizen, owes a duty to the nation, a responsibility rests upon the technical institutions to undertake the work; and they would not dare resist public sentiment upon this question.

Great results are thus involved in the question of securing a sufficient and trained reserve for the defence of the nation. It is now recognized that the wars of the future will be largely determined by the character and nature of the training secured by the directing personnel. If the leading scientific colleges can be made to understand that a military duty devolves upon them, then a great impulse will be given to the patriotism of our young men of severe educational and technical lines, since they will be made to feel that the very skill they are acquiring for life-work and peaceful industry will also best fit them to become the chosen defenders of their country in time of trouble.

Within the last three years it has been found necessary to increase the number of cadets at both West Point and Annapolis. Until this increase was authorized, the number of graduates sent forth was not even sufficient to make up for the losses incident to the naval and military services. In fact, the rigidity of the examinations had, if anything, to be lessened, to help in providing a sufficient number of commissioned officers for existing needs. So far as the navy is concerned, it will require at least six years before Annapolis can send forth sufficient graduates to bring the total commissioned personnel of the service up to the number authorized by law. With respect to the army, hundreds of

young men have been commissioned in the regular service during the last four years, there being no graduates from West Point available for existing vacancies. At least two hundred graduates from the scientific institutions have received commissions in the army, and they give promise of developing into exceedingly efficient and desirable officers. As a matter of fact, the military service has been compelled to go to these engineering institutions for commissioned officers; but who can deny that these young men would have been better fitted for a military career if they had had the training and education herein contended for?

The requirements of the army and navy as regards commissioned officers cannot be met by Annapolis and West Point. The work can be carried on only by many technological colleges of the land, under the direction of master-minds acquainted with our military needs and having some knowledge of the power and influence of university work. Under the control of the Secretary of War and of the Navy, there should be efficient and thorough supervision of this scientific and military education; and the maintenance of all such educational courses would be carried on in a manner satisfactory to the Government. If this were done, it would be a step in the direction of coördinating American universities and colleges. It would raise the standard of the inefficient institutions by stimulating emulation and encouraging a comparative study of different methods of instruction. Scientific instruction of a high grade is already provided by numerous institutions in many parts of our country. The range and quality of their work have immeasurably advanced within the last few years, and several now take rank with the best institutions of their kind in the world. These colleges have made wonderful strides along educational lines; and their faculties make the proud claim that their graduates are the equals in culture and intelligence of those sent out by the colleges of liberal arts.

During the last ten years I have discussed this question with distinguished educators, prominent statesmen, and able military leaders, and it seems to be the general opinion that the good of the nation demands that some such action should be taken. One distinguished Southern educator declares that "such a measure would be founded upon patriotism and common sense." The lamented General Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was very earnest in his desire to have his institution perform some military duty for the nation, and, in writing to me upon the subject, said: "Whether looked at from the point of view of one interested in the political, military, or naval history of our land, the subject concerns the defence of the country."

At least three-score of college presidents have been consulted in regard to the general work of bringing their institutions to a clearer sense of their military obligations to the state. It is practically their unanimous testimony not only that the work is in the interest of sound technical education, but that the greatest beneficiary would be the national Government. When such conservative forces are aroused to the necessity of this work, it must be manifest that it is of import to the nation. It is of marked significance that this proposition appeals most strongly to those college presidents and professors who were formerly identified with either the military or the naval service. These men, from personal experience and association, realize that mutual benefit must be secured by bringing all scientific institutions in closer touch with each other and with the military and naval authorities.

It is, therefore, time for a plan to be formulated whereby the engineering institutions can render the important military duty to the nation that is within their power to accomplish, and that ought to be within their desire to perform. As it is to be expected that Congress will be more inclined to follow than to attempt to direct public sentiment upon this question, the matter must be taken in hand by the immovable sanity of military officials and scientific educators. A joint commission composed of two officers of the army, two of the navy, two representatives of the land-grant colleges, and two representatives of other scientific institutions, with some former Secretary of War or the Navy as chairman of the body, should be appointed. Within a year this commission could formulate a scheme whereby the scientific institutions of the United States could supplement the work of West Point and Annapolis, and whereby it would be possible to secure for the future a reserve of highly trained technical men who would receive at least the principles of a military education.

Even to meet the issue of war with Spain we had to increase our army tenfold. It is well known that, despite the enormous advantages that we possessed over our foe, we had to keep our troops for months in camps of instruction. In fact, it took so long to work these volunteer regiments into shape that the army which besieged Santiago was practically composed of a good part of the regular army, and but few regiments of volunteers. Such delay would have been, in part, obviated if our engineering institutions had done the military duty that was within their power, and if the nation had utilized the educational forces that were within reach.

Both the War and Navy Departments can greatly aid this military

educational work by lending to the several scientific institutions such spare implements, models, and machines as are no longer useful to either service. A machine of antiquated design, and no longer efficient, is often the best model for illustrative and educational purposes. That appliance which could be consistently condemned by reason of its want of reliability might be exceedingly useful in the laboratory for imparting instruction, and for illustrating our military development. During the last ten years appliances have been destroyed at the arsenals and broken up at the navy yards which were without value for the original purposes intended, but which would have been gratefully received by the engineering colleges, and would have been of substantial benefit to them. The transfer of such articles ought to be made practicable by a law of Congress; and it is to be hoped that the nation will soon realize the great benefit to be derived by utilizing, for educational purposes, discarded implements of warfare.

War is now a business as well as a science. For occasions of emergency a reserve of supplies, of men, and of officers must be provided. It is not expected that our arsenals and navy yards can supply sufficient material and stores for war purposes. It is for this reason that the national Government encourages private firms to engage in the manufacture of guns and ammunition, as well as in the building of warships. As for the supply of armor, it is altogether secured from outside parties. The national and State Governments expend millions of dollars in training a volunteer force, and the primary purpose of establishing such an organization is to have in readiness at least a partly trained reserve for the needs of the nation. It is, therefore, necessary, as well as logical, to train a reserve of officers; and there seems no better way of securing this desirable result than by utilizing the great resources that are possessed by the educational institutions of the land.

If this proposition were fully understood, it would appeal to the young men of America now receiving instruction in the several colleges of mechanic arts and sciences. These young men are strong in their own self-respect and ambition, and are intense in their love of country; and, if necessary, their conscience will impel them to offer their all for the honor of the nation. Their education should be directed so that the best within them can be brought out; and I know of no better way of training them to become noble men than that they shall be made to realize that they are receiving a military as well as technical education while in the glory and strength of young manhood.

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

A NEW ERA IN MEXICO.

No more suitable place could have been found for holding the Pan-American Conference than the City of Mexico, the capital of the Republic which holds the position of a natural mediator between the United States and Latin America. While the sentiments of the Mexican people are still considerably colored by the historic hatred of 1847, their interests have been gradually drawing them closer and closer to the United States. The Government and the leading classes do not fail to recognize the great advantages derived by Mexico from the investments and enterprise of their northern neighbors. They are exceedingly anxious to encourage the capitalists of foreign nations to furnish means for the development of the rich resources of Mexico, and are willing to do their best to remove any obstacles that may be in the way of honest activity in this direction.

Until quite recently Mexico was not regarded as a safe place for commercial and industrial investments. Its potential wealth was recognized, and the possibility of unusually large returns from Mexican investments was well known; but the political conditions were too unsettled. It was difficult to find men of character and standing who had long experience in Mexican affairs; and the methods of the ordinary Mexican promoters were so untrustworthy that Mexico became in the minds of most people the home of wildcat schemes and South Sea bubbles—a view which there was much to justify. The promoters—whom the Mexicans significantly call *filibusteros de banco*—were doubly unscrupulous, as they knew the general unfamiliarity of the public with things Mexican, and therefore engaged readily in unsound enterprises without fear of speedy discovery. Harold Frederic, in his story, "The Market Place," recounts the history of an undertaking of this kind—an actual venture which came to its ignominious end only a short time ago.

But things have changed and a new era has begun. In political affairs a régime of security and stability has been gradually established by the group of able men who are controlling the Government. Under the

leadership of the veteran President they form a powerful, well-organized party within which personal ambitions are loyally subordinated to public ends; and the eventual successor to President Diaz is already practically determined upon, so that the fear sometimes expressed lest upon the death of that great ruler the country should be in danger of a revolution has no reasonable foundation in fact. With respect to the security of titles and the protection of life and property, Mexico at present leaves little to be desired. Moreover, conservative business methods are being adopted, and men of the soundest financial standing are beginning to interest themselves extensively in Mexican industry. Enough experience has been gathered so that the investor may avoid costly mistakes, while the avenues to great success in the exploitation of the natural wealth of Mexico have not yet been closed, and the most tempting opportunities remain.

It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that the next decade will witness unusual progress in Mexican industrial life. In mining, systematic methods of prospecting and surveying are being employed; water power is being investigated and developed; and the railway system of the country is receiving important additions, opening up promising regions that were hitherto almost inaccessible, and thus giving an impetus to the development of the rich agricultural lands of Southern Mexico. Indications of progress along these lines are afforded by the formation of large prospecting companies backed by the most conservative American and European capital; by the establishment of the great water-power plants of Mexico City and Orizaba; by the opening of scores of tropical plantations; and by the movement of railway consolidation and construction now in progress. Thus, the National and International railways are to be united so as to form a single broad-gauge line between the northern boundary and the city of Mexico; while the railway known as "the Mason Line" will connect the Mexican systems with the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and open up the way to the Central American Republics.

The actual industrial situation at present is somewhat overclouded on account of the contraction of the currency. Exchange in Mexico during the summer of 1901 was in the neighborhood of 216, *i.e.*, 216 dollars silver for 100 dollars gold. As Mexican dollars are more valuable in China and the Philippine Islands, large quantities of them were shipped to Asia; consequently the Government, in fear of an impending crisis, was induced to prohibit the exportation of silver coin. In some respects the foreign investor is benefited by the high rate of exchange, as the price of labor, of land, and of supplies does not rise so rapidly as

the bank rate. The ordinary disadvantages of a fluctuating and depreciated currency are therefore counterbalanced, in the eyes of the foreign capitalist, by the increased purchasing power of his investment.

Another cause for apprehension on the part of the Government is found in the over-development of certain manufactures, notably the textile industry. Great hopes were recently entertained in this respect, and large establishments for the manufacture of cotton and wool were established at Mexico, Orizaba, Queretaro, and Puebla. But in the last five years the demand has not kept pace with the supply; in fact, the capacity of the Mexican people for the consumption of manufactured goods has been in the past generally over-estimated. When the mere numbers of the population are considered, the country seems to hold out great promises to the manufacturer. But the purchasing power of the Mexican masses is strictly limited; three-fourths of the population being native Indians or half-breeds, whose wants embrace nothing more than a linen suit, a serape, a sombrero, the plainest of food, and the cheap native drinks of pulque or aguardiente. Their wants are not expansive, and they are too conservative readily to learn the use of new conveniences. Whenever wages rise, the increase is spent mostly in spurts of riotous living, and there is no idea of adding to the true comforts of life. The mere figures of the Mexican population census are, therefore, not a safe guide for the merchant or the industrial investor.

It is in commerce and in the exploitative industries, rather than in manufacture, that the greatest opportunities are to be found. The commercial houses of Mexico, like those of South America, are large and sound and are mostly in the hands of foreigners. Thus, the Germans practically control the trade of hardware and drugs, and a great share of that in machinery; the French and Spanish incline more to dealing in wines, groceries, jewelry, and textile goods; while the largest banks are managed by English capitalists. The Americans do not engage in commerce to a very great extent, as they are rather slow in acquiring the language and in establishing direct and intimate relations with the Mexicans. Still there are some large American banking houses, and most of the electrical machinery used in Mexico comes from the United States. Railway transportation, both by steam and by electricity, is managed by English and American capital. Three-fourths of the engineers and all the conductors on the lines north of Mexico City are Americans.

It is, however, in the natural industries — in the development of the natural resources of Mexico — that the greatest progress may be fairly anticipated for the coming decade. A very promising industry

is that of the manufacture of fibre from the maguey and also from the leaves of the pineapple plant. As the maguey plant after the extraction of the pulque was formerly considered pure waste matter, this industry is a clear gain to the country. The fibre, called ixtle or henequen, is manufactured into ropes, bagging, and coarse textiles for garments, and constitutes one of the chief articles of export from Mexico.

Formerly mining was even more of a lottery in Mexico than elsewhere. Between the original owner and the mining promoter, the investor usually had the too simple pleasure of adding directly to the resources of the country, without even a modest commission to himself. But at present the most scientific methods are employed in prospecting and in the survey of mines. Men with small capital still have some opportunity of picking up valuable property, especially in such remote regions as Oaxaca. This, however, will not last long, as large companies, with millions of capital actually paid in, are now making preparations for a thorough and systematic survey of the mining properties of Mexico.

The line of development in which foreign capital has most recently become interested is tropical agriculture. It is a well-known fact that the Mexican haciendas have been among the steadiest and best-paying undertakings on the American continent. But as agriculture requires very close touch with the laboring population, which the Mexican planter handles with great ease, but which to others is an uncertain element, foreign investors until very recent times did not make use of the opportunities afforded by the rich lands of the Republic. The lands of Mexico may be divided into four classes — mountain lands, highlands, lowlands free from inundation, and lowlands subject thereto. At least two-thirds of the superficial area is composed of mountain lands, the higher of which are barren and suitable for grazing only. The lower mountain lands, the *tierra templada*, contain some of the richest of the older haciendas, and are especially suitable for the cultivation of pulque. But it is in the lowlands, the *tierra caliente*, that the true future riches of Mexico will be found. The quantity of first-class tropical land is, however, comparatively small, as the lowlands in Northern Mexico are visited by long and destructive drouths, while a great part of those in a more southerly latitude are subject to periodical overflows which are an obstacle to regular cultivation.

It is the belt between the mountains and the lowlands along the sea, between the northern region of drouth and the frontier of Guatemala — or in other terms, the land south of Jalapa extending across the Isthmus

of Tehuantepec as far as the states of Campeche and Chiapas — that contains the greatest promise of future development. Alexander von Humboldt especially emphasized the fertility of the *Sotavento*, the southern part of the state of Vera Cruz, whose productive capacity he estimated as being twice as great as that of the best Cuban lands. A large river system gives this region abundant irrigation throughout the year; serving also as an easy route of communication to the various parts of the country. The passing traveller gets an inkling of the fertility of this land when he sees that all the fences are composed of trees, which upon close inspection turn out to be simply pieces of wood set in the soil. They have readily taken root and brought forth branches and leaves like the rod of Moses. For at least three centuries this country has lain fallow and prepared itself for a great future harvest. It was formerly the home of a high civilization, as is witnessed by the remains of buildings and pottery that are found even in the densest of its forests. Its climate is not unfavorable to the re-peopling of its woodlands and plains. Few Europeans and Northerners who are at all careful in their habits are here attacked by any malignant disease; most of them enjoying the best of health. The facilities of transportation, on the other hand, still leave something to be desired, as the railroads are not well enough ballasted to resist the downpours in the rainy season; but great improvements have been already accomplished. The new railroad already mentioned, which will connect Vera Cruz and Mexico with the Isthmian line, will pass through the centre of the richest belt of tropical lands; thus affording better means of access to this whole region and rendering it possible for the traveller to avoid the sea coast entirely.

As lands in the Valle Nacional and around Cordova are at present worth as high as \$150 an acre, the price of the lands farther south will undoubtedly rise rapidly in consequence of their increased accessibility. At present excellent land can still be bought in large tracts for from three to five dollars an acre. The titles to real property in this region, as in many parts of Mexico, are, however, very much confused. There are innumerable claimants to every desirable tract. Neighboring towns assert communal rights, while individual squatters rely upon prescription through long occupancy. The various claims of these corporations and individuals have to be bought up by the intending purchaser of the land. The service of clearing up the titles is performed by the large land companies of Mexico City. These purchase the various outstanding titles or claims and finally obtain a confirmatory grant from the federal Government, which renders the title as secure as could be desired. It would,

however, be very unsafe for a private individual not thoroughly familiar with the situation to purchase lands from the natives. Only by the most careful methods can long and tedious title litigation be avoided.

The lands of Southern Mexico produce all the staple tropical products — sugar, cocoa, coffee, vanilla, pineapples, oranges, bananas, and rubber.

With respect to sugar, the situation of Mexico is made unusually favorable by the high import tax of fifteen cents silver per kilo. A great many natives are engaged in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar; but their machinery is of the most primitive kind. Thus the entire sugar mill of the large estate of Nopalapam in Vera Cruz consists of a building no larger than an ordinary barn. The native planters lack the capital and the progressive spirit necessary for drawing the full industrial benefits from their extensive estates. The ample and easy living which their bountiful acres yield, and the social consideration accruing from the ownership of a large hacienda, satisfy them and render them disinclined to go to much trouble or to incur debt for the purpose of enhancing the productivity of their plantations. The lands of Southern Mexico are counted among the most fertile sugar regions of the world. Yields of as high as sixty tons of cane per acre are reported, and a yield of from thirty to forty tons is considered quite ordinary. As the planter may obtain from six to eight cents silver per pound for his product from the wholesale dealers, and as the cost of cultivation and manufacture ought not to exceed three or four cents a pound, the margin of profit is an exceedingly liberal one. However, on account of the expensiveness of machinery and the large amount of labor required, an impecunious planter could not hope to succeed. There are no central sugar mills established to which he could sell his cane; and even were he to erect a moderate-sized mill, he could not in the long run compete with the large modern sugar refineries that are being operated on the great estates.

The reformation of the Mexican sugar industry along modern lines is just beginning, and the first well-equipped plantations are reaping wonderful returns. One of the best known of the new plantations is the San Cristobal, on the Papaloapam River, in Vera Cruz, controlled chiefly by Mexican capital. It is provided with the most complete machinery, which is capable of manufacturing into sugar the produce of 5,000 acres of cane. About a score of foreign corporations, chiefly American, are also beginning operations on a large scale; while numberless smaller companies and individual planters are endeavoring to catch the tide before it ebbs back to the level of the sea. One of these smaller planters

recently succeeded in paying for the whole of his machinery out of the crops of two years. As cultivation of sugar on a large scale increases, the profits will of course diminish, and the smaller concerns will find themselves crowded out. Still for a decade to come even they may hope to draw some gain from the advantages of the situation.

Excellent coffee is being raised on the higher lands of the tropical belt of Mexico. In this culture, too, large capital is necessary on account of the expensive character of machinery and the large quantity of labor required in harvesting the berries and preparing them for the market. A product that is looked upon with much favor, because it does not necessitate a long process of manufacture or treatment, is cocoa, which is cultivated in this region with comparatively little labor and small expense. The cultivation of tropical fruits has not yet been undertaken on a large scale, partly on account of the absence of rapid and regular means of transportation. Some plantations are, however, canning their fruit for the Mexican market, where it brings very acceptable prices. The finest grade of tobacco is raised in the Valle Nacional, near Tuxtepec, and in the Tuxtla district. The choice lands in this region have been, however, all taken up, and command very high prices.

A product about which there is much discussion, uncertainty, and doubt, but, on the other hand, much hope and the expectation of remarkable returns, is rubber. The *Castilloa elastica* is indigenous in this region; but the natural bearing trees have been practically exterminated by the careless manner in which they have been tapped by the rubber hunters. The artificial culture of rubber has now been undertaken on a large scale; though it is often argued that the natural supplies of Brazil, Peru, Africa, and India are so abundant that artificial cultivation will not be profitable. There are several facts, however, which we ought to consider before dismissing the culture of rubber as an inadvisable undertaking. In the first place, large parts of the South American and African forests have been practically destroyed by careless cutting. The supply that remains is abundant, but it cannot be obtained without considerable expense. The rubber of Brazil, after being gathered by the natives, passes through the hands of numerous merchants along the Amazon, whose profits as middlemen go to swell the price of the product until it reaches the hands of the jobber. In Peru and Africa the difficulties of transportation multiply the original trivial cost manifold.

It is, therefore, quite generally believed that in an accessible and fertile country like Southern Mexico rubber can be raised more cheaply than it could be obtained in the aforementioned regions. There the

rubber trees are scattered through pathless forests; here they could be grown upon comparatively small areas, so that the cost of gathering would be materially reduced. But while rubber culture on a large scale has been commenced in Mexico, it is nowhere old enough to prove what can be done. It is still largely in the experimental stage. The confidence of many people has been shaken by such unsound enterprises as the India Rubber Limited; but, of course, instances like this prove nothing concerning the culture itself.

Young rubber trees grow very rapidly and produce at an earlier age than the Brazilian variety. When tapped at the age of four or five years they already yield half a pound of rubber; at the age of from seven to ten a double amount is obtained; after that the yield increases rapidly. Basing their calculation upon these results, many companies have planted large areas with rubber trees. The states of Vera Cruz, Chiapas, and Campeche contain at least two hundred new plantations upon which the cultivation of rubber is being tried. There have been many experiments with respect to methods of planting. Whether the trees are to be set out in the shade of a forest, or upon cleared lands in the full glare of the sun; whether the nursery system is to be employed; and at what distance apart the trees are to be set when ultimately planted — all these are questions upon which the opinions of individual planters differ widely. It seems, however, that any calculation which contemplates the permanent cultivation of more than two hundred trees per acre is extravagant. As the New York price of Central American rubber during the last year was from sixty to seventy cents a pound, very large returns may be reasonably expected by planters who have a sufficient amount of capital and endurance. The chief advantages of rubber culture are, that beyond the necessity of guarding them the trees do not need much care after the second year; that comparatively little labor is required in the harvesting; that no manufacturing process by machinery is necessary; and that the product is at least for a time practically imperishable. The excellence of the rubber trees native to Mexico is shown by the fact that the seed of the *Castilloa elastica* is much sought after by the planters of Ceylon and India.

The chief difficulty encountered by the planters of Southern Mexico is the absence of a steady and abundant supply of labor. There are natives enough living in the region to furnish all the labor needed for a long time to come; but their wants are so few that but a small proportion of them care to work hard on a plantation. As laborers they are docile and willing, but shiftless, unenergetic, and of little intelligence.

While the region is free from serious crimes, and large sums of money are constantly transported from place to place with no thought of danger, the native population is much given to petty thieving, which causes such crops as pineapples and vanilla to melt away almost beneath the eyes of the proprietor. The price of labor has practically doubled within the last three or four years. While but recently a laborer could be hired for fifty cents silver a day, with an additional twenty-five cents for his keep, at the present time wages in some places are as high as a dollar and a half silver per day. This is due to the competition among the many plantations that have been recently established.

The manner of procuring labor on the Isthmus is quite unique. Twice a year, in September and February, large feasts are held at the larger towns. These are attended by all the *mozos*, or native laborers, of the region. The planters, too, repair to the seat of festivities. They come laden down with sacks of money, which they lend with lavish hand to any laborers who may apply to them, or whom they can induce to become their debtors. The dollars thus lent readily take wings amid the attractions of the fair, and when the last fumes of enthusiasm and aguardiente are leaving the *mozo's* brain, he finds himself the bond slave of the obliging planter who so readily advanced him the money. He becomes one of the planter's *cuadrilla*, or gang, and works on the plantation until the time of the next feast. Under this system the planters are obliged constantly to maintain agencies for the enlistment of laborers, and they find themselves twice a year under the necessity of practically renewing their entire labor force. Of course, the old Mexican haciendas, with their settled *peon* laborers, who are kept in check by the moral suasion of the hacienda priest, know little of the difficulties that confront the foreigner who has to hire his labor from season to season.

To relieve this situation, a movement has been started to import coolie laborers from Asia for the use of the large plantations. Negotiations with the Indian Government have, however, so far been unsuccessful. But an American corporation has developed a most comprehensive plan of labor supply. A navigation company is to bring Chinese coolies to Mexico, where they are to be employed at first in the coast fisheries belonging to the corporation. From among the coolies thus imported the company will furnish laborers to the plantations on a five-year contract at the price of thirty-five dollars a month each. In order to avoid possible difficulties in obtaining laborers, the corporation has enlisted the cooperation of the "six great companies" of San Francisco. Moreover,

in order to make the stay of the coolies agreeable to them, it will import provisions and articles of personal use from the Chinese Empire, and will furnish them to the laborers from its own stores. The labor gangs are to be placed under Chinese foremen, so that the plantation manager will be relieved of all trouble in hiring and directing the men. The adoption of a system of this kind is imperatively necessary if tropical agriculture in Mexico is to succeed on a large scale. The present labor supply is too uncertain, and this uncertainty, especially during the time of harvest, might result in irreparable loss to the planter. The Mexican Government itself recognizes this fact, and is ready to assist any honest enterprise that will provide a solution of the difficulty.

From all that has been said it will be seen that Mexico is not a land for the investor of small means. As a farmer could not himself do heavy manual labor in this climate, he would have to make liberal use of hired help. His expenses of management would, therefore, be practically as high as those of a large plantation. The original cost of the land, when reckoned as including the expenses of clearing and planting and of caring for the crop until its maturity, amounts to a large sum per acre. Should he desire to plant rubber, the farmer must wait for at least seven years until his returns begin to come in; while for the other cultures he would need expensive machinery. Companies and individual planters with large capital, however, would have far to seek at present to find a more promising field for investment and a more desirable locality than Southern Mexico. An individual planter with ample means always has a great advantage in being able to supervise the employment of his money in person, and to make sure that his funds are actually applied to the improvement of the soil. A conservative, well-managed company would, however, also be certain of success in this region. Companies exploiting other parts of the tropics, as for instance, the Dutch companies operating in Java, or the Belgian companies in the Congo Free State, often pay as high as fifty per cent dividends upon the capital invested.

But it cannot be overlooked that the methods employed by some of the companies at present operating in Southern Mexico are by no means calculated to yield such results to the shareholders. Not infrequently more money is spent in advertising the stock and paying salaries to the directors than is put into the soil. Moreover, as insufficiently trained men are employed as plantation managers, costly experiments are made, and no consistent, well-considered policy is pursued. The statements of advantages furnished to the public are often extravagant. Returns obtained under unusually favorable circumstances are taken and applied

to the total acreage of the company; while, of course, the fertility and quality of any tract in this region are just as little uniform as they are in any other part of the world. Together with the lavish expenditure of funds by the home office there often goes a disastrous policy of retrenchment on the plantation. Next to attempted economies in the remuneration paid to expert management, the worst mistake that can be made is the purchase of second-hand machinery in the hope that somehow it may do the work. In these various ways some of the companies whose prospects would otherwise be good are ruining their chances for success, and before long their plantations may be for sale at a rather low figure.

It is, however, certain that the money which actually goes into the soil will bring the most gratifying returns if employed with a thorough understanding of the local conditions; and it also admits of no doubt that, with the impetus which has now been given, nothing can retard the development of the agricultural resources of tropical Mexico. It would be well for all concerned if there could be formed a society of tropical planters, in order that some of the questions which inevitably arise, and which have been alluded to above, might be confronted and solved in a more systematic manner. Moreover, for the protection of the general public, there should be formed, analogous to the similar British and French institutions, a society of foreign bondholders or investors, which could exercise a certain wholesome censorship over the methods employed by corporations operating in this region. It is very much to be desired that, since small investors can hardly succeed as individual planters, they should be able to share in the benefits of this region with safety by becoming members of an honest, conservative, and well-managed plantation company. Such companies exist at present — companies managed with the honest purpose of adding to the real wealth of the country, and administered by expert agriculturalists. But lax, haphazard methods are still so common that it behooves the careful investor to avoid trusting entirely to the undoubted resources of the country, and to insist upon the employment of scientific methods in their exploitation.

PAUL S. REINSCH.

THE PLACE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

THE branches of study pursued in the elementary schools are chosen for the purpose of securing two useful and reasonable ends. In the first place, they are chosen to give the child an ability to understand his environment, and to come into a mastery of it so that he can make it useful to himself. He is taught arithmetic in order that he may divide and conquer; in order that he may measure the things and forces of his environment, and learn how to adapt one set of them to control and utilize another. He is taught geography in order that he may understand the causal relations existing between his habitat, or the place in which he lives, and other places as well as other systems of things and events on the earth.

On the other hand, a second reason for adopting a branch in the course of study is that it develops some faculty or power in the child, and gives him possession of himself in that respect; for one of the primary objects is to develop the intellect, the memory, the judgment, or the heart. By the expression heart I mean the aggregate of affections and inclinations of the soul. Some discipline in school, like writing, drawing, calisthenics, or manual training, finds its place in the curriculum because of its power to develop the will, the tenacity of purpose, the ability to pay long and continuous attention to one thing, and to form habits of industry, cleanliness, regularity, and punctuality, and thus acquire those virtues which make a man a better citizen than he could possibly be without them — which make his service of more value to his fellow-men and give him the ability to get a larger share of service from them than he otherwise could.

Let any one take up the branches of the common school in the light of these purposes, and he will find that those branches, as they are in the schools, are all needed, and that it would not be possible to make any one of them a substitute for any other. But I wish to call attention to the fact that the two principles or purposes which I have named as the reasons which have determined the adoption of branches of study

in the schools not only are not antagonistic, but in many particulars agree absolutely. The cultivation of the intellect, for instance, by such studies as arithmetic, grammar, and literature, has for its result not only the unfolding of the powers of the individual within himself, but the enlargement of the individual's sphere of influence among his fellow-men, making him useful to them and making them useful to him. The boy or girl who understands arithmetic is not only cultivated or accomplished to that extent, but by so much the more useful in the family, in the industrial community, and in the nation, and by so much the more able to conquer nature for his or her own benefit, and to make useful combinations with his or her fellow-members of society throughout the world.

So, too, in the matter of literature. The literature of the English language or of any other reveals human nature in one or more of its national manifestations. Indeed, each literary work portrays some trait, or, perhaps, several traits or phases, of human nature. The student of literature comes to know the secrets of the human heart. He comes to know how feelings and emotions may become clear ideas and convictions of the intellect, and then how they become translated into deeds, habits, and established forms of living such as appear in the network of manners and customs which forms the substance of the daily life of each man, woman, and child. Literature and mathematics — literature the first and mathematics the second — form important branches of all school education. Literature is the first and most important, because, in order to adjust himself to society, one must understand the motives, desires, and views of the world which his fellow-men entertain. It is impossible for a man to live in a community where he has no insight into or knowledge of the world-view of his fellow-men, and does not know the things that make up their daily consciousness. In all nations, tribes, and peoples, the man who is entirely ignorant of the prevailing code of manners and ethics is not permitted to enjoy the freedom of civil society, and, perhaps, is not even permitted to live. One must be heedful of the fundamental requirements of society, such as the respect for life and property and the respect for the sense of decency in one's community, or else he will be restrained in person and perhaps deprived of life. It is well to remember that this is so not only in savage and half-civilized peoples, but also in the highest and most refined and in the freest and most liberty-loving communities in the world.

This is the ground on which I pronounce literature the most important of all branches of school education, whether it be in China where

Confucius and Mencius form the matter of school education, or East India where the Vedas and the great heroic poems form the staple of the course of study, or among Mohammedan nations where the Koran is learned, or in Greece where Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were the school books, or in the schools of Boston, New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco, where English literature in the school reading-books does its work in enlightening the pupil as to the modes of thinking and the motives of his fellow-men.

After literature comes geography, meaning by the term what is usually understood by it in the elementary school. After geography comes history, first, that of one's native country, secondly, that of the civilizations of the world; after history, grammar, as a special study of the forms of language. In the grammatical forms are revealed the methods of the action of the intellect; for grammar is a sort of concrete logic, revealing not only the methods of thinking, but also the methods of perception, and the methods of recollection, which form the laws of memory.

These branches, which throw so much light upon the individuality of the pupil — upon his own nature and upon the nature of the institutions as well as upon the structure of the world in which he lives — form the tools of thought and action; they are the machines, the instruments, by which he supplements his body; they are the organs by which he energizes upon the world outside of him and by which he makes with his fellows combinations useful to them and doubly useful to himself.

When an attack is made upon any one of these branches of study, it should cause us to reflect upon the individual and social necessity that has placed it in the curriculum. An attack upon geography, for instance, should cause us to consider for a moment what one's education would be if the study of geography were entirely omitted in the elementary school. Sufficient reflection upon the inconveniences which would arise in one's practical life will enable us to form a list of the points of usefulness to be found in geography. One will be able to draw up a sort of rough inventory of what the child gets from the study of geography for a few years in his early youth.

Let us for the moment make a list of the important items which the child will get from a superficial study of geography in the elementary schools under what would be admitted to be a poor quality of instruction, namely the unaided study of the text-book, the text-book being of an inadequate pattern, and the so-called teaching being confined chiefly to hearing the words of the book repeated. The pupils of average intellect will acquire some understanding of the main topics touched upon;

and they will have in memory, in a more or less digested form, some facts connected with them which will be retained throughout their lives. The constant use of certain typical facts, familiarity with which is demanded by the newspaper and magazine literature of the day, and which is more or less required by the daily gossip over national and international affairs, keeps the memory fresh in these matters. The average child will carry off with him a pretty vivid idea that the shape of the earth is round "like a ball or orange," or like the moon and the sun which he sees every day. He will also acquire the very important idea that the earth is one of the bodies which move around the sun, although he may not learn the technical term "planet." These simple ideas carry with them a correction of mere sensuous observation by an abstract and deeply scientific train of thought. One's sense-perception does not avail to convince him that the earth is round. This can be reached only by reasoning on the logical presuppositions which are implied to make the fact before him possible. But once attained, a whole system of inferences extending throughout the life of the individual, from the idea of the earth's rotundity and its revolutions, will be initiated, if nothing more is learned from geography.

In the next place, there will be acquired the ideas of latitude and longitude, which determine with mathematical exactness the location of any place with reference to base lines, like the equator or the first meridian. The pupil will certainly learn something regarding latitude and longitude, and he will learn a method, the only method by which geographical descriptions may be made accurate. No matter how superficial his study of geography may be, he will also form some approximate ideas of the latitude and longitude of many given places. He will remember, for instance, that the United States in which he lives is in North latitude, and that most of his country is in West longitude as compared with the meridian of Washington. He will learn that nearly all of Europe is in East longitude as compared with the meridian of Greenwich.

We must remember that these general superficial notions are more important than any more specific notions which follow later. It is of more importance to the individual to know that Brazil is in South latitude while we are in North latitude, than to know that the mouth of the Amazon is on the equator, and that the capital of Brazil is about twenty-three degrees South. For ordinary practical thinking the generalities of geography are exceedingly important.

Next the pupil will come to form mental images of the terri-

stories that are occupied by states and nations. First, however, he will form an idea of the contours of the several continents and of the great oceans which separate those continents. Then he will seek to learn the location on those continents of each of its several states and nations. He cannot help acquiring at the same time some historic adjuncts to his geographical knowledge. The map of Great Britain will call up in his mind much that he has heard with regard to the relations of the United States to that country. France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Russia will each suggest certain unclassified and ill-digested items of knowledge which he has collected from hearsay or general experience regarding those countries; and it will give him pleasure to be able to reduce to consistency and order some portion of the chaotic information which he already possesses. It will be of value to him every day of his life to have some notions of the shapes, boundaries, and general positions of the States of his own country.

Besides these there is another class of geographical categories which relates to the formation and modification of the features of land and water. Even the poorest geography yet made deals with rivers, and gives information regarding their sources and their outlets, as well as their navigability and their usefulness in furnishing motive power for manufactures. It gives information regarding lakes, highlands, lowlands, and the trend of mountain chains.

Two objects on the earth especially arouse man's wonder and excite him to reflection, namely, the monster elevations of the surface of the land, which we call mountains, and the vast, seemingly unlimited, extension of the surface of the ocean. It has been the habit of geographies for two or three generations to explain the elevation of mountain chains by the molten condition of the elements in the interior of the earth. Once the elevations were supposed to be caused by volcanic agencies; but now, perhaps, the general opinion is that the gradual cooling with the consequent contraction of the earth's crust produces wrinkles on a large scale, wrinkles large enough to form the mountain systems of the Alps or of the Himalayas. No pupil of average intelligence who has studied geography in school at any time during the last sixty or seventy years has escaped forming some idea regarding the prodigious forces of nature which lift up the mountains. Nor has any one within the last fifty years or more escaped the important geological idea of the wearing down of the mountains and hills by the constant effect of rain and the escape of water carrying a load of solid matter to the sea by brooks and rivers. In other words, the average pupil has formed some idea of

the meteorological process by which water evaporates and the air, filled with moisture, is submitted to the chilling effect of high altitudes, which condenses the water again either into fogs or rain clouds, so that it comes down to the ocean again, bearing with it on its way the detritus of the rocks and soil.

This thought of the formation of elements of difference in the land surface — that is to say, the formation of the varieties of high and low, warm and cold, wet and dry, elements — and of the process by which these differences are gradually removed or eliminated is a most important idea, and is likely to be required for use by the average individual many times in the course of a year, or perhaps in a single week. This geographical fact or principle is a tool of thought, an instrument with which we scientifically understand and explain thousands and thousands of phenomena which come under observation.

Climate and the dependence upon it of the fertility of the soil cannot escape the attention of the superficial student of geography. He gets typical facts, also, in regard to heat and cold. He comes to understand the reason for the distribution of heat as found in the continually varying inclination of the surface of the earth toward the sun at different times of the year and at different latitudes. He understands also how altitude above sea-level affects the temperature. Let an explanation be given in any particular case and it is in the nature of the human mind to generalize it, if occasion offers. Occasion is constantly offering in a country where the people as a people are eye-minded and read the daily newspapers, as well as ear-minded and listen to the gossip of their fellows.

A more important series of observations is initiated by the superficial study of geography of which we are speaking. For the average pupil notes with interest the fact that there is diversity of labor over the surface of the earth; that the people of one section produce one series of agricultural or mineral products, and those of another a different series. He learns, too, that commerce can equalize these productions, taking the surplus of production from one place to the other place that needs it. He learns that the division of labor, therefore, assisted by commerce, enables each person to enjoy the productions of all his fellow-men. He learns how the raw materials produced by agriculture and mining are changed by manufactures into goods which are of far more value than the raw materials. He notes with some wonder and perhaps some incredulity the fact that commerce creates values by converting natural productions which were of no use or value where they were, into articles of very great use and value to the people of another country. The surplus vegetable

productions of most of the tropical regions are of no use or value where they are. Commerce, therefore, performs a miracle by turning *things* into *property*; carrying them from where they are worthless to where they are valuable. This is the alchemy of the social combination of man with men — the social whole — and it is exceedingly important that the child shall get into his mind quite early in his life some typical facts in regard to this matter, and that he shall apply the typical facts in explaining the phenomena of his experience.

Geography is not only a science of the formation and modification of different forms or features of land and water, but it is more especially an introduction to the elements of sociology. All the text-books of geography speak about the occupations of man, and they show more or less clearly the reasons for the diversity of human industry. Moreover, all geographies treat of certain elementary ideas of anthropology. They treat of the different races of men and of their physical and mental characteristics. It is of still greater interest that these geographical treatises describe important facts regarding the different stages of civilization — savage, barbarous, civilized, and enlightened — treat of the costumes worn, and give a few glimpses at social habits; pictorial illustrations of the architecture of the cities and villages, or of typical specimens of the vehicles for travel; facts regarding the agricultural products raised; cuts showing the appearance of plants and animals and natural curiosities, such as waterfalls, ravines, cañons, glaciers, etc.

The average child gets some notion of the government of the several countries, and makes some comparison between the freedom of individuality encouraged under one and another of the different forms of government. He loves to hear of countries which allow the citizen an opportunity for initiative just as his own country does. Each new item regarding government, style of clothing, or peculiarities of products, helps the pupil to remember the other items with which it is connected. Particularly interesting to the child are the pictures of the wild animals — the carnivorous beasts, the reptiles, and the birds — and these items especially assist his memory of the drier, but more essential, facts of geography. Even the old-fashioned geography gives items regarding the religious beliefs of the peoples of the different countries. Religion is the underlying principle of civilization. Thus we have a repertoire of the main points of sociology, namely, religious beliefs, forms of government, industrial occupations, races, costumes, and, finally, what each nation puts into the market of the world from its surplus for exchange with other peoples, and what it receives in return.

There certainly is nothing of more importance that the school gives the child — next to literature with its revelation of the feelings and thoughts of his fellows — than this matter of the division of labor and the need of each population on the face of the earth for the other populations who contribute to it certain necessities of life. Is there anything more productive of kindly and hopeful feelings toward one's fellow-men, living under different governments and separated by vast distances, than this study, which finds each useful to the industrial whole?

II. In geography the pupil comes into contact with these substantial facts that lie outside of his daily experience and yet are necessary to him for explanation of it. Good instruction in the school will, of course, draw constantly on the daily experience of the pupil in order to explain the colossal facts which are not to be found in his neighborhood. The small things and phenomena which he sees every day about his habitat enable him to learn to understand the greater phenomena which are of historical importance. He sees, for example, every day the effect of the last rain-freshet in wearing away the soil of the road on the hill-side, and it furnishes the small fact by which he interprets the large fact of the wearing away of the Niagara gorge.

It must be admitted, however, that it is a mistake to send the child to the geographical investigation of his neighborhood before he has heard anything about the great facts of the world. He should be put on the investigation of his habitat in connection with the great facts which are mentioned in the geography. One approaches the explanation of great facts through little facts, but he should learn as quickly as possible to see the latter on the background of the former; hence, they should be taught together. If this is so, it is certainly a mistake to keep pupils for many weeks, or even many days, upon the study of their neighborhoods before taking up the colossal facts which are of world-importance.

Above all I should wish to call to mind again, as the central reason for its place in the curriculum, the general value of geography in giving the pupil an insight into natural causes. In early periods of the history of mankind, and among all savage peoples that are contemporary with us, the facts of nature are explained by animism, that is to say, by the interference of evil spirits. A vast network of superstition covers the face of nature from the gaze of the savage. But the child who begins to study geography begins to find one fact behind another fact. He learns forces, and how forces make things, and how forces modify things. His knowledge constantly grows from the symbolic, which

ignores the causal nexus, over to the scientific and prosaic view which comprehends the rationale of phenomena.

A fact as regarded by the infantile mind is a small matter compared with the same fact as thought by the scientific mind; for the fact is at first a little fragment broken off from a long chain of causal action by the feeble mind of infant or savage. But experience keeps making additions to the fact before and after it. It places links of causation before it and links of effect after it, and thus it grows to be a big fact.

Now the child who can grasp only so small a piece of fact, or in other words, whose facts are so small in compass, goes by external appearance and does not see the essential nature of the fact. The child sees the gun with which his father shoots. He thinks that a stick cut out in the external resemblance of a gun will do what the gun does. The essential things about the gun are the steel tube, the powder and shot, the method of exploding the powder, etc. The child's fact contains none of these items. His fact is a symbolic fact, rather than a real fact. We see that to get at a reality we must have the chain of causality. Play undertakes to reproduce the external semblance of the fact without the causal chain that makes the essential element in it. The farmer mows with a steel scythe and cuts grass. The child mows with a wooden scythe and cuts no grass. He merely "makes believe" to cut grass.

To illustrate this process of growth from symbolic to prosaic reality, consider the chain of causality involved in thinking the familiar object bread. This illustration is used by Professor Noiré. Going backward toward the origin of bread, we have the successive steps of baking; kneading the dough; mixing the meal or flour with yeast, lard, butter, and other ingredients; the grinding of the grain and sifting of the meal; the harvesting of the grain, with all its details of cutting, binding sheaves, threshing, etc.; the earlier processes of ploughing, harrowing, sowing the grain; and its growth dependent on rain and sunshine. Each of these links in the chain has side relations to other chains of causality. For example, the yeast put into the bread connects it with hops or some other ferment or effervescent; the lard connects bread with the series of ideas involved in pork raising; the salt, with salt manufacture; the baking, with the structure of the oven and the fuel. So long as anything is not yet understood, the word expressing it is a partially blind symbol.

The retrograde series toward the origin is matched by a progressive series toward the future use of the bread. There are the preparation for

the table, the set meals, the eating and digestion, the sustenance of life, the strength acquired, the work accomplished by means of it, etc. The omission of the causal nexus characterizes symbolic thinking in the sense of that word as I employ it here. It is true that we commonly use the word "symbolic" in a more restricted sense, namely, the use of the material object to represent the invisible spiritual object.

The child begins by perceiving sense objects and mimics them in play. Gradually he discovers their chains of causality. Each object is in a chain of causality; it is derived from something else, and, when it changes, it passes on into something else. The child learns to think more and more adequately the object which he sees. He learns to add to it a larger and larger extent of the chain of causality that belongs to it.

III. Geography, as it is understood by the geographical societies, has a narrower signification than geography as introduced into the elementary school. It is used by the former to indicate primarily the production of the elements of difference on the earth's surface—differences of land, water, and climate—the differences that arise from the upheaval of land and from the erosion of land and its transference to the ocean, and also the differences that arise by the interaction of land and water, such as rivers, lakes, bays, straits, seas, and oceans. Besides the production of such elements of difference, geography includes for the scientific geographer the effects or influences that the peculiarities of the earth's surface have upon the life of man; such, for example, as relate to food and clothing, their need and their supply, and such as are calculated in the course of ages to affect his physique and produce a distinct race of men, black, yellow, red, or white. In other words, the scientific geographer, as a specialist, includes anthropology with his study of the earth-surface and of its plants and animals.

But geography in the elementary school finds it necessary to go farther and include a study of the elements of civilization in so far as they are matters that characterize localities. The geographical distribution of civilization is, in fact, of the first importance to the child, the youth and the man, and hence has come to the front in all teaching of geography, from that of the early Greeks, who taught the second book of Homer's *Iliad* and made the children learn the localities of the Grecian tribes, down to the latest teaching of geography, which spends most of its time on the habitats of three or four leading nations.

Geography in the elementary school, therefore, deals much with the location and growth of cities—the transformations of nature by man for his purposes. First he transforms nature for dwelling purposes, by the

building of cities, villages, and farm houses; secondly, he transforms it for the purpose of intercommunication by making roads, bridges, tunnels, viaducts, railways, and canals; and, thirdly, he transforms land by adapting it to crops, by fencing, by draining, by cultivation, by irrigation, and by connecting it with the world market by internal and foreign commerce. In other words, school geography deals not only with the geographical features in which natural conditions are seen to affect "the physical character of man," but also with the transformations which man makes upon nature with his cities, railways, canals, and agriculture.

By reason of this difference in definitions, the school geography is likely to be hindered if it adopts the literature of the geographical society without some modification. The region of the North Pole is of as much interest geographically as the region about New York, or London, or Paris, or any great centre of civilization. But the child in the school ought to be interested chiefly in the geographical centres of population. The centres that are connected with the history of great events are also, other things being equal, of more importance than the territory that has not yet been made the theatre of civilization.

The emphasis which school geography lays upon the connection of places with human history suggests an educational heresy that infects to some extent the pedagogy of this branch of study. The votaries of geography sometimes become so much interested in the physical process of action and reaction in earth, air, fire, and water, that they turn away in disgust from the transformation which man has made upon the earth's surface, and especially from that part of geography which relates to the lines and boundaries of political divisions. They get so much respect for the inanimate forces of nature that to them the rational forces of man seem arbitrary and unworthy of serious attention. This gives rise to the literature of geography for geography's sake that reminds one of those writings that are said to belong to poetry for poetry's sake.

Moreover, there is a tendency on the part even of those who have given most attention to the physical elements and forces to overrate their influence upon civilization. They seek to explain, as did Mr. Buckle, the development of the institutions of society by climate, fertility of soil, picturesque scenery, earthquakes, and such matters which are thought to have a controlling effect in determining the character of the populations of countries.

This view makes geography in some sense a substitute for history. If historic development is an effect of geographic conditions and forces, it is, of course, a mistake to consider history an evolution proceeding

through a growing sense of the ideal of freedom, and its realization in theory and practice. The great German, who said that the world-history is the progress of man into consciousness of freedom, must have been mistaken. The evolution of national ideas, beginning with Eastern Asia, where the state is everything and the individual next to nothing, moving westward to the nations of Europe and America, where the state is great in proportion to the greatness of its individuals — this progress certainly must be an illusion because it cannot be explained from geography. This *bouleversement* of ideas on the part of enthusiasts in the study of physical processes is enough to prove that geography is not a good substitute for history.

History shows the inward development of social and political ideas and their realization in institutions. The geographical conditions furnish no more than the mode of manifestation. Man reacts against nature and transforms it into an instrument of expression and a means of realizing his rational self. Geography does not deal with the evolution of human freedom, except in so far as it shows the results of that freedom in the modifications which man has made to adapt nature to his purposes. The cold freezes the water into snow, but it does not make the Eskimo's snow hut. The river divides the populations of a country, but it does not make the bridge, the ferry, and the tunnel that unite them.

Specialization in science leads to the division of aggregates of knowledge into narrow fields for closer observation. This is all right. But in the course of study for the common school it is proper and necessary that the human interest should always be kept somewhat in advance of the physical.

W. T. HARRIS.

PROBLEMS OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

EDUCATION aims to fit one for three things: (1) to earn his living by the exercise of his trained powers; (2) to support the institutions of society by intelligent appreciation of their worth; and (3) to enjoy the products of art and civilization through the cultivation of imagination and taste. The mind is not a thing apart from heart and will. Knowledge blends with will, and flows over into feeling. Its worth, therefore, is measured by what it helps a man to give to the world in the service of his calling and in social support, and what it brings back to him in personal fellowship and æsthetic satisfaction.

The first requirement that this threefold standard makes of the elementary school is that it shall preserve the children in vigorous health, untouched by needless fret and worry, and unconscious of either heads or nerves. No school can create health — a free gift of Nature — but a school can at least preserve it unimpaired. Fresh air in the school, ample playgrounds outside, tests which call for quiet work rather than feverish cram, and an atmosphere of ordered freedom are some of the helps an elementary school can give to the health of the children. The school which, by bad ventilation, crowded curriculum, vexatious examinations, or anxiety about details of rank, breaks down health is guilty of the greatest crime it is possible to commit against a child.

Secondly, this standard calls for power of hand and eye, to appreciate and make beautiful and useful objects. Kindergarten methods employed until the age of six or seven, followed by drawing and manual training, give to the future artisan a discipline which will increase the efficiency of his work, and to those who enter other callings a lifelong respect for the dignity of manual labor.

The English taught in the elementary schools should impart not only mechanical ability to read, but the habit of reading, the love of good books, the power to entertain small groups of friends by oral reading, and the gift of writing an interesting letter or account of one's experience. The same principle which leads us to make more of English than formerly leads us to make much less of arithmetic. How much

arithmetic will help one to be a useful workman, a reliable citizen, a happy human being? This is the question which determines its place in the modern curriculum. The answer is obvious. Facility and accuracy in the four fundamental operations with integers, vulgar and decimal fractions, proportion, percentage, interest, discount, compound quantities, and concrete mensuration — beyond these things it is a waste of time to go. The time saved at this point may be given to elementary algebra and concrete geometry. Geography likewise helps the workman, the citizen, and the man, when it is based on the observation and interpretation of natural and political features, and leads the mind to feel at home in the world of which it is a part.

History serves us best when it begins with myths and biographies, and then passes to narratives of the way nations grew, institutions were built up, and liberties were won. As a backbone for the story, a minimum of never-to-be-forgotten names, facts, and dates must be learned by heart. As its life-blood, the pupil may well commit to memory passages of great literary power, setting forth significant men and events. Within this accurately marked enclosure memory should reign supreme and absolute; beyond this well-defined area mere memory should hold an incidental and subordinate place. The power to tell a connected story of significant movements and events, to picture characteristic scenes, to estimate the worth and services of leading men, to trace the sequence of cause and effect, to see the relation of each part to the whole — this should be the chief aim of the recitation and the principal matter for examination. History thus taught serves our threefold purpose; but it is hard to see how one could do a better piece of work, or cast a wiser vote, or lead a happier life in consequence of having had a lot of disconnected kings, battles, dates, and statistics once imprinted on his memory.

Science in the elementary school should be primarily training in observation, with reasoning based on facts observed. This, too, serves our threefold purpose; making the workman more observant, giving the different classes of society more common subjects to talk about, and incidentally laying the foundation of truthful character. People whose training has been chiefly or exclusively in books, whether literary, metaphysical, or even theological, can hardly help being liars if they try; for they have not been trained to discern the sharp difference between things as they would like to have them and things as they actually are, to "draw the thing as he sees it, for the God of things as they are."

The injection of dogmatic scientific instruction into the public schools for moral or other purposes is a device of doubtful moral efficiency, and injurious to the true scientific spirit. In the elementary school promotion should be frequent, and bright scholars should be advised and systematically helped to shorten the time spent in the lower grades. Time saved elsewhere may be utilized for a beginning in algebra or geometry and a modern language. Examination in the elementary schools should be a test of power rather than of mere acquisition. There are a few things, such as rules in grammar, tables in arithmetic, arbitrary facts in spelling, a limited number of dates and events in history, certain immutable facts in geography, and, above all, carefully selected passages from good literature, which should be learned by heart, and may be properly called for on an examination paper. But the chief stress in the examination should be laid on what the pupil can do, rather than on what he can remember. We know a great deal more than we consciously remember.

For instance, while engaged in writing this article on the typewriter, I did not miss in a single instance a letter I wished to strike; but if you should ask me now where k, f, n, or v is on the key-board, which I have been using for the past ten years, for the life of me I could not tell you. My fingers know unerringly — that is enough. Must I be conditioned in typewriting because my memory cannot answer the formal question off-hand? Is not the power to write the real test? The examination which calls for a lot of unrelated facts, chosen at random out of all that has been taught in the term, to be dumped out of the memory, leads to hasty, feverish cram. Examinations which test power to do quiet work will diminish by one-half the fret and strain, and will more than double the peace and joy of the more sensitive and nervous children in our public schools.

Discipline in these schools should be ethical, resting on freedom rather than force, and proceeding on the assumption, not always justified, to be sure, that the child means on the whole to do right. The one rule of the school should be: "No one shall do anything that interferes with anybody else." The children should be shown that quiet, order, and the like are essential conditions of carrying on the work for which each scholar comes to school; and that noise, needless communication, and the like, are interferences with others, and therefore sins against the interest of the school rather than against the arbitrary will of the teacher. The teacher should know the parents and children in their homes. It takes time to make thirty or forty calls; but if one really aims at a dis-

cipline which is personal and ethical rather than arbitrary and formal, he will find that he has ten times the influence in this direction if he knows the whole boy at home with his parents instead of that small part of himself which he brings to the school.

X This brings us to the crucial question of the elementary schools, the problem of the teacher. The new ideal of the elementary school is recognized to-day. The reforms I have indicated above are already well under way. Yet these reforms do not of themselves insure a good school. Indeed, a good course with a poor teacher may be worse than a poor course with a poor teacher to match. Anybody, I had almost said any fool, who could keep six months ahead of the class could teach the old curriculum in the old way. Vital teaching of vital subjects involves knowledge and maturity far in advance of the pupil, as well as the ability to stimulate and answer all sorts of questions. Can such teachers be found?

The disposition of graduates of our colleges and best normal schools to accept positions in the elementary schools shows that the new teacher is coming to match the new courses of study. Let no one fear that in such work her highest education will be thrown away. There is nothing in the way of either learning or character gained by the Smith or Wellesley alumnae from their college course which cannot be made available in substance for the teaching of the enriched curriculum of our elementary schools. If the graduate cannot put the breadth of view and clearness of insight gained by her college course into teaching children of eight or ten, the reason is not that she has learned so much, but that she loves children so little. All the true teacher is and knows comes out in the lucidity of each lesson her learning illuminates and her logic clarifies. Happy the children who begin their education under the inspiration of one who lures them over the rough beginnings by incentives drawn from her own large acquaintance with the richer fields beyond!

Even as it is to-day, the public elementary school is vastly better than the elongated private kindergarten which caters to the flabby-willed, over-indulged, under-worked children of the exclusive rich. The public school with the new teacher and the new curriculum can be made good enough for anybody's child. That is the place where every American boy and girl ought to learn the great lessons of hard work, popular sympathy, and intellectual pleasure.

In speaking of the elementary school I have dwelt chiefly on subjects of study and methods of teaching. The problem of the public

high school is more a problem of organization. The curriculum is no longer a sudden break from that of the elementary school; but now that history, literature, science, algebra, and a foreign language are recognized features of the best elementary schools, the high school is a thorough, intensive, and scientific pursuit of the subjects which in a more general, descriptive, and conversational way have been begun in the elementary schools. Whatever the practice of high schools, there is coming to be an agreement in theory of how these subjects should be taught at this stage — literature by the study of masterpieces themselves, instead of a text-book containing biographies of authors and catalogues of their works; history by references to many books and written reports thereon, instead of the recitation of the words of a single authority; science by the laboratory, instead of the "fourteen weeks" text-book alone; language with a view to power to use it, instead of a specified amount of performance.

The organization of the high school for our three great ends demands, first, that the classical, the commercial, and the industrial high schools shall not be separated, as has been done in some cases. Separation brings a slight gain for each institution in its chosen line of work; but it purchases this gain at the fearful cost of the premature separation of different classes of pupils before their tastes have been discovered and the range of their powers has been tested, thus defeating the highest end. It introduces and perpetuates lines of social cleavage, natural enough in the German Empire, but utterly inconsistent with the genius of the American Republic, and thereby misses the great social end of unification, which the public school should promote. The setting apart of classical culture as a thing by itself deprives the workers and the business men of their share in its refining influence. It then becomes, for those who get it, pedantic and unduly exclusive of competing modern interests.

Neither is the division of the high-school curriculum into mutually exclusive courses within the same school the best form of organization. This involves premature finality in choice; placing the child in the hands of an iron fate before he has developed the interests which should become the charter of his freedom. For these unfortunate developments in high-school organization the colleges have been chiefly responsible. Their narrow range of requirements has marked out the narrow traditional preparatory course; and since this course has been the only one subjected to a severe test, it has tended to monopolize the best talent and energy of the teaching force. Had the high schools continued to yield to the arbitrary domination of the traditional college requirements, it is probable

that a wave of popular opposition would have risen against them, threatening their efficiency, and in many cases wiping them out.

The best organization of the high school is in a single course, of which a certain number of subjects, like English and algebra, are required; while others are open to choice under limitations, as for instance when one foreign language is prescribed, but the choice of it is left to the scholar; and some, like physics, European history, and solid geometry, are open to unrestricted choice. As an example of such organization I shall cite the high school at Portland, Maine. A study pursued five times a week for a year counts two points, subject to slight variations due to subject matter and methods of treatment. The student may take as many courses as he pleases each year, subject to the arrangement of the time-table. In order to graduate he must complete studies amounting to twenty-six points, gaining a rank of seventy in each study, and an average of seventy-five in all.

In this way the student may complete the course in four, five, or six years, according to natural ability, health, strength, and freedom from domestic or other responsibilities. The completion of the course is merely incidental to the doing of the work, instead of the work being incidental to the completion of the course. This is a great relief from over-pressure, especially upon girls at a critical stage of their development; and it adds to each subject a sense of reality and importance which it did not always have when viewed as a prescribed part of a fixed course. It affords discipline in choice, thus preparing the way for the responsibilities of freedom, whether in college or in the world outside; yet it exercises sufficient guidance to restrain caprice and avoid scrappy and unrelated courses. Anything that is taken at all must be pursued with reasonable consecutiveness and concentration, in most cases for a full year five times a week. English and Latin are offered for four consecutive years, Greek, French, German, and mathematics for three years, five times a week. Other subjects are taught for one or two years. Such a course holds all the high-school scholars of the city together in certain fundamental subjects, and keeps in helpful contact those whose courses ultimately diverge. It gives the boy who is going into industry or commerce daily association with the boy who is to be a lawyer or teacher; and it helps both to understand each other ever after.

Until recently the worst enemy of the high schools has been the narrow and arbitrary requirement of the colleges. As long as the brightest scholars were given the best teachers, under the stimulus of an outside examination, on condition that they took Latin, Greek, and mathematics,

to the exclusion of almost everything else, the high school was an institution supported by the many for the benefit of the few. A twenty-six-point course in the high school logically implies a twenty-six-point requirement for college, into which, under certain limitations, any of the twenty-six points offered by the school may be counted for entrance to college. The limitations are that the course should have a backbone of consecutive and thorough mastery of the elements of mathematics, English, and a foreign language, preferably Latin. Provided the student has taken a course which has such a backbone, great variety of feature and form should be accepted in the remainder of the high-school course. Let the high schools stoutly assert their independence, let them give their pupils the best individual development and the best preparation they can for actual life, and the colleges will be compelled to admit their successful graduates as candidates for the most honorable college degree. The colleges are moving rapidly in that direction. Elementary Greek is already taught in many colleges to those who enter on science or modern languages instead of it. Let the high schools serve the public interest in their own way, resolutely and yet thoroughly, and the colleges will come to terms.

While it is thus the policy and the duty of the colleges to broaden their basis of admission and connect with the high school throughout its entire range, it is also their duty to insist by examination on thoroughness in the work of the high school, and to set the standard of efficiency for them. This duty was never more urgent than it is to-day. As long as Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the requirements for admission — subjects clear and definite in nature, and with methods of teaching and standards of efficiency established by generations of tradition — examination was less essential. Now that we are to accept science, history, and modern languages — subjects far more vague, with methods of teaching still in the experimental stage, and with standards of attainment still undeveloped — and that the increasing distraction of athletics and premature social responsibilities makes the temptation of the high-school pupil to neglect the latter part of his course vastly greater than that of the academy student of a generation or two ago, the maintenance of an examination for admission to college is far more imperative than ever.

The certificate system, when administered as loosely as it has been of late in New England, is demoralizing to schools and disastrous to colleges in every respect, except as it affects the size of the freshman class. A professor in one of the largest of the colleges which receive students on certificate remarked last year that the work and examinations of the

first term showed that of the freshmen admitted to that college, one quarter were excellently prepared, one quarter fairly prepared, one quarter poorly prepared, and one quarter entirely unprepared. One of these colleges was compelled to send away thirty-eight freshmen at the end of the first term on grounds of insufficient preparation. How much better for the school, the college, and the students themselves, either that the certificate should be based on thorough and systematic inspection of the school, or else that the candidates should have an outside examination, uniform, impartial, fair; so that the students who are not fitted should be saved the expense and disgrace of going to a place for which they are unfit; and that those who are well prepared should be saved the waste of their time involved in having to drag along through the first year, and in many cases through the whole course, fellow-students whom a careful inspection of schools or a fair examination at entrance would have kept out of a place where they do not belong. A college loses nothing in the end by adhering rigidly to reasonable requirements. The student who has to work to enter a college appreciates it all the more when he gets there, and is much more amenable to intellectual and moral influences than one who feels that the college is so anxious to receive him that it is ready to waive the formalities of thorough preparation.

The complaint is often made that the high schools use a large proportion of the public-school fund for a very small proportion of students. Because only from five to eight per cent of the school population are in the high school, it is argued that its support is misuse of public funds. But, in the first place, the public high schools cost less than one-fifth of the total cost of the public schools. In the second place, the actual enrolment in the high school at any given time, which is about eight per cent of the total enrolment in the public schools, is no fair measure of the percentage of those who enjoy its privileges. It would be as logical to estimate the proportion of people who are benefited by a railroad as that proportion of the total population who are found riding on it at any one given time.

If all the children who lived long enough should happen to go straight through the whole thirteen years of the public-school course, we should have only about four-thirteenths of them in the high school at any one time. Hence, as Secretary Hill has pointed out so clearly, eight per cent of enrolment means twenty-five per cent of enjoyment. And just as the people who never ride on the railroad at all share the benefits which it brings to the industry, commerce, and valuation of their town, so the seventy-five per cent or more of the children who never enjoy

the direct benefits of the high school get countless indirect benefits — in the improved quality of teaching in the elementary schools, in the higher efficiency of business enterprises, in the better conduct of public affairs, and in the higher tone of intellectual and social life which result from the presence of high-school graduates as teachers, captains of industry, public officers, and social leaders in the community. A school which keeps open individual opportunity for everyone, and confers indirect benefits on all, is not to be measured by percentages of expenditure, on the one hand, or of enrolment, on the other. Fortunately, thanks to the general intelligence which it has done so much to diffuse, the perpetual maintenance and generous support of the high school are already assured. Some States make a high-school education free to every child in the State, whether his own town furnishes it or not, by town and State payment of tuition in some high school or academy in the vicinity.

At this point, as in the case of elementary education, we must ask the harder question: Is the public high school, good and popularly necessary as it undoubtedly is, the best thing in secondary education?

For certain rather narrow social and preparatory purposes it is not always quite so good as the best private day schools in the cities. For youth of unusual maturity of character and purpose, and for youth unfortunate in their home surroundings, the public high schools are not quite so good as the best endowed academies. They are infinitely better, both morally and mentally, than the average private boarding school, without endowment, run as a means of making money. It is the almost unanimous testimony of young college graduates who have served an apprenticeship as teachers in these boarding schools that they are the last places on earth to which they would send their own children. After all, home, with the constant companionship of father and mother, brothers and sisters, the responsibilities of chores and errands and incidental services, the support of the institutions and expectations of society, and the background of the woods, fields, and streams, the buildings, streets, and parks of one's birthplace, is quite as good a place for the growth of solid, generous, virtuous character as the school to which at least half the pupils are sent because their parents are too busy to bother with them, where artificial interests crowd out natural interests, and perpetual excitement forbids quiet reflection, where the crowd obliterates individuality, and from which the visit home in vacation is an occasion when the home is turned upside down for the visitor's entertainment in an unceasing round of gayeties. The high school makes

possible the combination of education at this critical stage with the influences, the duties, and the dear delights of normal home life.

When emancipated from traditional college domination in its course of study, inspired by college expectations as to the quality of work efficiently enforced, generously adapted to the real needs of its pupils, in view of physical health and prospective vocation, surrounded by helpful home influence, and liberally supported by taxpayers who insist that the best teachers to be had are none too good for the most susceptible and critical years of their children, the high schools are destined to do for the many what the old New England academies did for the few in making America the land of intelligent workmen, loyal citizens, and happy people.

The problem of the elementary schools we have found to be one of subjects and methods of teaching. The problem of the secondary school is one of organization, and emancipation from the traditions set by the colleges. The problem of the colleges and universities is one of spirit and aim.

The logic which supports the public elementary and secondary school demands the State university as its completion and crown. In pioneer conditions, as in Colonial New England and the new West to-day, the State is the only agency able to afford adequate financial support to higher education. We in the East must not forget the time when Harvard University was glad enough to accept from the civil authorities the proceeds of the Charlestown ferry. Where it is a question between feeble denominational institutions and well-equipped State institutions, the latter are infinitely superior. The intrusion of politics into the direct management of the institution is a danger which the stronger institutions have managed to avoid; and the lack of definite religious influence within the university can be fairly well met by voluntary associations of professors and students, and better still by the establishment, in close proximity to the university, of religious halls or houses, in which the students may find a spiritual home. These State institutions have done inestimable service in the building up of the West. By their close connection with the public-school system, by the comparative inexpensiveness of the education they offer, and by the inexhaustible financial resources which they are able to command, they are bound to be factors of increasing power in the higher education of the country.

Are they the best type of universities? Did Harvard and Yale make a mistake in cutting comparatively loose from State control? Would New England be better off if its students were in Universities of Massa-

chusetts and New Hampshire, instead of in Dartmouth and Williams, or Smith and Wellesley? Have the University of Chicago, Colorado College, and Leland Stanford, Jr., University a future as great as, or even greater than, the Universities of Illinois, Colorado, and California?

In answer to these questions I shall have to run the risk of misunderstanding by saying that the higher education, as well as the lower, may be democratic, but that the highest education must be aristocratic. The best things experts only can fully appreciate. The fine distinction between the best and the fairly good is nowhere more important than in higher education. Those distinctions are not very clearly felt at present in either State or endowed institutions. They are more likely to be felt, however, in a private than in a State institution.

Now, we have a few really excellent State institutions, like those of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California. But these institutions are the creations of men of genius, who have managed to embody their own ideas and induce the State to pay the bills. In Wisconsin we have one very strong department, that of history, which ranks with the best in the country. But the fortunate possession of a great historical library and of a historian as president accounts for that fact. Twenty years ago a reference to the example of Germany would have sufficed to settle the superiority of State universities. The twentieth century, however, finds us just a bit tired of the German's peculiar type of scholarship, with its zeal to heap up new acquisitions of knowledge regardless of relative worth, sense of proportion, attractiveness of form, or either æsthetic or practical use. The degree and the thesis are no longer accepted as sure indications that a man is prepared to teach American youth. It is just beginning to dawn upon us that a grain of inspiration is worth many ounces of information; that an ounce of comprehension is worth many pounds of aggregation; and that a single pound of art is worth many tons of science. Hence, knowledge is but one of a dozen of the ends of education, one of a score of the qualities the university teacher must have.

What, then, are the ends of college education? To a request the other day from a popular journal for an answer to the question, "Does a College Education Pay?" I gave the following answer: "To be at home in all lands and all ages; to count Nature a familiar acquaintance, and art an intimate friend; to gain a standard for the appreciation of other men's work and the criticism of one's own; to carry the keys of the world's library in one's pocket, and feel its resources behind one in whatever task he undertakes; to make hosts of friends among the men of one's own age who are to be leaders in all walks of life; to lose one's self in

generous enthusiasms and coöperate with others for common ends; to learn manners from students who are gentlemen, and form character under professors who are Christians — these are the returns of a college for the best four years of one's life."

And who are the teachers who can give such an education as this? Not merely your German or German-American doctor who has compassed sea and land with the zeal of a Pharisee for a proselyte, or a Colonial Dame for a pedigree, to add some new fact, it matters not how trivial or insignificant, to the mass of human knowledge. Knowledge and technical skill, the disposition to keep step with progress, and the courage to make little excursions on his own account into the unknown, the professor must not, indeed, be without; and if the doctor's degree, or an appropriate hood, serves to mark this capacity, all the better. On these points evidence is easily secured. But then begins the real sifting of the candidates. Was he a leader among his fellows in college; or has he since acquired sufficient appreciative sympathy with undergraduates to know how to lead them now? Is he a man of force sufficient to have given him influence and power as an editor, a lawyer, a banker, or a railroad manager, if he had chosen those walks of life? Is he genial, so that, if he were not a professor, young fellows would be likely to spend occasional evenings with him at the club or in his home? Has he such a character that whoever meets him is stronger and purer for the contact? Has he keenness and humor so that he can see through men's motives as if they were glass, and not let them pull the wool over his eyes? Has he tact to get what he wants done without arraying against himself that instinct of freedom which is the strongest and the noblest impulse of youth? Does he live in his subject, so that the meaning and worth of it overflow into whatever he says and does? Is the begetting of a kindred enthusiasm for his subject in intelligent pupils the keenest delight of his life? Has he the sense of proportion which enables him to drop all this technical interest when he goes out into the world, and to be a man among men? Has he perfect health, and the cheerful temper which goes with physical vigor? Can he live on his salary without being harassed and degraded by debt? Does he stand well with the authorities in his own department, and will he ever do anything to build up the reputation and influence of the institution he serves?

These are a few of the many, almost mutually exclusive, qualities the college professor ought to have. Do you wonder that those of us who have to select men for such positions find that, as President Tucker once remarked to me, out of any fifty well-recommended and apparently

well-qualified candidates for a chair there are never more than two or three that merit serious consideration?

All institutions, State and endowed alike, are at present in the democratic stage of development. We are all poor, and, in the scramble to expand, which the universal adoption of the elective system has forced upon us all, there is comparatively little difference in the quality of work done in the endowed and the State institution. The chance of rising above this democratic level to a real aristocracy of personality and privilege is greater in the endowed than in the State university.

The greatest teachers must have rather more than a living salary; and great salaries are more likely to be paid by endowed than by State institutions. Great teachers must be left in large measure free to determine the distribution of their time and the methods of their work. State institutions are likely to tie them down with more of the red tape of uniform methods, hours, and quantitative results than can be found in institutions under more liberal management.

The besetting sin of the higher education is its inevitable tendency to resort to devices which get something out of everybody, instead of putting the best things into the few who are able to receive them. It is infinitely easier to get grammatical and philological results out of everybody, than to impart literary taste and appreciation to anybody. Hence the monstrous perversion of classical study which has made the literature of those marvellous peoples almost as dead as the languages in which they are written. An instructor who recently came to Bowdoin to take little groups of students and try to show them in terms of the customs and institutions of their time, and the literature and life of our own, what Homer and Horace really meant, came around almost discouraged, after a day in the library getting his notes and references together, and said, "I couldn't help thinking how infinitely simpler and easier it would be to set those fellows lessons in Greek and Latin prose composition." In the long run the State institution will be rather more likely to do the easier, simpler, less expensive, and less valuable thing. In dealing with large masses of men it is so tempting to substitute mechanical dexterity in manipulation for the grasp of the significance of things, in science; grammar and philology for insight and appreciation, in literature; transcription for illumination, in history; the criticism of other men's opinions for the examination of one's own, in philosophy, that the best teaching is sure to be rare in any institution. The need, however, is likely to be soonest felt, and most generously met, in institutions which have in their organization and

administration least of democratic uniformity and most of the aristocracy of educational experts.

With all our enormous expenditure on higher education, we can never make a creative genius of one into whom God had not breathed the breath of life before he came to college. We can, however, provide a type of teachers, and a method of teaching, which shall help to discover talent where it is latent, and at least not stifle its development and expression. The elective system is a great step in that direction, the longest step mere organization can take. That is a step State and endowed institutions can take with equal pace. Other steps are equally important: teachers selected on a dozen, instead of one or two, considerations, supported generously, left comparatively free to accomplish results in their own way, and esteemed for the quality of their influence even more than for the quantity of their performance; concentration in single institutions of departments strong out of all proportion to the strength of other departments, so that students will select their institution for the department and the men they want to study under, instead of for its general name and fame; courses of study which reward special excellence by closer intimacy with the greatest teachers, and win the best men who are now drifting into law for the noble cause of creative and constructive scholarship. These steps are essential to the highest educational achievement; and they are more likely to be taken by endowed than by State universities.

These great endowed universities and colleges, though not called State institutions by name, are in reality vital parts of the public-school system. They were founded under State charters, fostered in early days by State aid, and by exemption from taxation continue to owe a third or more of the income from their productive funds to State support. The fact that in our older States we have learned to value permanent and exclusive expert control above partial and temporary official interference does not render institutions like Harvard and Yale less public in their character, but rather makes them the more noble and fitting crown of the entire public-school system.

In this dry and dreary discussion of details, I have tried to indicate the more important points on which this system must be judged. What the elements of failure and what the elements of triumph are, I have endeavored to make clear. In conclusion, it may be well to group these elements together into two contrasted pictures.

A system which sets children formal tasks before they have developed substantial interests; which treats them all as units in a mass to be put

through the same course in the same time, in the same way; which stretches a few formal subjects, taught exclusively from single text-books, over the whole elementary period; which makes the recitation chiefly an affair of memory, and the examination simply a larger recitation with more flurry and worry; which switches students on to one track or another for life before they have discovered their natural destination; which makes the cast-iron course the main thing, and subjects and children alike incidental thereto; which is subjected to no rigid requirements from above, but is content to accept whatever product is left over from athletic and social distractions; which selects teachers wholly on technical grounds, and measures their worth by quantitative standards only; which counts language synonymous with letters, acquisition the equivalent of insight, and science a satisfactory substitute for art; which drives the boys from the dulness of the elementary-school routine into premature work, the secondary-school scholars into offices to relieve the monotony of the course into which they have drifted, and the brightest college graduates into law or business as a welcome escape from the wholesale murder of literature in the name of philology of which they have long since grown weary — that system in each and every part is a dismal failure, which it is our duty to expose, condemn, and redeem.

On the other hand, a system which reveals to the kindergarten child the beauty and joy of the world's treasure-house before it puts the cold, iron keys in his hand; which, when it must train him to acquire and handle these keys, still lets him use them to unlock the myths, legends, and stories of man's great visions and deeds, the marvels and mysteries of rock and soil, plant and animal, sea and star; which is ever on the watch for the bent of each individual mind, and eager to give it free play; which, nevertheless, rigidly requires the task freely chosen to be done as the individual's best, and to be measured by absolute standards; which secures strong men and highly trained women as teachers, and brings them close to all students, and intimately near to the chosen few who are able to appreciate them; which goes behind the forms of words to the meaning of great works of art, and grasps details in their larger signification; and which wins to the lifelong service of pure truth, beauty, and goodness the choice youth in each undergraduate class — that system is a magnificent triumph, a triumph the first fruits of which we even now can enjoy, for the sake of which we are all called to labor, and the assurance of which is the best heritage we can hope to hand down to our children.

WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF ENGLAND.

A DECADE ago much concern was displayed by numerous worthy persons in this country over what was then designated *Anglomania*. The complaint, however, together with its cause, has largely disappeared. The force of British example as affecting American manners and customs is far less noticeable than it was even half a dozen years since; but Britons are becoming exercised over a manifestation among themselves which might be designated *Yankomania*. The Yankees, as our British cousins like to call us, have turned the tables completely, and are to-day exerting a greater influence on English life than ever the English did on American ideals and habits.

Throughout Great Britain one hears "the American question" discussed as a topic of never-ending interest. Sometimes it is referred to as "the American invasion." But whatever the terms employed, the essential fact, and one that is every day more and more widely recognized, is that the United States is coming to exert the most profound influence on the commercial, social, and political life of the mother country. In a word, Great Britain is becoming Americanized.

This movement, which is becoming so widespread in its effects, had its inception about five years ago, and has had its principal growth within the last three years, *i.e.*, since the beginning of the Spanish-American war. It began as a trade invasion which rapidly grew into a trade conquest, until to-day the youngest manufacturing nation of the world in many lines of production dominates the markets of the oldest and strongest of all commercial powers. The transformation has been so surprising, such a sudden reversal of the state of affairs hitherto prevailing, that on neither side of the Atlantic is its extent fully appreciated.

The newspaper-reading public of the United States has been informed from time to time within the last three years of the sales of American locomotives to British railways and of the awarding of contracts for electrical construction work to American firms. These commercial successes are merely straws which indicate how strongly the trade wind sets across the Atlantic from west to east at the present time. Of the great ma-

jority of incidents that go to make up the sum total of our industrial successes abroad, the record is known to those only who study the Government trade reports.

One consequence of our inroads upon the British market, however, is that thousands of Americans, representing hundreds of lines of commercial production, are doing a thriving business in London and the other principal cities of John Bull's domain. When one adds to these the thousands — some two hundred thousand altogether — who yearly throng across the Atlantic on pleasure quests, and fill the London hotels to overflowing, it is not surprising that the inevitable contact between the two nationalities is resulting in the acquirement by the Englishman of some of the characteristics of his Yankee cousin.

Nevertheless, the extent to which this process has advanced, as it reveals itself to observation in every part of Great Britain, is surprising. The reversal of opinion has been so sudden that it has carried the British public to much greater lengths than it would have done had it proceeded more slowly. After holding for generations to the belief that no mechanical good could come from America, the solid British householder is insistent in his demand for American machine-made products. After regarding for years with contemptuous tolerance, not unmixed with dislike, the manifestations of American character as revealed by the ubiquitous tourist, he has discovered that Jonathan is a thoroughly likable fellow after all, and that the oddities of conduct in which he occasionally indulges are due in great measure to his peculiar ideas of humor, which are very difficult to understand. Moreover, he has found that some of the devices originated in America for the purpose of promoting the comfort and convenience of life are well worth looking into, and in many cases even worth adopting. Thus, by letting down the barriers of frigid indifference which have hitherto kept him from being influenced by any of the many peoples with whom he has been brought in touch, the Briton has laid himself open to the moulding influence of his kinsman across seas. And while the batch of British dough will stand a considerable amount of leaven, there is no doubt that it is being materially modified by this all-pervading American influence.

The change in the attitude of Englishmen as a whole toward Americans is well portrayed by the familiar lines from Pope's "Essay on Man." From hatred, or at least hearty dislike, they have passed through the stages of endurance and pity, and are quite ready to embrace their cousin from the States.

To convince himself of this, the American has only to drive from the

Bank to Piccadilly Circus through the Strand and Pall Mall atop a London 'bus. He will view "American" tailor shops, "American" tobacconists, "American" shoe stores, "American" bars and restaurants by the score, and even "American" patent medicines and soda-fountains. In many places he will find a more specific welcome extended to him in the signs before the shops, such as "Outfitters to American tourists" and "American patronage solicited." If he looks through a newspaper he will not only observe the effect that American typesetting and stereotyping machinery have exerted on its appearance, but he will find also that a great deal of American news in addition to accounts of lynchings, swindles, and atrocious crimes — formerly the only trans-Atlantic events chronicled by the London prints — is being published. In the restaurants he will find American dishes; on the book-stalls he will see American books; and everywhere he will hear characteristic American expressions.

Now if all this were done merely to please their Yankee visitors or to catch Yankee dollars it might be regarded as a polite or a crafty manifestation on the part of the British. It becomes significant when one reflects that it is intended to appeal not only to the transient visitor but also to the permanent native. One does not find many citizens of the Republic in the shops that vaunt their new-found Americanism and advertise American wares so prominently. One may find plenty of Britons there, however; and the shopkeepers themselves testify that they have been able to find no more effective advertisement to appeal to their British customers than that afforded by American goods. Having tasted the fruit that he had been warned was evil, and having found it pleasing, the English consumer, apparently, is eager for more. So much is this the case that, in instances where they know that their deception is not likely to be detected, dealers do not hesitate to pass off as of American make goods that were actually turned out within sight of St. Paul's.

Some amusing incidents have occurred of this preference for American manufactures. Sewing machines of American patent are in use all over the United Kingdom, and every large company has its representatives in the different cities. In order to supply the British trade more readily, and also, as they thought, to score a point in their favor by appealing to British national pride, the representatives of one of the companies erected shops in Scotland and made arrangements to produce machines on a large scale with British workmen and under a British name. To their surprise, however, they found that prospective buyers

declined to accept these machines. The buyers insisted on having those imported directly from America, declaring that the latter were better and more durable than those made from the same designs by similar machinery, but turned out by British workmen. That this was prejudice may be admitted; but it was a prejudice in favor of America, not against her.

But it is not only in the realm of the shopkeeper that Americans have become popular. They have been taken up with equal or even greater enthusiasm by the highest ranks of society. There is no doubt that their popularity has been due in great measure to the influence of those American women who have married into the ranks of the clever, titled, or wealthy, who form the most important elements of British high society. The grace, the brightness, and the adaptability of these women have made them immensely popular; and the British, having found them fair types of their countrywomen and countrymen, have extended an equally cordial welcome to the latter. At every house-party held in England last summer, at every London dinner, and on every yachting expedition, Americans were much in evidence.

There have been many signs, also, to show American influence on English social customs. For one thing it may be seen in the decay, or, one may say more properly, perhaps, the relaxation, of the stiff-necked chaperon system. Until quite recently, it was unusual to find in England a formal gathering at which fashionable young women were allowed to attend unaccompanied by chaperons. During the last season, however, there were many such affairs organized by fashionable young people, and under the direction of a single young matron, as is very generally the custom in this country. There is a very noticeable tendency in England to allow young people much more freedom of social intercourse than formerly. It cannot be said, either, that the change is at all unpopular with the young people themselves, or that it seems likely to have any other effect than to develop in the English girl the self-reliance that is so prominent a characteristic of her American cousin, and to make young men and women understand each other better than under the older and more formal system.

Another effect of American example is to be found in the growing popularity of hotel and restaurant life abroad. Until the American "invasion," it was almost an unheard of thing for a family to take dinner in a public restaurant when their own house was available for the purpose; and as for entertaining friends in such a place, that was looked upon as altogether too *outré* to be attempted. Now, however, all this

is changed, and it is not unusual for a London host and hostess to call upon the resources of a fashionable hotel or restaurant in giving entertainments beyond the limits of ordinary house accommodation. A significant sign of the trend in this direction is to be found in the rapid multiplication of fine hotels that is going on in London at the present time. These hotels themselves, by the way, are becoming rapidly Americanized. American methods of organization and management, American dishes, and American drinks are coming more and more into vogue; and it is easy enough to find half a dozen hotels in London which are in all essential respects exactly like those of New York.

In politics, too, the English have taken lessons from the American book. It is safe to say that the predominating influence in international diplomacy during the last two years has been American. It was first displayed in a manner to compel attention at the Hague Conference. Since then, the prominence of the United States in the Chinese negotiations and the occasion for extended diplomatic intercourse between Britain and America have led to a closer study of Yankee political methods and policies. There is to-day among the leaders of the dominant British political party a well-defined group which might very properly be designated as "the American school" of English politicians. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is the most prominent member of this group; and a close study of Mr. Chamberlain's articles of political faith reveals an unmistakable American influence which can hardly be unconscious on the part of the great Unionist. It is far more probably deliberate. As to the effect of the Americanizing process upon the popular attitude toward political questions, there are indications that even that great foundation-stone of the British political structure—the free-trade dogma—is beginning to crumble under the contact of tariff-entrenched America. It is in external rather than internal policies, however, that the two nations are likely to approximate to a common position; and in this process Great Britain is likely to come more than half way.

There is a field in which American influence is more marked, perhaps, than in any of those that have been already mentioned, and that is the domain of education. In the study of the classics and the liberal arts England, of course, has nothing to learn from America; but in technical and commercial instruction she is gaining valuable lessons from this side of the water. It is significant of the opinion in which the work of some of our great technical and scientific schools has come to be held, that on the foundation of the new Birmingham University a committee was sent over to the United States to study the methods of instruction

in vogue here, and to gain ideas for incorporation in the new institution. Even more recently a number of British educational authorities have begun an investigation of American methods of instruction in commercial branches with a view to including similar courses in the institutions under their charge.

The whole idea of technical and commercial education in Great Britain may, perhaps, be ascribed to American influence. Until the force of American competition began to be felt very decidedly, and the successes of American trained engineers and commercial men in every part of the United Kingdom pointed a moral too obvious to be disregarded, there was little demand and less provision for such practical training as the leading American universities have been engaged in giving for many years past. At the time when the Birmingham University was projected, it was openly announced that the chief object sought in its foundation was to afford British young men an opportunity to acquire the kind of training that is imparted in this country by such institutions as the Sibley College of Engineering at Cornell. Englishmen are coming around to the American view which regards the various technical and commercial pursuits as being as creditable as the callings traditionally known as the learned professions.

As an additional example of the growing respect in which the American style of practical education is coming to be held in England may be cited the increasing number of young Britons who are sent to the United States to obtain their education. Within the past year, also, a number of young Englishmen have been put into shops in Pittsburg and elsewhere in the United States as the best means of giving them a thoroughly practical knowledge of the best methods of factory management and of the trades with which they are to become identified in one capacity or another. All these young men will return home thoroughly imbued with American ideas, and will add increasing strength to the movement already proceeding toward the Americanization of British industrial life.

The common speech of Englishmen is beginning to show the effect of American contact. In London during the last summer it was not at all unusual to encounter characteristic American expressions in the conversation of bred-in-the-bone Britishers. Even American slang, which has been heretofore an unfathomed mystery, has made its insidious way into British conversation. Such expressions as "get there," "hustle," and even the horrible appellation "rubberneck" fall familiarly from English lips. British orthography shows numerous modifications. A few

years ago it was impossible to sell in England a book printed in America. No matter how popular the author or the book itself might be, it was necessary to have it reset, and to include all the British peculiarities of spelling. Now, however, this procedure is no longer considered necessary. English readers will accept books printed from American plates, and in numerous cases British printers themselves are discarding such forms as "honour" and "labour" in favor of the more simple American forms.

A thousand illustrations might be given from the petty and commonplace details of thought, conduct, and manners, which are also the significant and characteristic things of life, showing the progressive influence of our aggressive Americanism upon the British people. Both Americans and Englishmen can well afford to regard this closer relationship with equanimity, for it is certain to result in the encouragement of the best qualities of both peoples. It will make the Briton more adaptable, more thoroughly practical, less stiff-necked, and less insular. It will impart to the American qualities of conservatism and stability; it will render him less self-conscious and provincial. Best of all, it will promote a unity of plan and purpose, will bring about an appreciative understanding, and will establish a bond of sympathy that will be more effective in welding the two nations together than any political alliance possibly could be.

Since the preceding lines were written they have had a most striking exemplification in the profound display of British sympathy for the United States in the direful calamity of the President's assassination. Such an outpouring of friendly condolence on the part of one nation toward another is without parallel. It has occasioned surprise as well as extreme gratification in this country.

This touching evidence of friendly and sympathetic feeling has been explained very generally as a tribute to the personality of Mr. McKinley. To a certain extent this explanation accounts for it. Yet the display was too fervent and too widespread to be merely that; for it must be acknowledged that Mr. McKinley, though better known abroad than the majority of American presidents, nevertheless was a vague and unfamiliar personage to the majority of Englishmen.

The true explanation of this widespread appreciation, the sincerity of which can be in no wise doubted, is that it has been a manifestation of the new-born feeling of familiarity, admiration, and acquaintance which has come to Englishmen from the past few years of contact with Americans. It is the latest, most striking, and most touching evidence of the Americanization of England.

EARL MAYO.

PROBLEMS OF IRRIGATION LEGISLATION.

It is more than probable that irrigation will occupy an important place in the discussions of the present Congress, and that legislation will be enacted which will inaugurate a new era in industrial development in the West. The world-wide movement toward the Pacific which has followed our recent achievements in war and commerce has awakened an interest in the vast, undeveloped region which separates the humid East from that ocean, and has stimulated a desire for its settlement. Expansion abroad promises to be followed by an equally momentous expansion at home.

There are other reasons why this subject is likely to receive attention from Congress. Hereafter, those who seek homes on the public domain must look for them in the arid part of the United States, where cultivated crops cannot be grown by the aid of rainfall alone. The homestead of the future must be irrigated. Before the settler can plant his fields with any hope of reaping a harvest, he must provide the water supply which the clouds do not furnish; and ability to do this will be the measure of settlement. The immigrant working alone cannot accomplish this. Formerly he could do so, but not now. The land which could be watered by small, cheap ditches has all been filed upon.

The further extension of the watered area requires either the diversion of large rivers or the storage of water which now flows down from the mountains when it cannot be used. In order to do either of these things, costly dams must be built to withstand the floods which beat against them; great canals, extending for miles to the remote tablelands, will have to be excavated; and expert engineering talent must be employed to design these structures and to prepare not less important plans for the management of the commerce in water which their construction will create. The day of individual effort has passed. Success in the future requires the organization of the irrigation industry and the expenditure of public or corporate funds on a scale not heretofore possible. Before rivers like the Missouri, the Big Horn, the Green, or the Columbia can

be put to use, irrigation works must be built rivalling in magnitude and cost those along the Ganges and the Nile.

This will not be done until there has been legislation by Congress. The arid States cannot do it, because they have not the means. Private capital will not, because experience has shown that costly private works to reclaim public lands are not profitable. Only Congress, as the custodian of the public domain, can provide the conditions indispensable to satisfactory progress. Because of these facts agricultural settlement in the West has been for many years slow; and unless more favorable conditions are secured the reclaiming of public land will soon be practically at an end. The conquest of the desert is a great undertaking; and even with all the aid Congress can be induced to extend, progress hereafter will not be rapid.

The desire of the West, however, is not so much for rapid development as for the creation of better social and industrial conditions. The first generation of home-makers is not longing for new ditches, new settlers, or increased demands on the water supply until it is assured of relief from the evils and uncertainties incident to the haphazard development of the past.

The most serious of these evils are the lack of water during part of the growing season, and controversies over its ownership when there is not enough for all. No one realized at the outset the importance which was to be assumed by rights to water in irrigation. Settlers diverted streams as they shot wild game on the plains, without any question of their right to do so, or any appreciation of the need of laws to protect this right in the future. Throughout a region larger than any European country except Russia, men explored creeks, rivulets, and rivers, to find places where land could be irrigated at small cost. When the bottom lands along the creeks and rivers of the plains had been filed upon, they climbed into the hills and diverted the rivulets which fed the streams below. In this way, farms which depend on the same supply extend across the Western plains for scores, hundreds, and even thousands of miles. The Missouri and the Colorado rise on opposite sides of the same mountain peak. The water of one finds its way into the Atlantic, that of the other into the Pacific. The use of these two rivers in irrigation has created oases of fruit and foliage in what was once an uninhabited desert, and supports populous communities in a dozen different States and Territories. Irrigation from the Colorado begins in the Salton Desert, 150 feet below sea level, and ends in Wyoming, 9,000 feet above. The ditch farthest south waters tropical plants; the crops grown under

the ditch farthest north have to withstand frosts during every month in the year.

The development over this vast area has gone on without regulation or restriction. Men have built ditches wherever they could, and as many as they pleased. In three States only are there official records of existing ditches which will show either investors or immigrants how much of the water supply is already controlled. In the other States newcomers have to rely on what they see or on what some one tells them. What they see is deceptive; what they are told is often based on an imperfect understanding of the situation. No one can tell, on looking at a river, how many ditches it supplies above, or how many claims to its waters exist below. Where irrigation is profitable and ditch-building easy, the temptation has been to build more ditches than the stream will fill. Men see rivers filled to overflowing during the season of flood, and fail to realize that they may run almost dry during the season of drouth. Attempts to save the water running to waste in April and May lead to the planting of many crops which the empty channel of August destroys.

In many irrigated districts crops are lost every year not because of lack of water, but because of its imperfect distribution. Streams are high when irrigators do not need water, and low when they do. To change this is the function of reservoirs. They are to regulate and supplement the natural flow, holding back the surplus when it is not needed, and turning it loose when it is. The need of these reservoirs is not prospective. On many streams there are already more cultivated fields, orchards, and gardens than the natural flow will maintain. It is only through storage that the fields already reclaimed can be kept green.

The existing canals in Salt River Valley, Arizona, will irrigate 250,000 acres of land. Much of this land has been already settled upon, but less than one-half is being cultivated. All that is needed to make the remainder fruitful is more water, and this can be had by storing the floods. Water enough comes down from the mountains, but it does not come down at the right time. The 100,000 acres now under cultivation represent not what can be done with the river, but what can be done with its low-water discharge. A similar condition of affairs exists along the South Platte and Arkansas rivers in Colorado, where only a fraction of the arable land below the canals is cultivated, and all of this has not the water it needs. If the water which runs to waste in the winter and spring were stored, irrigation would become to many in fact what it now is only in theory — an insurance against drouth. These conditions are not exceptional. They prevail on scores of streams

in Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, and California. They will appear on others as the reclaimed area is extended.

In recent years many small reservoirs have been built by irrigators. These, when located outside the channel of streams, have worked well. There is, however, another class of storage works which should be built by the Government, and should remain forever Government property. These are reservoirs located in the channels of running streams. These reservoirs have such relation to the lives and property of those living below them, and so vitally affect the interests of those having rights to the natural flow of the stream, that they always give rise to conflicts and controversies when they are built as private works, and a division has to be made of the public water of the stream and the private water of the reservoir. Wherever the supply of private reservoirs has to be carried past the headgates of needy irrigators, the public authority has to protect the distribution; and if the public has to divide the stored supply it had better own it.

In passing laws for the construction of reservoirs, Congress should take into account the needs of the people already in the arid region as well as of those who may desire to occupy the public lands. Some of the bills introduced in the last Congress proposed to apply the water supply made available by Congress exclusively to public lands. But if this were done, it would not aid in the best development of many sections. It would rather aggravate the evils which now exist. The settlers on the partly watered lands of Salt River Valley, Arizona, now have the hope that they may some day store the waters which run to waste, and relieve their shortage. But if the Government should construct reservoirs and apply the water exclusively to the irrigation of public land, not only would no relief be afforded to these struggling settlers, but all hope of future relief would be taken away. This does not mean that reservoirs will not make possible in many instances the reclamation of additional areas of public land; but the benefits from this will be small compared to the increase in production and the greater security the reservoirs will give to lands already settled.

The greatest opportunity for creating homes on the public domain is through the diversion of the unused rivers of the West, of which the Big Horn, the Missouri, the Columbia, the Grand, and the Green are notable examples. Along these rivers are millions of acres of public land. The soil is fertile, the climate is healthful and attractive, and all the conditions are favorable, except that the diversion of these rivers is costly and difficult. Storage is not needed, because there is an abundance of water

the year through. Immigrants have looked at these rivers with longing, but helpless, eyes. Their diversion should be a public work, not only because of its magnitude, but because the immense areas which these head works will dominate render it desirable that they should be under public management. The welfare of thousands of homes will be dependent upon their operations. Every consideration which has led to the public lighting of cities, and to the replacing of toll bridges by free bridges on country roads, applies with equal force to making these structures public works. If this is done without cost to the settlers below them, it will be no discrimination against many of the earlier settlers who selected the choice locations, and whose main canals cost less than will many of the laterals along the rivers where Government aid is desired.

The problems with which Congress should deal are not, however, of water alone, but of land and water. Those who object to Congress appropriating money for irrigation works say that it is the duty of each State to develop its own resources. To this the States reply that they do not control their resources, that the greater part of the land within their borders, including much of the land to be irrigated, belongs to the general Government, and cannot be made to contribute toward this development by any law which a State could enact. In Arizona nine acres out of every ten are public land, and contribute nothing to the expense of the State Government either in rentals or taxes. The owner of one acre, which he has improved without aid, justly objects to being taxed to improve the nine acres belonging to the United States. In California forty-three per cent of the land belongs to the United States, or is reserved and not subject to taxation, in Colorado sixty per cent, in Idaho eighty-three per cent, in Montana eighty-three per cent, in Nevada eighty-eight per cent, in Utah eighty-three per cent, and in Wyoming eighty-one per cent. These public lands are not a benefit, but a burden, to States, which have to build roads and bridges across them, and to protect life and property over vast areas from which no direct return is derived. The Western farmer cannot and will not improve the lands belonging to the United States, which, when improved, would be open to settlers from the East and West alike. Nor does he ask the Eastern farmer to help pay for their improvement. This is not necessary. It is possible to make such modifications of the present land laws as will provide all the aid which private enterprise needs to secure the complete utilization of the land susceptible of irrigation.

At the last session several bills were introduced into Congress proposing to set aside for the construction of irrigation works the proceeds

from the sales of public lands. This, it is to be hoped, marked the beginning of a reform in land legislation. But the simple setting aside of the proceeds from land sales is not all that is needed. The land laws should be changed. There is urgent need of modifications which will prevent speculative filing on land. While all the land laws were enacted for the benefit of settlers, in practice they have been made use of by many who never were farmers and never expect to be. Scores of meritorious irrigation enterprises have been wrecked by the speculative Desert, Preëmption, Timber Culture, or Homestead filings made on the land they were to water.

The repeal of the Preëmption and Timber Culture Acts, and the cutting down of desert land entries from 640 to 320 acres, have improved the situation. The passage of the Carey Act, under which the settler on a homestead must irrigate his land as well as live on it, was another advance. It would be a gain if the Desert Land Act were repealed, the irrigated homestead reduced to eighty acres, and cultivation required as well as residence.

There is also need of a law which will provide for the proper management and disposal of the grazing lands. Less than ten per cent of the remaining public domain can be irrigated. Over 400,000,000 acres have no agricultural value except for the scanty and nutritious grasses which grow upon them. This land is now an open common. Any one who desires can turn stock upon it. The grazing privilege is a valuable one, and there have been frequent armed conflicts over its control. This land, although public, is not unoccupied. For twenty years it has been a great breeding-ground for horses, cattle, and sheep, and its contribution to private and public wealth has been very great. The people who are using this land free of cost feel a natural desire to continue this use as long as possible; and any attempt to change existing conditions is certain to meet with vigorous protest. Many who are not satisfied with the present conditions fear that if any change is made it will result in the control of these lands passing to syndicates and corporations, and the exclusion from them of the small farmer or stock grower.

Nevertheless, the present situation is in many ways undesirable and unsatisfactory. Those who understand range conditions know that the unrestricted use of the public lands exists to-day in theory only. Those who desire to use these lands for the pasturage of cattle cannot do so in competition with those who desire to use them for sheep, as sheep will drive out the cattle. The struggle for control has led to the acquirement of thousands of miles of water front; for stock must have water as

well as grass, and whoever controls access to the stream controls the grazing land which borders it. Millions of acres of water fronts have passed into private hands in the last five years for this purpose alone. Immense areas of public domain are illegally fenced.

In one way and another there have been great waste and loss in the attempt to evade the misfit requirements of the public land laws. They do not suit the industries or climatic conditions of the arid region. Men have been forced in self-protection to resort to measures they dislike. The question which Congress should consider is whether some better system cannot be inaugurated. One thing greatly needed is a closer union of the irrigable and grazing lands. The area of an irrigated homestead should be reduced to provide homes for the largest number of people; but this reduction should be offset by giving each settler the right to lease or purchase a larger, but limited, area of grazing land. The chief industry pursued on the land of the arid region is the growing of live-stock. Uniting the irrigable and grazing lands would enable farmers to grow their winter's food supply on the irrigated land, and to support their stock in summer on the grazing land. It would divide the latter into a multitude of small holdings; would increase the number of people benefited; and would make the growing of live-stock attractive to many who are now repelled by the risks and controversies of the open range. It would also encourage the introduction of improved breeds of live-stock, which cannot now be placed on the open range because of the lack of control. Stock would be better fed and better cared for in winter; and a humane industry would replace the gamble with death by cold and starvation which is now a conspicuous figure of the open-range industry in many sections. It would enlist self-interest in the improvement of the native grasses where every influence now tends to their destruction.

The grazing lands, for the present, should be leased and not sold. The limits of irrigation have not been fixed, nor are the possibilities of these lands sufficiently known for the limits of the homestead to be marked out. Care should be taken that these leases do not interfere with homestead settlement. This can be done by having the lands classified by the general Government, and the grazing and irrigable areas segregated, or by having every lease subject to entry under the present land laws.

The object of leasing would be to bring about more settled conditions, to give the irrigator a more secure tenure in the use of the grazing lands he needs, and to protect the native grasses; but if leasing is adopted it

will inevitably result in returning to the Government a large sum of money. At a rent of one cent an acre the annual income would be \$4,000,000. The experience of the arid States in leasing lands shows that an even larger sum could be readily secured. Colorado leases over 3,500,000 acres at an average rental of eight cents an acre. Montana leases nearly 1,000,000 acres of State land at a rental of over eleven cents an acre. Wyoming leases nearly 2,000,000 acres at an average of over four cents an acre. The rentals in Utah average nearly six cents an acre. The Union and Northern Pacific railways lease nearly 2,000,000 acres at rentals varying from one to seven cents an acre.

Appropriations for irrigation by Congress will bring this country face to face with a new political issue. This is the adjustment of State and Federal authority over the water resources of the West. Thus far State control has been absolute and unquestioned; but if Congress provides an additional water supply some arrangement must be made for the distribution of the supply. It would hardly be possible to have a State administration over the natural flow of the stream, and a national administration over the stored supply along the same stream. Any uncertainty regarding jurisdiction would be likely to create friction and to work badly in another direction. It would lessen the efficiency of State administration in States having satisfactory laws, and would prevent improvements in the States which have bad laws.

At the same time there must be some assurance that the additional water supply made available by the public funds shall benefit actual users and not enrich the holders of speculative rights. The irrigation codes of some of the arid States afford such assurance. These States are ready to receive aid, and it is certain that they will make wise use of it. But there are States where no one knows what would happen if the Government built reservoirs or canals without any provision for the establishment or protection of rights to the water supply made available; and there are other States where the common-law doctrine of riparian rights would menace the success of Government reservoirs as it now menaces private ones.

The advocates of national aid are not agreed regarding the policy to be adopted. Some urge national control as well as national aid. They believe that the differences in State laws and the division of streams crossing State lines require that the Government should take entire charge of the distribution of water. Those who oppose this favor the continuation of State control, and call attention to the magnitude of the interests already created under State laws, and dependent on these laws for stabil-

ity and value. Titles to water along thousands of water-courses have been established by State tribunals. The rights vested have an incredible value. They control the productiveness of many million acres of land. The water rights on the little creek first used by the Mormons are worth \$1,600,000. The best estimate of the value of water rights in Colorado places them at \$90,000,000; and the titles to similar property in California are worth at least an equal sum. For the general Government at this late date to assume control would inevitably cause a radical disturbance of existing conditions. The differences in State laws are fundamental; and a national law which would operate everywhere alike would be revolutionary in some States. It would disturb local usages and customs to which communities are wedded and which irrigators understand. Laws for the control of an element so vital and necessary to human life as water will work well only when they have the sanction of the people most concerned; and, notwithstanding the mistakes which have been made, it is the preponderating belief of those best informed that the effort of the Government should be confined to aiding the States, and should leave it to those States to create their own administrative systems, and work out their own problems. In doing this it would be leaving the solution of these issues to the people most familiar with the subject, and most interested in the success of the industry, and hence would be entrusting it to the highest intelligence which can be enlisted.

ELWOOD MEAD.

RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

GEOGRAPHICAL and ethnic conditions have always suggested to the Canadian that broad and liberal trade relations with the United States would be natural and mutually advantageous. He has invariably acted upon this view, and the repeated rejection of his overtures has not seriously shaken his faith in the doctrine that the present trade situation could be easily changed for the better. In 1854 the efforts he made for more liberal terms were crowned with success through the negotiation and ratification of a reciprocity treaty which was to continue in force for twelve years, and then to be terminable at one year's notice. This treaty provided reciprocal entry for the natural products of each country into the markets of the other. Under its provisions there followed a great expansion of trade between the two countries, an increase of social intercourse, and an advance in the direction of community of interest.

Notice of the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 was given by the United States Government in 1865. The primary cause of this action was supposed to be a feeling of resentment provoked by the fact that news of the Federal defeat at Chancellorsville had been received with cheers by the majority of the Tory members of the Canadian Parliament, then in session at Quebec. At this time public feeling in Canada regarding the War of the Rebellion ran high. The Liberals of the country almost to a man sympathized with the North, while the Tories, as a rule, sympathized with the South. The action of the United States in giving notice of the abrogation of the treaty was ill-judged, if it was prompted by this incident. There were copperheads in the North, in no insignificant numbers, as ready to cheer over Federal reverses as was the Tory contingent in the Canadian Parliament. No less than 40,000 Canadians had aided in fighting the battles of the Union. The majority of the people of Canada were intensely sympathetic with that cause, and the abrogation of the treaty was a wet blanket upon their zeal; tending to strengthen and spread the feeling for which it was supposed to be designed as a punishment.

It was contended that the operation of the treaty gave the greater

advantages to Canada. To a limited extent, and in the narrow sphere of present results, this may possibly have been true; but a statesmanlike view of the operation of causes that would tell upon the future was not taken by those who held this opinion. A sordid reckoning as to which of the parties to the agreement sold the most was allowed to hide from view the march of destiny and the fraternal blending of the unmeasured forces of the future. If the treaty in its practical workings was unsatisfactory to the United States, Canada was ready to modify its provisions; it was, in fact, anxious to do so. Before the fated day of abrogation arrived, Canadian envoys had visited Washington to plead for the continuance of fraternal trade relations, under a treaty to be modified in any way that was reasonable and just. Their reception was a rebuff—cold, positive, and absolute. They returned from their fruitless errand; and Canada at once set about the confederation of the British North American Provinces, a task which was accomplished in 1867.

In twelve years the treaty had more than quadrupled the amount of trade between Canada and the United States, and had led to a very large increase in the importation of American manufactures into Canada. The War of the Rebellion had created a demand for Canadian farm products greater than would have existed under normal conditions; and the exportation of natural products to the United States in 1866, the last year in which the treaty remained in force, was greatly stimulated by the approaching abrogation, the date of which was known in advance. In that year the total export of the British North American Provinces to the United States, including estimated short returns from inland ports of \$4,185,692, was \$44,143,908. This amount was composed in large part of farm products, namely, animals and their products \$11,319,243, and agricultural products \$13,722,721, these two items together amounting to \$25,041,964. In the same year the British American imports from the United States amounted to \$28,572,000, a considerable proportion of which consisted of manufactures. It will be borne in mind that the imports into Canada for the year 1866 were made in the natural course of trade, while the exports, for the reason above stated, were abnormal in amount. It is reasonable to conclude that the tendency under natural conditions would have been to secure the equalization of exports and imports.

In 1866 the British-American exports to Great Britain amounted to \$16,826,000, and the imports from Great Britain to \$40,062,000. The most considerable items on the list of exports consisted of forest products and ships built at Quebec. The exports of farm products from the Prov-

inces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were inconsiderable. From the United Provinces of Canada they were as follows: animals and their produce \$1,326,000, and agricultural products \$2,217,000, making a total of \$3,543,000. The imports from Great Britain consisted largely of manufactures. It will thus be seen that in the last year of the operation of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 the chief market for Canada's farm products was the United States, while the chief source of supply for its manufactures was Great Britain.

Following the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty came the imposition by the United States of duties upon farm products. These duties were of an almost prohibitory character. It is not unlikely that the belief was entertained that Canada required access to the American market for her surplus farm products, and that duties reaching to the limit of exclusion would force political union. If this opinion was entertained, events proved it to be utterly mistaken. The policy of repression at once begat bitterness and deep-seated resentment, and the two peoples commenced to drift asunder. The Canadian was put upon his mettle, and proceeded to cast about for new markets. The American was no longer asked to act as his factor in the exportation of such farm products as had previously figured as a part of American imports. The Canadian quest for new markets was successful. In due time the export of farm products to the United States dwindled to an insignificant fraction of the total Canadian export in that line, and Canada became a purchaser of American farm products for her own consumption, nearly up to the limit of her total export of such products to the United States in 1866.

In the meantime Canada maintained a wise and moderate tariff policy toward the United States. The percentage of duty upon the total value of goods entered for consumption amounted to 12.25 in 1868, to 15.98 in 1900, and to 16.06 in 1901. It never rose above 21.57, which was the rate in 1888. During all the period from 1868 to 1901 the duty upon American goods entered for consumption was less than the average duties upon the amount of goods entered for consumption from all other countries; the duties upon the total American imports in 1901 having amounted to no more than 12.05, while those upon dutiable imports were 24.83. This moderate revenue tariff offered no obstacle to the liberal importation of American goods; and while repressive American duties kept Canadian exports to the United States at a standstill, the Canadian imports from the United States increased until in 1901 they were four times what they were in 1866.

Canada is now the third largest customer the United States has in

the world; Great Britain and Germany taking the precedence. In 1900 the total importation of Canada from the United States amounted to \$116,972,000, or \$21.65 per head. In the same year the total imports from the United States by Mexico, Central America, South America, and all the West Indies, except Cuba and Porto Rico, amounted to no more than \$96,140,000, or \$1.70 per head.

The opinion seems to be held in the United States that the trade conditions prevailing in 1866 continue to-day, and that Canada is still dependent upon the United States for a market for her agricultural products. The sooner the American learns that this impression is utterly without foundation, the sooner will a true appreciation of existing conditions be reached.

The following statement of trade returns between the United States and Canada, and between Canada and other countries, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, will afford the premises from which to draw correct conclusions. These tables are compiled from advance statements by the Customs Department at Ottawa, and may be slightly varied upon careful revision for official publication:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Total imports from the United States.....	\$119,306,000
Imports from the United States for consumption.....	110,485,000
Dutiable imports from the United States for consumption.....	53,600,000
Free imports from the United States for consumption.....	56,884,000
Total exports to the United States.....	70,306,000
Exports to the United States ex foreign mdse.	67,983,000
Portion of same coin, bullion, gold dust, etc.....	28,486,000
Actual export domestic produce.....	39,497,000
Deducting domestic produce exports from goods entered for consumption, actual balance of trade with the United States against Canada.....	70,988,000

CANADIAN TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Total imports from Great Britain.....	\$43,164,000
Imports for consumption.....	43,018,000
Total exports to Great Britain, produce of Canada.....	92,857,000
Total exports.....	105,328,000

CANADIAN TRADE WITH ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

Total imports from all other countries.....	\$27,945,000
Imports for consumption.....	27,734,000
Exports to all other countries, the produce of Canada.....	16,591,000
Total exports.....	20,753,000

The totals of free imports for this year were: from the United States, \$56,884,000, or 73 per cent; from Great Britain, \$11,316,000, or 17.3 per cent; and from all other countries, \$7,469,000, or 9.7 per cent. The rates of duty were as follows: From all countries, entered for consumption 16.06, dutiable 27.46; from the United States, entered for consumption 12.05, dutiable 24.83; and from Great Britain, entered for consumption 18.23, dutiable 24.71. Out of the total of Canadian imports 63 per cent came from the United States, 22½ per cent from Great Britain, and 14½ per cent from all other countries. Of exports not including precious metals, the United States took 21 per cent, and Great Britain 53½ per cent.

It is too early to attempt an analysis of the Canadian import returns for 1901, for the purpose of ascertaining the importation of manufactures for that year by Canada from the United States and from Great Britain; but the returns of 1900 will serve the purpose. For that year the Canadian imports of manufactures from the United States and from Great Britain were as follows: From Great Britain, value of free manufactures \$7,610,477, dutiable manufactures \$30,377,084; making a total of \$37,987,561. From the United States, free manufactures \$18,021,365, dutiable manufactures \$44,837,580; making a total of \$62,858,945.

In 1898 the importation of manufactures, free and dutiable, from Great Britain was \$26,732,584, and from the United States \$43,834,769.

The importation of manufactures for 1901 as compared with 1900 has probably increased in the case of the United States, and fallen off in the case of Great Britain, as the imports for consumption had risen from \$109,844,000 to \$110,485,000 in the case of the United States, and had fallen from \$44,789,000 to \$43,018,000 in the case of Great Britain.

The Dominion possesses the great stretches of productive soil upon this continent that still remain unoccupied. The trend of the isothermal line to the northwest of Lake Superior brings within the wheat belt a region extending eight degrees northward from the boundary line, and embracing the Peace River valley. In 1901 as many as 45,000,000 bushels of wheat were produced in Manitoba and the Canadian Northwest from 2,000,000 acres of land. There are from 250,000,000 to 450,000,000 acres more of wheat land in that country waiting to respond with bountiful harvests to the invitation of the plough; and as many as 50,000,000 inhabitants may find homes and subsistence in this part of the Dominion.

In 1901 Canada's trade in farm products with Great Britain and the United States was as follows:

EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Agricultural products, the produce of Canada.....	\$2,907,924
Agricultural products, foreign produce.....	338,842
Total.....	\$3,246,766
Animals and their products, produce of Canada.....	\$5,331,657
Animals and their products, foreign produce.....	286,947
Total.....	\$5,618,606
Total export of farm products.....	\$8,865,372
Total export of farm products, the produce of Canada.....	8,239,581

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN

Agricultural products, produce of Canada.....	\$17,337,675
Agricultural products, foreign.....	11,502,620
Total.....	\$28,840,295
Animals and their products, produce of Canada.....	\$49,186,025
Animals and their products, foreign.....	500,744
Total.....	\$49,686,767
Total export of farm products.....	\$78,527,062
Total export, produce of Canada.....	66,523,700

IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Agricultural products free....	\$14,923,080
Agricultural products dutiable.....	2,997,202
Total.....	\$17,920,282
Animals and their products free.....	\$4,587,785
Animals and their products dutiable.....	2,961,973
Total.....	\$7,549,758
Total imports farm products.....	\$25,470,040
Portion of the same free.....	19,510,865

IMPORTS FROM ALL OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN.

Agricultural products free.....	\$687,626
Agricultural products dutiable.....	531,904
Total.....	\$1,219,520
Animals and their products free.....	\$3,429,356
Animals and products dutiable.....	100,950
Total animals and products.....	\$3,530,306
Total farm products.....	\$4,749,826

Of the \$63,000,000 of manufactures purchased by Canada from the United States in 1900, Canadian farmers purchased quite \$30,000,000. They were permitted in return to project a dole of \$8,239,000 of farm products over the tariff wall of the United States, and to see brought into Canada from the United States, free of duty, hides and skins to the value of \$2,432,000, wool \$398,000, horses \$90,000, broom corn \$209,000, hemp \$299,000, Indian corn \$6,484,000, flaxseed \$662,000, tobacco leaf \$1,720,000, raw cotton \$4,731,000, and some other articles of less value; making a total of free farm products imported from the United States amounting to \$19,500,000. Naturally, the farmer thinks some kind of readjustment would be proper; and he will take very kindly to the suggestion that it would be better to have the goods manufactured in places where he could furnish the operatives with the food they consume, and with some of the raw materials required in the production. Of the farm products upon the export and import list, Canada bought of the United States to the extent of \$24,058,000 in excess of her sales to that country, while the United States bought of Canada, in excess of her sales to that country, articles amounting to \$1,411,000. Canada bought of the United States, in excess of her sales to that country, the following farm products, for consumption: Corn, oats, rye, wheat, cornmeal, oatmeal, rye and wheat flour, malt, seeds, apples, small fruits, potatoes, vegetables, tobacco leaf, broom corn, hemp, flaxseed, horses, hogs, poultry, eggs, butter, lard, bacon and hams, beef salted in barrels, pork in barrels, other meats, grease, hides and skins, wool, and many minor articles.

Some of the facts above set forth may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) The Canadian tariff rates are less than one-half those of the United States. (2) The Canadian exports of farm products to the United States are only one-third as much as in 1866. (3) Canadian imports from the United States are now over four times what they were in 1866. (4) Canadian imports from Great Britain have increased less than ten per cent since 1866. (5) Canadian exports of farm products to Great Britain have increased twenty-fold since 1866. (6) Canada buys three times as much from the United States as she sells to that country, leaving out of account the precious metals. (7) Without including raw cotton, Canada buys from the United States two and a half times the amount of farm products that she sells to that country. (8) Canada buys at least \$10,000,000 more manufactures from the United States than from all the rest of the world. (9) Canada finds her chief market for farm products in Great Britain. (10) Of the total imports of Canada sixty-three per cent comes from the United States. (11) Canada gives

the United States a free list of \$56,884,000, or seventy-three per cent of her entire free list. Included in the free list from the United States are \$39,000,000 of free farm products, free forest products, and free manufactures. (12) Canada receives practically no free list from the United States, except the precious metals.

Canada cannot afford to continue the present state of trade relations with the United States. They do not serve to promote her prosperity. Her purchases from the United States must be paid for, in a large part, from the proceeds of sales of her products to other countries. If she is to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water, she wants at least the privilege of selling the wood. The United States can easily give to her a kind of reciprocity that will put matters upon the proper basis, by enabling her to sell her products in the markets of the United States to an amount somewhat approaching the extent of her purchases from that country. Failing to secure this arrangement, Canada can give to the United States a kind of reciprocity that will make the volume of imports from that country nearly as lean and hungry as is the present scale of exportation to it. The simple formula for securing this result is to adopt the American tariff; and Canada is rapidly settling down to the conviction that there should be no unnecessary delay in taking this course, if proper concessions cannot be obtained.

The supply of raw material for paper-making has become a matter of much importance to the paper mills of the United States. Canada possesses a great reserve of spruce timber suited to that use. Her public men fully appreciate the importance of such a possession. No obstacle has yet been placed in the way of the exportation of pulp wood; but it would be natural, in a possible movement for reciprocity of tariffs, to require the manufacture of Canadian pulp wood into paper in Canada. This course would very likely be taken, as has already been the case with saw-logs and lumber manufacture.

The change in the fiscal relations of the two countries that would form a reasonable and proper basis of adjustment would be to make the natural products of the farm, the forest, the mine, and the sea reciprocally free, and to provide that Canada should not discriminate in her tariff rates in favor of other countries. At first sight this may seem rather a sweeping proposition. The lumberman who wants to hasten the extinction of the American forests, and the farmer who has the faith, born of ignorance of the facts, that the small Canadian surplus of farm products that might find a market for consumption in the United States would swamp the vast production of that country, will loudly protest.

This proposal, however, for reciprocally free natural products will be found, upon examination, a reasonable one. It must be borne in mind at the outset, as before stated, that Canada consumes farm products from America amounting to two and a half times the total of her own export of farm products to that country. Free trade would greatly stimulate this consumption; for, with the exception of Indian corn, all the cereals, flour, meal, fruits, animals, butter, cheese, lard, eggs, meats of various kinds, seeds, potatoes, vegetables, etc., pay, when imported into Canada, duties nearly or quite equal to those levied upon similar articles by the United States. Under free trade British Columbia and the Klondike region would buy their food supplies from Washington and Oregon. The Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—with a population of 925,000, would buy their food supplies from cities upon the American seaboard. Ontario and Quebec would buy largely of Indian corn, as at present, together with increased quantities of coarse grains, flour, pork, and meats for the use of men engaged in lumbering and mining operations.

It is not improbable that Canadian purchases of farm products would still exceed Canadian sales for consumption in the same lines to the United States, and it is certain that the balance against the United States would not be large in this interchange of farm products. It is not probable that the Canadian export of such products would be more than six times as great as at present, or more than double the export under the stimulus of war demand and impending reciprocity abrogation in 1866, or in round numbers, say, \$50,000,000. It is also likely that, under the stimulus of free admission, the Canadian imports of farm products, amounting in 1901, without raw cotton, to \$20,737,000, would be doubled, which would leave a balance of about \$8,000,000 between export and import of farm products. The exports of forest products, amounting in 1901 to \$12,205,000, and of mine products, amounting to \$38,501,000, which included \$26,824,000 of gold dust, nuggets, gold-bearing quartz, and silver concentrates, would be increased; but the total increase in the export of all lines of natural products would hardly amount to a sum equal to three-fifths of the actual American balance of trade against Canada last year. In the meantime the general stimulus to trade, resulting from making natural products free, would largely increase the Canadian importation of American manufactures and other commodities; and it is certain that under the proposed new arrangement the United States would continue to score large annual balances of trade against Canada.

In the case of all articles of farm produce, of which the United States and Canada have a considerable surplus for sale in Great Britain and other foreign markets, free trade between the two countries would have little or no effect upon prices. This would apply to wheat, flour, bacon, hams, pork in barrels, cheese, etc. The Canadian producer might benefit, to a limited extent, through competition between American and Canadian buyers in his own market, because rings and combinations of buyers would be more difficult to establish and maintain than if the American buyer were excluded. In the case of articles exported to the United States for consumption, free trade would have no appreciable effect upon prices, because of the insignificant amount of importation compared with the great volume of production in the United States. In the case of sawn lumber the importation into the United States from Canada, for consumption, amounted last year to about 500,000,000 feet, board measure, which was less than one and a half per cent of the quantity of lumber manufactured in the United States. To assert that one and a half per cent will depress ninety-eight and a half per cent to the extent of the duty, or will even affect prices in any material degree, is absurd.

This view of the case was placed before the American members of the Trade Committee, when the Joint High Commission met in 1898; and the Hon. Nelson Dingley freely admitted that American lumber prices could not be appreciably affected by the importation of Canadian lumber free of duty, with the amount then imported, or likely to be imported. The same conditions would hold good with regard to eggs, barley, vegetables, potatoes, cheese, butter, and other articles of farm produce likely to be exported from Canada to the United States for consumption. The disparity between the volume of importation and that of domestic production would be even greater in the case of these articles than in the case of lumber, and free trade could not to any material extent affect prices. The Canadian lumberman and farmer desire free access to the American market, but not for the purpose of depressing prices in that country to the present level of prices in Canada, where difference of price exists, because that would do them no good. Their desire for free trade arises from the expectation that the Canadian price will be increased to the extent of the duty when the latter is removed. In the case of failure of a crop, or great scarcity of any article, free trade might in exceptional cases relieve the strain and affect prices, to the benefit of all classes, in either country.

Absolute free trade has existed between all the States of the Ameri-

can Union since the Constitution was adopted. Its operation has been entirely satisfactory. It has furnished the most absolute vindication of the wisdom of dispensing with tariff restrictions. Between different States and different groups of States, great diversity of soil, climate, production, and general conditions have always existed. These differences are as great as those dividing the Canadian Provinces and Territories from the American Union. The logical application of the principle of protection would have called for duties upon the agricultural products of the fertile West, in behalf of the farming interests of the less-favored New England and Middle States; and also for duties upon the goods produced in the well-established manufacturing plants of the Eastern States, in favor of the new and struggling industries of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific slope.

The assertion that such a policy would have promoted the welfare and prosperity of the Union would be absurd. The humblest citizen knows that, with every extension of the area over which the system of free interstate commerce prevails, the more apparent become the advantages conferred by that system. The nearer the approach to this system in the trade policy of the United States and Canada, the better for both countries; for similar results to those that have followed the application of the system of free trade in the United States would follow its application to the great Canadian domain. A Zollverein would perhaps be the truly scientific and effectual method; but years of trade repression and business estrangement and the development of a vast export trade with the Motherland make this an unattainable arrangement at the present time. Free trade in natural products and moderate revenue duties upon a reasonable schedule of finished products, as at present in Canada, with application of the most-favored-nation treatment by each country to the other, will prove infinitely more satisfactory than present conditions, and will naturally lead up to such further developments as will accord with the wishes and the interests of both countries.

The opening of the nineteenth century found North America inhabited by 5,500,000 English-speaking people. At the close of the century the number had increased to 80,000,000; and an area of 7,000,000 square miles, rich in all the resources that the most advanced form of civilization requires, is now the heritage of the American Anglo-Saxon. The history of the last hundred years is a glorious record of progress and expansion for these peoples. The United States has suddenly stepped to the front as a great world power, and will be content with nothing short of the foremost manufacturing, commercial, and naval

position. The world is respectfully taking the measure of the new Colossus, and forgets to indulge in the old-time criticisms about swagger, rawness, and self-assertion. The portals of the twentieth century have opened, and down the vista of its one hundred eventful years to come there looms the shadowy, half-defined, half-concealed revelation of mighty achievements and illimitable accretions of force. While this great power commands the attention of the world, a younger member of the galaxy of Anglo-Saxon commonwealths is rounding into national life, and has laid wisely the foundations of its political structure, adhering closely to the structure and spirit of the form of government that has been shaped in the furnace of conflicts, and evolved from contact with difficulties and by the application of the lessons learned during a thousand years. Experience shows that the British model will well serve the purpose of Canada. The young nation is taking stock of its immense resources, and looking forward to the day when its people will number a hundred millions. The future of these two great commonwealths upon the American continent is a matter of great importance to the world, and of greater importance to themselves. It will be a great disaster if the policy of the last thirty-five years is continued by the United States, with the probable result of being imitated by Canada. Let us hope rather that the American policy of free trade within the Union will be imitated as far as may be permitted by circumstances, and may be consistent with the preservation of separate national autonomy, and that provision will speedily be made for the development of a vast and mutually advantageous commerce, for the growth of friendly relations, and for the securing of a permanent peace.

JOHN CHARLTON.

THE PHILIPPINES AND OUR MILITARY POWER.

It is related that, after the signing of the treaty which ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States, Señor Sagasta, the Spanish Prime Minister, said: "Now is Spain avenged." How true has this prediction proved! The Philippine Islands have already cost our Government more than \$300,000,000, and many of the best of the youth of our land. Their acquisition may transform us from a peaceful into a warlike nation. Victor Cousin was not without reason when he said: "Tell me the geography of a country, and I will tell you its future."

Continuous territory is the least vulnerable form of possessions. It is a rule of warfare, as unerring as the instinct of self-interest, that the enemy should always be attacked at its weakest point. We followed that rule in the late war with Spain. We did not engage her upon her home territory because we knew it would require ten times the men and ships to enforce submission. We made our assaults upon her most vulnerable possessions, namely, Cuba and the Philippines, 3,000 and 13,000 miles, respectively, from her base of operations. We attacked her in the two colonies where the people were in open revolt against Spanish tyranny and oppression, and where we knew we should receive coöperation and assistance.

Foreign powers have hitherto hesitated to make war upon us, because of the knowledge that, even if successful, they could not permanently hold any of our territory. The rulers of foreign nations knew with certainty that even if they could accomplish the difficult feat of occupying and annexing a portion of our continuous country, the succeeding years would undoubtedly be spent by our nation, as well as by the inhabitants of the annexed territory, in preparing to overthrow the rule of the foreign power. The fear of such a result and the knowledge of the enormous advantage possessed by those who fight in defence of home and country have prevented even the dream of a war of conquest against us. The continuity of our territory not only prevents attack, but also enables us to determine at our will when we shall go to war. If we are not ready when the cause arises we can wait in our impregnable country until we are prepared, as

we did just before the late Spanish War. It also gives us the choice of the place of battle. As Mr. Gladstone once said: "The distinction between a continuous empire and one severed and dispersed over the seas is vital."

With the acquisition of islands 7,000 miles from our shores, how changed becomes the situation! In our first conflict with a European nation, the scene of action will be shifted to the Philippines. Our foe will see the importance of attacking our weakest point, and will take advantage of the fact that the people of those islands have recently been in arms against us; knowing full well that where death in such a conflict has embittered so many families, the spirit of insurrection will continue for at least a generation. On account of these disadvantages, some difficulties with foreign powers are likely to develop into wars, which would probably never have occurred had not the vulnerability of these far-away islands been an allurement to the aggressive spirit of warlike nations.

If we are to retain the Philippines, what must be done to overcome the disadvantage of their situation? We want no such surprises as Spain received from us. It becomes necessary to fortify the seaboard cities and towns, and to retain in the islands a force sufficient not only to prevent insurrection, but to repel foreign attack. It will be further necessary nearly to double the proper strength of our navy, so that in case of war we may be able to retain on our own coast the ships necessary for our defence and also to have in the Archipelago fleets sufficiently large to meet the enemy and to engage him with success. Although the total area of the Philippines is about the same as that of New Mexico, it is divided into so many islands that the seacoast to be defended must nearly equal that of all the States bordering upon the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

But what will be the cost of all this? The numerous seaboard cities cannot be fortified for less than tens of millions of dollars. The army of occupation scattered among these many islands to prevent foreign aggression and domestic insurrection cannot be safely reduced below 30,000 men. The cost of such an army, based upon former appropriations of Congress, cannot be less than \$45,000,000 per annum. The army already there is costing more than \$65,000,000 a year. General Wesley Merritt, in a recent interview, said: "Doubtless the American people will be sorry to be assured that a permanent army of 40,000 soldiers will be required to hold the Philippines; but conservative officers on the spot are convinced that this view of the situation is correct."

The Government expends about \$3,000,000 for the building of each battleship, and a large amount each year to repair it, although after fifteen or twenty years it will become antiquated and useless.

Whence are we to obtain all the money which it is so necessary to expend in order to keep a firm grasp upon these distant possessions? It cannot be collected from the Philippine people; for, although they have been paying most of the exorbitant taxes imposed by Spain, the revenue is not more than sufficient to meet the expenditures of their civil government. It is quite likely that the revenues will be insufficient for that purpose when the school system is in full operation, and the numerous necessary improvements, such as roads, bridges, public buildings, and harbors, are made. These military and naval expenses can come only from our national Treasury, and apparently the outlay will be perpetual.

The great wealth and development of our country have arisen from the fact that we have had peace, and that we have not been compelled to impose a constant tax on our industries and people to maintain large armies and navies. With our sovereignty removed from the Philippines, and with our sources of income practically unlimited, we should still be able to pursue our policy of peace and good will without fear of foreign aggression.

In view of the situation in China, the Philippine Islands are supposed by some to be of great strategic value. It is very improbable that we shall ever have any difficulty with the Chinese, because our interest is identical with theirs, namely, the preservation of the integrity of the Chinese Empire. But even if it were otherwise, why keep soldiers 600 to 1,500 miles from the possible scene of action, with a very limited transport service — and it is suggested, by the way, that this should be sold — when we could place them on our own concession at Shanghai, as the French, Germans, and English have done?

The decision as to whether we are to hold the Philippine Islands involves, therefore, the question, whether we are willing to relinquish concentration for diffusion; to exchange land power, our natural strength, as to which we have enormous advantages, for sea power, as to which we have no peculiar advantage; and to give to the enemy in each conflict the choice of weapons, as well as of time and place of battle. With our military power upon land, we need neither a large army nor a large navy, and require only a light taxation upon the industries and people of the nation, which means prosperity. Exchanging this for sea power, we shall need a navy equal or superior to that of any warlike nation, and

also a large army to sustain the results of our naval engagements; involving taxation which will so cripple many of our industries that they will be unable to compete for trade in the markets of the world, which means adversity.

Why pursue a course which will weaken the military strength of our nation, which will make a greater drain upon the Treasury than will be counterbalanced by the profits it will give to commerce, and which will compel us to abandon the policy under which we have grown so great? Why give up the advantages of a peaceful people for the disadvantages of a warlike people? "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." That judgment threatens not man alone, but also every nation that indulges the dream of universal empire. Why not avoid the stupendous blunder of the acquisition of these islands, by helping their people to establish a government of their own, based upon Republican principles, and thereby continue to be the beacon-light of liberty and civilization to all the world?

JOHN F. SHAFROTH.

THE CHINESE IN AMERICA.

THE Chinaman in America, as a social entity, is almost entirely unknown. He is an alien, whether Christian or "heathen." He is shy and self-contained, and a mystery to the great majority of Americans, who have little sympathy with him. He does not assimilate readily with other people. While there is often much in common between men of white, black, and red skins, the yellow man is rarely a party to their affairs. Among the reasons for this are the great disparity in their habits and customs; and the facts that their languages have nothing in common at the base, and that their physical characteristics are utterly at variance. Further, the Chinaman is barred by the law from citizenship, and, therefore, is practically without the pale of communal interests.

The Chinaman has a certain power commercially, but none whatever politically. Only those who have become interested in the Chinese through acquaintance with them in the Christian missions here or abroad, or through business relations, know anything of their habits, their methods of living, their industries, their excellences, or their vices. For their own protection they have been compelled to live entirely by themselves. There are no more clannish people on earth than the Chinese in America. Other immigrants in this country are slowly, but surely, assimilated until all become Americans; but the Chinaman remains a Chinaman, for the number of Chinese-Americans is ridiculously small.

The greatest barrier to the complete Americanization of the Chinese is the fact that they cannot become citizens; next is the air of mystery that has been thrown about them. The Chinese have been pictured as a peculiar, unknown, and dangerous element, given to strange and abhorrent vices, and as a people earning much and spending little, that they might drain this country of its wealth for the benefit of China. It has been said that they are utterly without sympathy for this country, the country of their permanent or temporary abode. The fact is that the Chinese are as little understood by the Americans as are the Americans by the Chinese. The result is an unfortunate suspicion on both sides.

The law of the United States prohibiting the immigration of the Chinese has not a parallel in the world. The coming of the Chinese into this country was not of their own volition; they were invited here. When the Central Pacific railroad was building it was found impossible to get enough laborers to carry on the work. One thousand miles of road had to be laid across desert and mountain. It was more than 3,000 miles from the great centres of population where alone unemployed labor could be found, and the only means of transportation were very slow and expensive. The road needed at least 10,000 laborers, but not more than 800 white men could be secured. In this extremity it was suggested that the over-populated provinces near the Chinese seacoast be drawn upon. At first this was looked upon as a dangerous experiment from an economic point of view, because it was thought that Chinamen were too light of body and not sufficiently muscular for the work. A few were imported, and these readily learned how to do what was required of them, and soon excelled the white men in earth and rock work. They proved to be patient and reliable. The coolie ships were kept running between the Kwang-tung province and San Francisco until the railroad was fully supplied with Chinese laborers. The Chinese were paid thirty-five dollars a month and boarded themselves; white laborers got forty-five dollars a month and were boarded.

When the railroad was finished more than 15,000 Chinamen were turned loose on the country to find support. Railroad building, which was becoming active in the West, employed a great many; but the steamship companies, actuated by greed, kept bringing cargo after cargo of Chinamen, who had been induced to emigrate by the agents of the companies in China on the promise of railroad work when they reached America. The Chinamen already in America fostered the desire of their countrymen to come here by sending back their earnings to pay the passage of brothers and friends. When, therefore, the big trans-continental roads were finished, the idle Chinamen flocked into the towns of California and other Western States, looking for work.

In the meantime, the Eastern immigrant agents of the new railroads, in their desire to increase the business of their roads, were busy inducing men to go to California to make their fortunes. As a result, San Francisco was crowded with all sorts and conditions of men in search of work. White immigrants from Europe were taken from the docks and across the continent; boys left farms and villages in the Eastern States and set out for the Californian El Dorado. When they got to San Francisco they found the work being done by the Chinese. Why? Because

the Chinese, being dexterous and imitative, readily learned new trades, and were willing to work for smaller compensation than the white men. Again, they proved to be more reliable. The Chinaman learned to do one thing well. He kept at it so persistently that he became expert, and thereafter would not leave his occupation to attempt something else.

In 1876 this condition of affairs finally resulted in an agitation against the Chinese. This was known as "the sand-lot agitation," so called because it was carried on in a sandy piece of ground near the City Hall in San Francisco. At this place inflammatory speeches were made from wagons every night by orators whose persistent demand was that "the Chinese must go." A mass meeting was held in Union Hall in April of that year, and an address was sent to Congress asking relief from "Chinese cheap labor." It was stated in this address that there were 200,000 Chinese in California, of whom 75,000 were in San Francisco. It was further alleged that there were more Chinamen in the State than there were voters; and it was feared that if the ballot should be placed in the hands of the Chinese, California would become in effect a province of China.

In October, 1876, a joint committee of both Houses of Congress went to San Francisco to look into the Chinese question. It was proved by the Custom House records that the Chinese population was 117,331, less the natural decrease by death. According to the census of 1880 there were 105,448 Chinamen in the country. The present Chinese population is not far from 100,000, one way or the other. However, Congress enacted a law prohibiting the immigration of the Chinese, and declaring them ineligible for citizenship. Now, as a matter of fact, the Chinese are not migratory. Migratory people are aggressive, which cannot be said of the Chinese, who are models of patience and forbearance. The Chinese in America come from a few districts in the province of Kwang-tung, in which Canton is situated, from which fact arises the supposition that all the Chinese in this country are Cantonese. Other Chinamen than those from Kwang-tung will not leave the country. The majority of those who have come here are villagers and peasants; but many Chinamen of means and education have come to America to engage in business, and many youths of good family have come to enter schools and colleges.

The popular impression in the Eastern part of the United States is that all the Chinamen in this country are laundrymen. There are, it is true, a great many Chinese occupied in laundry work in all parts of the country; but Chinamen are engaged in a great many other industries,

mainly as laborers, but often as independent proprietors. The Western States represent the greatest and most varied fields for Chinese industry. More Chinese labor is employed in California, Arizona, Oregon, New Mexico, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado than in all the rest of the country combined. The migration of the Chinese to the Eastern States has been very slow. The Chinese are exceedingly gregarious. They live together for protection and because they are cut off from other associations and interests. Occasionally a Chinaman will be found in a small Western town engaged in the laundry or restaurant business, if it be very profitable; but as soon as he can he moves to a centre where there is a Chinese quarter and where he has friends and acquaintances.

When the Chinese were driven by the completion of the railroads to seek other work, they were naturally given the meanest employment, such as white men would not take. I have often been asked why Chinamen became laundrymen and household servants. The reason is simple. When they sought work in Californian towns, there were few white women among the inhabitants, and such as there were would not do menial work. The washing of clothes was easily learned, was profitable, and required little capital; the same may be said of cooking and household work. But the Chinese proved in many ways to be great wealth producers for California. In the delta formed by the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers were millions of acres of reed marshes, called tule lands, of rich alluvial soil, that would grow forty bushels of wheat to the acre. It was very desirable to reclaim these swamps for cultivation; but they were malarial, and it was impossible to get white laborers to work on them. At length the task was turned over to the Chinese. Large contracts were let to one or two Chinamen who agreed to reclaim the lands. They sublet their contracts to numerous little communities of from forty to a hundred Chinamen who were jointly interested. These worked faithfully until more than five millions of acres of fine garden and farm lands, valued at \$289,700,000, were added to the wealth of the State. After that many of the men who had been employed in the work bought or rented farms and raised vegetables and fruits on them for the markets.

The Chinese are economists. What the average American will throw away as worthless, because of the industry necessary to turn it into wealth, the Chinaman will make profitable by sheer hard work. Thus, the Chinese went into placer, quartz, and hydraulic mining in the West. They bought "tailings" — that which was thrown away as

worthless after the white miners had washed the gold out — and worked them over with patient industry, taking out enough gold to pay them. They developed considerable aptitude for mining, and profitably worked many worn-out and abandoned mines. They were also employed by miners in difficult work in placer, drift, and hydraulic mining, at good wages; for, while they were not of large frame or very muscular, they were very patient and possessed of great endurance.

In 1885 a law was passed in California requiring every foreigner who was not eligible to citizenship and who wished to mine in the State to take out a license costing four dollars a month. Tax collectors were appointed to gather in this tax, which resulted in many abuses and much extortion. Chinamen were stabbed and shot on account of differences arising between miners and collectors, because neither understood the other, very few of the Chinamen being able to speak English. It has been estimated that the Chinese have added more than \$2,000,000 to the wealth of California alone by mining.

The Chinese in America have been very successful in the various farming industries. Most of them being of peasant origin, they took naturally to the soil, of which, by heredity, they were fond. When mining declined they consequently went into husbandry. In California, to which they were originally confined and where most of them have since remained, farming was at first very difficult on account of the droughts, the high rates of wages demanded, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining laborers. In their dilemma the ranchmen turned to the Chinese, who took readily to the business. The difficulty with white labor was that most of it had proved to be nomadic and untrustworthy. Chinamen, on the other hand, become attached to a place, and return again and again to it for employment as laborers, or take up the business in a small way on their own account.

The Chinaman is especially capable as a grower of vegetables and small fruits. In California, and in fact all over the West, the raising of "garden truck" is almost altogether in the hands of the Chinese. A Chinese vegetable farm, usually very small in extent, is a lesson in thorough and careful cultivation. Not even in France or Belgium can such close cultivation be found. Some Chinese gardeners grow the best class of vegetables and small fruits to perfection; employing many men in their gardens and as distributors. In the cities of the far West, vegetables and fruits are peddled from house to house by Chinamen who carry their wares in baskets slung from a yoke and pole on the shoulders. The weight often carried by a pedler is astonishing. As they trudge

along their burden has a peculiar bobbing and swaying motion that is very trying. The pedlers usually have districts in which they have steady customers, and their trade depends on their reliability and honesty. A pedler deals generally with the Chinese cook of a household, and keeps a running account, from week to week, which is written in Chinese characters on the jamb of the kitchen door; the pedler's account being outside, and the cook's inside. At the end of the week, when the account is paid, the inscriptions are scrubbed off. Fish and fruits of great variety and cheapness are sold in the same manner. The Chinese pedler is a boon to the housekeeper, who thus has the freshest of commodities brought to her door.

The Chinese have been a great factor in the development of the fruit and wine industries of the West. They quickly learned how to prune trees and to care for vines. The immense industry of picking strawberries and raisin grapes is almost entirely in their hands; the price for this labor being so low that white laborers refuse to take the work. Without Chinese labor it is doubtful if the fruit ranches of the far West could be carried on with profit. The average pay for a Chinese laborer on a fruit ranch is a dollar a day.

In the manufacturing industries the Chinese have taken an important part. There is hardly a light industry in the country in which they are not employed. In the West they work in woollen, jute, and cordage mills. They make boxes, furniture, candles, matches, brooms, cloths, blankets, flannels, shawls, yarns, and shoes. Manufacturers naturally prefer to give employment to white laborers; but usually these have proved so unreliable that the "bosses" have been driven to employ Chinese. It would be impossible to run many of the industries of California were it not for Chinese labor. When the white laborers proved to be unreliable, Chinamen were taken in hand and were taught the trades. In the early days that State was practically cut off from the outside world, and had to manufacture the things it needed or do without them; and so the Chinese became the artisans.

Among the industries into which the Chinese went were embroidering, for which they showed an astonishing aptitude, and lacemaking, which is allied to it. They also became expert at shirtmaking and at sewing men's clothing. In the powder works nearly all the laborers are Chinamen. A great many are employed in filling cartridges, an exceedingly dangerous and unhealthy occupation that kills an ordinary man in two years. Chinamen, as a rule, have great vitality, and this was proved when cartridge-making did not greatly increase the mortality among them.

Besides these industries many Chinese are proprietors of restaurants and coffee houses. They export flour and ginseng to China, and are dealers in all classes of goods, for both American and Chinese consumption. There are Chinese lawyers, doctors, and dentists; and not long ago a Chinese lawyer, educated in London and New York, went to China to become tutor to the grandchildren of Li Hung Chang. In many Western cities Chinese doctors, who advertise extravagantly in the newspapers, do a large business among the credulous Americans. Cigar-making is a trade taken up by the Chinese, to a great extent, in this country and in Cuba. They become very proficient in it, making wages equal to those of white operatives.

Probably the most interesting feature of Chinese industry in this country is the large number of Chinamen who are household servants. The Chinaman makes an excellent servant, and early in the history of California solved the vexed question of domestic service in that State. In San Francisco there were many families who were willing to pay high wages to competent servants. There were few women in the State, and those who went there were soon married. In this extremity, as in many others, the Chinaman was called upon to fill the gap. He learned to cook, to make beds, to dust bric-à-brac, and to care for children. Being deft and cleanly, his value as a servant was soon recognized, and he became an institution. Chinese servants are paid as low as twenty dollars a month and as high as sixty. In some cases, where there is much responsibility, especially in the supervision of other servants, they receive even more. Many of these household servants are young men of good family, and well educated, according to Chinese standards. They undertake this occupation as a means of learning to speak English correctly.

They frequently become much attached to the families they serve, and keep their positions for years. As caretakers of children, a mutual affection often springs up, rendering the servant very devoted. I remember the case of the son of a prominent lawyer in California who had a venerable Chinese servitor who was his most devoted friend and guardian. The boy's mother died about a year after his birth, and he was put in charge of a young and very intelligent Chinaman, as he had no female relatives, and there were few reliable women that could be hired to look after him. The Chinaman cared for this boy as for his own life, forsaking his old friends and associates in his devotion. When the child was big enough, his nurse took him to the Chinese quarters when he went to visit his friends. In the course of time the boy learned to speak the Chinese language, and could read and write it as well. When he

went to college his Chinese servant accompanied him as valet. On account of the facility with which he spoke Chinese, the young man was given responsible positions by manufacturing companies who employed large numbers of Chinamen. He is now a rich man, and his "China boy" is still his faithful servant.

Chinese servants in small families do all the housework. They cook and serve meals, changing their blouses and shoes for the service. They make beds, sweep, and dust, and this done are free until it is time to prepare and serve the midday meal. They work much faster than women, and thus have more spare time. After luncheon and the incidental work of cleaning up, they are free again until it is time to get dinner, after which, if they are not required to serve for an entertainment, they are at liberty to go home. They live among men of their own nationality in the Chinese quarters.

It is the general impression among Americans that the Chinese in this country are parsimonious. This is not the case. The Chinese have earned enormous amounts of money, to be sure, but they have also spent largely. Their savings may be estimated at not more than ten per cent of what they earn, which is very often permanently invested in this country, and does not go to China. Laborers seldom save anything, and this is as true of the Chinese as of other nationalities. In the first place, the Chinaman is usually charged more for what he buys than any one else, and again he is inclined to be a spendthrift when he can. He is an epicure in his own way. He is also fond of silk clothes and expensive shoes. Very often he is a gambler. The actual needs of the Chinaman are greater in this country than in China. The climate in the Kwangtung provinces is so mild that all he requires at home is a thin cotton blouse and trousers, and two extra garments for winter. His hat is of roughly plaited straw, and he wears straw sandals. In this country, he must wear woollen underclothing, a felt hat, and leather boots, if a laborer. His boots in America cost four or five times as much as his whole outfit in China.

The food bought by the Chinese is often quite as expensive as that of the whites. Instead of living almost altogether on rice and chop sooy, as is the general impression, Chinamen, being quite as fond of meat as Americans, buy pork, beef, and chickens. Chop sooy is made to sell to curious white persons who visit Chinatown. In the vicinity of every large city where there is any considerable Chinese colony there are truck gardens devoted to raising vegetables exclusively for Chinamen from seed brought from their native land. These vegetables are unknown to Amer-

icans. But the Chinese also consume large quantities of the finer kinds of American vegetables. The Chinaman has a sweet tooth also; and in the best Chinese restaurants in San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and other large cities, the best of wines are served to Chinese as well as American customers, together with the finest and most expensive foods. In the average Chinese restaurant in those cities good board can be had by the Chinese for from fifteen to twenty dollars a month, and these restaurants are largely patronized. As a rule, the Chinamen are compelled to lodge in mean quarters; but in New York and San Francisco there are a number of well-appointed homes, occupied by the families of well-to-do Chinese merchants, which the American seldom or never sees. In New York there is an apartment house, up-to-date in every respect, occupied by Chinese families. The Chinaman sticks as closely as he can to the traditions and customs of his country, which are strange to the Occidental and, therefore, a subject for comment and often for derision.

There are not many rich Chinamen in America; but some of them are very well off, with fortunes ranging from \$100,000 to \$500,000. There is one multi-millionaire, Chin Tan Sun, who is the richest Chinaman in the country. Chin Tan Sun owns whole towns, and employs hundreds of white men and women in his factories and canneries. He owns ranches, city real estate, gold mines, and diamonds; he runs lottery games; he imports laborers; he conducts a real estate business; and he has several merchandise stores in San Francisco. He is a self-made man, and very shrewd and progressive. He came to America in the steerage as a lad, and went to work in a kitchen. He married a white woman, and with their savings they originated a "little lottery" business in San Francisco. He was largely patronized by Americans, and soon grew rich enough to become a merchant also. From this beginning he developed into a commercial and political power. He is called "Big Jim" on account of his size. He is six feet tall, and a well-proportioned, good-looking man. In business he is regarded as the soul of honor. His wardrobe is magnificent, and several valets are needed to care for it.

There has always been a great deal of misinformation in this country with regard to the Chinese "Six Companies." As a matter of fact, these are simply associations of Chinamen from six districts in the Kwang-tung province of China. The Chinaman belongs to the company named after his district. The Six Companies are named as follows: Ning Yeung, Yung Wo, Sam Yup, Hop Wo, Kung Chow, and Yan

Wo. They are mutual aid societies or guilds rather than anything else. It has been stated that they are virtually slave concerns; but this is not true. Their mission is to look after the sick and dead, to write letters for illiterate Chinamen, to advise in business matters, etc. Each company has a president who receives a salary of eighty dollars a month to look after the interests of its members when alive, and to ship their bones back to China when they die.

The native religious beliefs of the Chinaman deal largely with superstitions too complicated to discuss in an article of this length. The spread of Christianity among Chinamen in this country has, however, been steady and successful. There are now one hundred Chinese missions being conducted by the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and other denominations. It would be difficult to estimate the exact number of converts made by these missions. As a rule, the Chinese who attend them are earnest in their endeavor to understand and embrace Christianity.

SUNYOWE PANG.

THE RAKE'S PROGRESS IN TARIFF LEGISLATION.

IN all cases of alleged corruption or maladministration those who are in control of government functions contend that the best way to secure reform is to effect it from within the ruling party. In this way the party which has succeeded in making the high tariff identical with its own *raison d'être* has advanced the claim that tariff reform ought to be effected by the friends of the tariff. This, of course, is expecting that the wolf will lay aside his desire for lamb, and the fox his appetite for poultry, and that these animals will give up life in the forest to become well-behaved denizens of the civilized precincts of the barnyard. The good intentions and reformatory resolutions of Reynard the Fox became wrecked at his first sight of a fat goose after he had started on his pilgrimage to Rome.

The Republican party in its early days had no high tariff propensities. In 1857 the first Republican House of Representatives lowered the so-called "free trade" tariff imposed by the Democratic Act of 1846. The ensuing war made successive increases of duty rates a necessity. Protection was at first an incident. The protective character of duties on goods was largely offset by internal taxes on domestic merchandise. When revenue had become redundant, countervailing internal taxes were reduced or entirely abolished. The Republican party was quite sincere in its promise that the tariff rates should be reduced to conform with the condition created by these changes. In fact, a reduction of 10 per cent was enacted by Congress in 1870. Men like Garfield and John Sherman repeatedly declared themselves to be seeking free trade along the road of protection.

But, like Reynard, they never got very far in their pilgrimage. The tariff goose was too seductive a morsel. The 10 per cent reduction was soon removed, and the unabated war tariff was permitted to continue. The demand for tariff reform raised by the consuming classes was supported by manufacturers, who felt themselves aggrieved by heavy burdens on the materials consumed in their manufactures. Mr. Arthur

and his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, were outspoken advocates of reform. Congress created a commission to investigate. The report of this commission recommended a substantial reduction. The commission also submitted a tariff proposal which in many respects was the embodiment of the very opposite of the liberal spirit shown in the body of the report. Congress took the hint from the skilled hand that drew the report, and passed the Act of 1883.

The act reduced some duties by 5 to 10 per cent and raised others correspondingly. It raised the tariff on works of art from 10 to 30 per cent, undoubtedly to give force to the desire of a member of the Tariff Commission from West Virginia to exclude "the Dutch daubs" and give a chance to our native talent. The ad valorem duty of 10 per cent on raw wool was taken off, and the specific part of 10 and 12 cents, respectively, per pound was retained. But between 1864 and 1883 foreign wool had fallen. The same duty is, therefore, relatively much higher under the later tariffs than it was under the war tariffs. In iron and steel the onerous duties, which were mostly specific, were not greatly abated. The general decline in prices, due to improvements in the economy of production, made these duties proportionately much higher than was their rate at the time when they were imposed. Manufactures of iron and steel, "not otherwise provided for," including machinery, etc., were raised from 35 to 45 per cent.

The people could not be hoodwinked as easily as the reformers from within had imagined. In 1884 a Democratic President was elected on a determined tariff reform platform. Mr. Cleveland's endeavors were unavailing, owing to the presence of a hostile Senate; and in 1888 the task of tariff reform was again delegated to the party of reform from within. The promises were carried into law by the McKinley Act of 1890, which, as everybody knows, was a heightening, not a lowering, of duties. This playing fast and loose with solemn ante-election promises to the people again brought its measure of retribution in 1892. Mr. Cleveland took up his duty in his own determined way. By forcing the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 — the twin sister of the McKinley Act — by a reluctant Senate, convened in extra session immediately after his inauguration, he paved the way to the consideration of tariff reform in the regular session of Congress in 1894.

The Wilson tariff gave the long-desired relief. That it did not prove as successful as would have been the case had it outlived the time of depression ushered in by the silver panic is due largely to the fact that it was a compromise. It retained duties on important raw materials,

coal, and iron ore, and made the duties on yarns and other intermediate materials too high.¹

President McKinley could not have been elected but for the votes of gold Democrats, who were to a man either free traders or low tariff men. Immediately on his inauguration he called an extra session of Congress to reform the tariff. The enactment of a currency law, urgently needed to create a staple basis on the gold standard, was relegated to a later period. The party of friends of the tariff produced the Dingley tariff. It restored the McKinley tariff rates generally, and in many instances, by substituting specific for ad valorem rates, increased them substantially.

The restoration of the provisions of the McKinley tariff rates on wool, woollens, and worsteds is the chief gravamen against it. The manufacturers were urgent in their demands for higher duties. They have now the same substantial rate of 50 per cent on woollen fabrics and worsteds as they had under the Wilson Act; but, besides this, they have the additional protection of nearly twice 11 cents on a pound of manufactured woollens. Wool in the grease pays 11 cents a pound duty. But the wool chiefly employed in woollen and worsted manufactures is of light shrinkage, and little more than two pounds of it are consumed in the manufacture of a pound of cloth, while the tariff allows a compensatory duty of four pounds to the pound of cloth. Crossbred wools shrink even less. A hundred pounds in the grease yield sixty-five pounds scoured, instead of the theoretical twenty-five pounds which the Dingley Act provided for in the compensatory rate of protection against the duty on raw wool. The tariff yields, therefore, to the manufacturer a protective measure of an average of 75 per cent, free of all burdens on his wool.

The burden to the consumer is, however, much greater. I shall show its nature by applying the rates to a few articles which are considered representative by the trade. The custom-house value of a 56-inch English diagonal cloth made of crossbred wool is about 48 cents a yard, the weight being 16 ounces. The ad valorem duty of this is 50 per cent, and the specific duty 44 cents a pound. Hence 48 cents' worth

¹ See "An Unwritten Chapter in Recent Tariff History," in *THE FORUM* for July, 1900. The present writer, who had been deputed by the Secretary of the Treasury to assist as an expert the Senate Finance Committee in its tariff work, opposed these high duties. This called forth the most bitter attacks from the corporations and their agents. They were bold enough to demand, and powerful enough to obtain, duties of a height that made it impossible for manufacturers, who had to buy their yarns from them, to compete with concerns that were producing the finished goods from the raw material up.

of cloth pays 68 cents in duties. An article like this, made of all wool, leaving the English factory door at the price of 48 cents, costs the importer, after paying duty and expenses, fully \$1.25 net. The duty is equal to 142 per cent.

A similar cloth made of merino (Botany) wool, shrinking 50 per cent in the scouring, costs about 56 cents net. The duty is the same as in the previous case—to wit, 50 per cent ad valorem and 44 cents per pound—and adds 72 cents to the cost of the cloth. This cloth, leaving the mill door in or near Bradford at 56 cents net, costs the importer \$1.28 when he receives his permit for withdrawal from the custom-house, and \$1.35 after his other charges have been added. The duty is equal to 129 per cent.

If the goods were cotton mixed, *i.e.*, if they had a cotton warp and wool filling, they would be worth 1s. 8½d. They might come just above the line of division of 40 cents, in which case they would have to pay the rate of 4×11 cents and 50 per cent duty. The duty would then be 64 cents on 40 cents' worth of cloth. It is doubtful whether much over one pound of wool is consumed in a pound of this cloth. The total duty would be equal to 160 per cent. The cloth would cost \$1.04 by the time it left the custom-house. Of course, goods cannot be imported either at 160 per cent or even at the lower rate of 130 per cent, which would be applied if they cost less than 40 cents.

These rates are imposed on worsteds, which usually show on the face what is their quality inside. But there are numerous articles, going under the name of woollens, which are chiefly cotton prepared in such a way as to deceive everyone who is not an expert judge. An article like this was recently imported for golfing suits. It weighed 20 ounces, cost 24 cents in England, and paid duty at the rate of 33 cents a pound and 40 per cent ad valorem—in all 53.45 cents. This meant a total duty of 223 per cent. The goods had to bring 88 cents in order to pay a moderate profit to the importer. He sold the one case, which he had to pass through the customs, at 55 cents—the price at which similar American goods were sold—and shipped back to England the remainder that had been kept in bond.

Moireens are made of the wool of the black-faced Highland sheep. The wool costs now 4½d. a pound, and is of very low shrinkage. Costing under 12 cents a pound, and being classed with carpet wools, this wool pays 4 cents a pound duty. The goods made of it, however, pay duty at the 3×11 cent rate, plus 40 per cent ad valorem; equalling 132½ per cent on the value of the goods, which is 6d. the yard.

A 44-inch black Orleans, used largely for ladies' dresses and not producible here, costs in England 8½d. per yard. The warp is cotton, and the weft of lustre wool, with but a small percentage of shrinkage. The duty is paid on the basis of 7 cents a square yard and 50 per cent ad valorem. The goods are retailed to the consumer at not less than 62½ cents the yard, or four times the price charged by the English manufacturer.

Italian cloths and serges are the most favored linings for men's wear. Serges weighing a trifle over 4 ounces to the square yard have to come under the same rate of duty as cloth, namely, 44 cents a pound plus 50 per cent ad valorem. These, as in the former instance, have a cotton warp and a worsted face. The wool is crossbred wool, shrinking 35 per cent only. Hence it takes little more than one pound of wool to produce one pound of this cloth. The protective part of the pound duty remaining to the domestic manufacturer is therefore about 30 cents, plus the additional duty of 50 per cent ad valorem. The foreign price of a popular quality is 6d. a yard. On this the duty, at 44 cents per pound, is about 10 cents a yard, the goods being 32 inches wide, and 50 per cent ad valorem, making a total of 16 cents. The goods cannot be landed at the importer's door at less than 30 cents a yard, net. Under the Wilson tariff of 50 per cent ad valorem the importer was able to sell them at about 25 cents; at the present time he would have to ask 37½ cents, or more than three times the English price, to obtain a similar rate of profit.

It is needless to say that importations of such goods are almost impossible. The duty is practically prohibitive. It might as well be 1,380 per cent as the present 138 per cent. The benefits of the impost are reaped by one manufacturing concern. This company is at present unable to meet the demand. It sells its goods at 26 cents a yard, a formidable reduction from the importing price, and has declared dividends of 100 per cent. We must admire its moderation in view of the amount it could collect if it were willing to charge as much as the tariff invites it to charge. It is right, perhaps, in taking the advice of the Greek philosopher Thales, who said that "moderation in all things is good." The people have not shown so much willingness to pay more than the prices that were established in 1895 and 1896 under the Wilson tariff. They are forced to wear clothes of shoddy and cotton, and to use polished cotton satteens as linings to replace these excessively protected materials. Hence it may, perhaps, be wisdom born of a shrewd consideration of the enduring capacity of the market that forces this moderation on the com-

pany previously mentioned. But this again proves forcibly the excessive character of the tariff.

That the people do not resent these impositions for the benefit of a favored few is due to the fact that the dealers have endeavored to maintain the prices established under the Wilson tariff. The immense importations of wool and of woollen fabrics which anticipated the passage of the Dingley tariff in 1897 made it possible at first to respond to the public refusal to pay the prices resulting from the new act. In response to this public refusal the shoddy and cotton substitutes have become such active factors in the market that they have crowded out all-wool goods, so much so that but few of these appear now in the people's clothing. Issachar is not an expert judge of goods, or at best he cannot help himself; he has to buy what his purse can afford. That his clothes bag at the knees and elbows, wear white at the seams and edges, and require renewal twice as fast as good, sound, all-wool clothes, the wear of his wealthier brethren, cannot be helped by him, and is certainly too trifling an incident to concern the lawmaker.

The effect on the wool raisers has been as disheartening as on the manufacturers of all-wool goods. They are far from reaping the full harvest for which they made such ample preparations. With respect to woollens we are now the worst provided people among the civilized nations. It was shown in the article previously referred to that the consumption of wool per capita, exclusive of carpet wools, averaged 7.55 pounds from 1884 to 1886, and only 6.3 pounds under the higher rates of the McKinley tariff. Under the Wilson tariff the ratio was 8.2 pounds, while the average from 1897 to 1900 sank to 5.9 pounds. In the year 1900, the consumption was 4.8 pounds only. It was shown at the same time, and on the same basis of computation, that Germany's consumption, which in 1885 was 5.36 pounds only per capita, had risen by 1898 to 6.59 pounds.

The year 1901 shows a further decline. While our wool production has been but slightly increased, importations of clothing and combing wool have fallen off, and so has the importation of manufactured wool. The rate of present consumption is but 4.5 pounds. To this allowance every inhabitant of the United States has been reduced under the Dingley tariff, while under the Wilson free wool tariff it was 8.2 pounds, which may be accepted as the normal ratio of consumption when wool is free from taxation. In this light a tax on wool can safely be called a tax on health.

It is unnecessary to say much about the excessive rates on other

merchandise. When the labor cost of turning raw materials into articles of use has become so cheapened by the employment of well-fed and well-conditioned working people and the introduction of labor-saving machinery that the manufacturing nations of the Old World begin to organize in self-defence against our cheap products, words fail to express adequately the wantonness of the excessive burdens which are maintained under the hypocritical cry of protection for labor.

In many instances, by tariff taxes on raw material, we prevent our manufacturers from reaping the full benefit of their superior outfit. We tax hides 15 per cent. The tanner exporting the leather receives a drawback from the Treasury. The manufacturer of shoes has to pay the duty, however, in the leather he consumes. Thus the English or Continental shoemaker is able to meet our shoes in his market with American leather, which he has bought at a considerable reduction from our home prices. Hides were free from 1872 to the time of the Dingley tariff, which has gained for itself the distinction of having put a tax of 15 per cent upon this article. The protection of the farmer was the ostensible boon sought. But the benefit he receives from this is the chaff. The grain is gathered by the meat trusts and the slaughtering houses.

The iron and steel corporations are another example of the tenacity with which overgrown and tariff-fattened industries cling to the benefits they have been able to obtain from an always willing Congress. From the raw iron to the finished machine they produce according to their own statements at less cost in labor than the most advanced competing nations can do. Still they insist on the continuance of the whole of the bountiful protective rate.

Tariff reform by the friends of the tariff will not be found easier to obtain in the future than it has been in the past. The forward step it has taken under their hands in the last thirty-five years may be seen from the table, appearing on the following page, of the rates on some of the leading articles, arranged in alphabetical order. In this table I have given the ad-valorem duties. The pound-weight and square-yard duties which from time to time have been substituted for ad-valorem duties in the various subdivisions of the tariff schedules show much higher rates. The silk tariff, for instance, was changed to a specific tariff in 1897, with the additional proviso that no duty should be lower than 50 per cent. The specific rate was particularly directed against Japanese and Chinese silks. The latter are now nearly all excluded. The former are of very fine texture. They are made of very light silk

THE AD VALOREM TARIFF RATES UNDER THE VARIOUS ACTS FROM
1863 TO 1897.

	Act of 1863. Per cent.	Act of 1867. Per cent.	Act of 1883. Per cent.	Act of 1890. Per cent.	Act of 1894. ¹ Per cent.	Act of 1897. Per cent.
Cotton manufactures..	35	35	40	45	35	45
“ embroidery and laces	35	35	40	60	50	60
“ hose, fashioned.	35	35	40	35-75	30-55	55-75
Flax manufactures....	35	40	35	50	35	50
“ thread and yarns...	30	35	40	45	35	35-50
Iron and steel manuf..	35	35	45	45	35	45
Leather gloves	40	50	50	50	45	50
Jute manufactures....	25	30	35	40	35	45
Leather.....	25	25	20	20-30	10-20	35
“ manufactures.	35	35	30	35	20	35
Painting and art-work.	10	10	30	15	Free.	20
Silk, organzine.....	25	35	30	30	30	30
“ manufactures ...	40	50	50	50	45	50
“ manuf. up to....	..	..	..	..	..	90
Wool, clothing wool..	..	11	11	..	..	..
“ pound duty....	..	and 10 cts	and 10 cts	11 cts.	Free.	11 cts.
Worsted manufactures.	50	from 20 cts. lb. and 35% 40 cts. lb. and 35%.	from 12 cts. and 35% - 35 cts. and 40%.	from 33 cts. and 40% - 44 cts. and 50%.	from 40% to 50%.	33 cts. and 40% 44 cts. and 50%.
Woollen manufactures.	18 cts. and 30%.	24 cts. lb. and 40%.	35 cts. lb. and 40%.	same as	on worsted.	

on hand looms, and could not possibly be produced in America on power looms by our tearing-away method. The duty is as high as \$4.50 a pound on goods “weighing less than one-third of an ounce per square yard.” The value per pound of these silk tissues is \$4.80, and the duty on them is accordingly equal to 93 per cent ad valorem. Most of the Japanese silks imported are of heavier weight than this, and fall under the clause which imposes a rate of \$3 per pound. This is equal to 62½ per cent. Cotton-back satin, as of “not more than 30 per cent in weight of silk,” is, “if dyed, 80 cents per pound.” The average value is \$1 per pound, bringing the duty to 80 per cent ad valorem.

Fourteen years ago I inquired, in an official capacity, into the cost of production of the leading articles of manufacture in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. My reports showed that, while the wages

¹ To free traders the name of free-trade tariff, bestowed on the Wilson tariff (1894), by protectionists as a stigma, must appear a strange distortion. Were it not for the removal of the barbarous tariff on works of art, the freeing of wool and a few other raw materials, and the consequent lowering of the duties on woollens, little would remain to distinguish it from the other tariffs imposed for protection pure and simple.

here were from 50 to 100 per cent higher, the cost of production was not higher, but in many instances was lower, than in the two leading industrial countries of Europe. Though these reports were doubted and even treated with abuse by Republican senators in a debate in the Senate, their correctness is now no longer open to question. They found corroboration in the investigations undertaken about the year 1890 by the Department of Labor. This evidence showed that, at that remote time, in manufactures where American ingenuity was able to exert itself, there was little need for rates of duties that would not have been as operative in excluding similar fabrics under a rate of 25 per cent as under a 50-per-cent rate. Since then we have cheapened production considerably by means of improved appliances.

Actual conditions speak louder than theories. Our manufacturers are beginning to feel their strength. Foreign producers, erstwhile the dread of our "infants," have now become struck with the *terror Americanus* on the appearance of the newly developed Hercules. The giant wanting to preserve all the privileges of the nursery while he swings his huge arms would be an object for the merriment of the onlookers were it not for the burdens they have to carry to satisfy his greed.

It has been recognized, and admitted in public speech by so orthodox a confessor to protectionism as the late President McKinley, that "we must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing." Our late President further said:

If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

Reciprocity presupposes a certain equality of duties imposed and privileges conceded. We have been in the habit of speaking of Germany and France as though they were countries protecting their industries in the same way as we protect our own. A comparison of rates of duty on some leading articles will show at once the wide divergence that exists. The duties of Germany and France are weight duties charged per 100 kilograms. I have obtained from importers the custom-house values of the articles we import. By the aid of the values and weights given in the German statistical returns we can establish a basis of comparison with our duties, which are on an ad-valorem basis.

Wool and Worsted Yarns: The German tariff is 10 marks per 100 kilograms, or 1.07 cents per pound on all grades. The French tariff averages about 100 francs per 100 kilograms, or about 8.7 cents per pound. The American tariff on corresponding

grades is 33 cents plus 40 per cent = 50 cents, the foreign value being taken at 42 cents. Expressed in percentage this is $2\frac{1}{2}$, 20, and 119 per cent for the three countries in the order named.

Worsted and Woollen Cloth: Value, 72 cents per pound. Duties: Germany, 135 marks per 100 kilograms, or 15 cents per pound; France, 140 francs, or 12 cents; America, 44 cents and 50 per cent = 80 cents. This is 21, 17, and 111 per cent, respectively.

Linen Tissues: German value, 54 cents per pound. Duties: Germany, 60 marks per 100 kilograms, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; France, 100 francs, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents; America, 27 cents. This is 11, 16, and 50 per cent, respectively.

Silk Tissues, Pure: Value, \$5 per pound. Duties: Germany, 215 marks or 100 kilograms, or 25 cents per pound; France, 400 francs, or 30 cents; America, \$3. This is 5, 7, and 60 per cent, respectively.

Cotton Embroidery and Laces: Value of German exports to America, an average of $32\frac{1}{2}$ marks per kilogram, or \$3.60 per pound. Duties: Germany, 350 marks per 100 kilograms, or 38 cents per pound; France, 1,200 francs, or \$1.05; America, 60 per cent. This is $10\frac{1}{2}$, 29, and 60 per cent, respectively.

Cotton Hose: Value, 6.50 marks per kilogram, or 70 cents per pound. Duties: Germany, 140 marks per 100 kilograms, or $15\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound. This is, Germany, 22 per cent; America, 55 per cent and over.

Locomotives: Value, \$250 per ton. Duties, per ton: Germany, 80 marks, or \$19.05; France, 180 francs, or \$34.74; America, \$112.50. This is $7\frac{1}{2}$, $13\frac{1}{2}$, and 45 per cent, respectively.

Lace Machinery: Value, \$780 per ton. Duties, per ton: Germany, \$23.80; France, 100 francs, or \$19.30; America, \$351. This is 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and 45 per cent, respectively.

General Machinery: Value of German exports to America, 900 marks, or \$214 per ton. Duty, per ton: Germany, \$23.80; France, 100 francs, or \$19.30; America, \$93.30. This is 11, 9, and 45 per cent, respectively.

Boots and Shoes: Value of German imports from America, \$1.24 per pound. Duties: Germany 70 marks per 100 kilograms, or 8 cents per pound; France, 29 cents per pair; America, 44 cents per pound. This is $6\frac{1}{2}$, 10, and 35 per cent, respectively.

Leather, other than for Soles: Value of German imports from America, \$1.07 per pound. Duties: Germany, 36 marks per 100 kilograms, or 4 cents per pound; France, 50 francs, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; America, patent leather 30 cents per pound and 20 per cent, or 30 cents per pound and 10 per cent, according to weight, equivalent, say, to 45 cents per pound; other upper leather 20 per cent. This is 4, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 30 to 40 per cent, respectively.

It is plain that we could not gain much trade by reductions of 10 or 20 per cent from duties at present so low that they can barely be called protective in the light of our ponderous rates. A reduction of duties from 5 to 4 per cent, from 10 to 8 or 9 per cent, as in the case of leather and shoes, or from 3, 7, or 11 to $2\frac{1}{2}$, 6, or 10 per cent, as in the case of machinery, would not increase the demand for our goods. A lowering of rates to the same extent might be felt, however, where duties of 35 and 45 per cent are in question, and these are the minimum rates in our tariff. If these high rates were really required for protective purposes, the concern felt by interested people at the proposed reductions in the pending treaty with France might be excusable. But it has been shown

that our cost of production is now so low that protective rates in most of our industrial products have become practically unnecessary.

It is true that we import large quantities of goods which apparently compete with our own manufactures. The opponents of tariff reduction or of reciprocity arrangements regard the large importations under the name of cotton goods, silk goods, kid gloves, etc., as a proof of the danger that would threaten our industries if the towering structure were lowered even by a few inches. Much ignorance, however, is frequently shown in the discussion of industrial questions and trade matters. Writers know the figures, as they are printed and tabulated, but have not the faintest idea of the material things represented thereby. It thus happens that the most absurd statements are put into print.

The "American Wool and Cotton Reporter," which is freely quoted as an authority in matters pertaining to the textile trades, in its issue of last March called the attention of the trade to the fact that \$42,000,000 worth of fine yarn cotton piece goods, which ought to be made here, was annually imported. It advised machine builders to prepare for the coming demand, as, undoubtedly, cotton manufacturers being now made aware of their opportunity would not fail to improve it.

Mr. E. J. Gibson, in his article on "Reciprocity and Foreign Trade" in THE FORUM for December last, is more moderate. He says:

The imports of cotton goods from all countries similar to those on which reductions of duties are provided for in the French treaty aggregated in value in the last fiscal year about \$30,000,000. It is evident that there is no surplus duty there.

Our importations, however, in articles covered under the cotton schedule consist of goods which have no resemblance to what we produce here. These goods will be imported in equal quantities, perhaps, whether the tariff be raised or lowered. All the stimulus given by increases of the tariff has not enabled us to produce embroideries, laces, cotton velvets, fine fabrics and prints, fashion goods and trimmings, or regularly made hose and hosiery of such a quality that a refined taste would not reject them.

The goods to the value of \$40,232,782 imported in the fiscal year 1901 under the name of "manufactures of cotton" are composed of the following items: Cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, or printed, \$196,898; cloth bleached, dyed, colored, or printed, \$5,919,707; clothing and other wearing apparel, \$1,528,816; knit goods, \$5,461,704; laces, edgings, embroideries, etc., \$20,234,466; thread and yarns, \$1,746,721; all other cotton goods, \$5,144,470.

Not one of these classes touches any of the manufactures turned out by our looms, knitting frames, dye houses, or print works. The total imports of cloth are worth approximately \$6,000,000, about three fourths being composed of fine colored and printed fabrics, and one fourth of white fine yarn goods, which by their evenness of texture and softness of finish recommend themselves, as do the colored goods, to the developed taste of our shopping critics. You may induce them to purchase goods of American make by the roundabout means of higher technical and artistic development in production, but not by appeals to their patriotism.

Knit goods are chiefly imported from Germany. The French imports are of trifling amounts, and consist mostly of fine knit underwear, while the German imports are made up of hose and half-hose, fashioned and "regular made," which we have never yet produced satisfactorily. It is out of the question to speak of embroideries and laces as among the possibilities of production by our home industries. Nor can any such assertion be made of what is included under the heading "all other goods." A large proportion of the latter class is composed of velvets, plushes, etc. The rest consists of articles that cater more or less to fashion — *nouveautés*, fancy articles, trimmings, cord, tassels, etc. Imports of articles such as these are increased when times are prosperous, and decreased under reverse conditions.

Similar conditions determine the trade in silk goods. The concern about the reduction of 5 per cent in the proposed treaty is quite unnecessary. The imports of silk goods from France during the calendar year 1900 were valued at \$14,360,318. "It is clear," according to the writer of the article in THE FORUM for December, "that these imports would be largely increased by a reduction of duties." A little discrimination would show the unreasonableness of this argument. Of the silk imports from France in the fiscal year 1900, not more than \$7,104,208 were dress and piece goods. This amount is composed of goods which are *hautes nouveautés*, or which are imported on account of their higher qualities in finish, color, and design. Their importation depends on fashion and the buying capacity of our people, exclusively. In the three years 1895, 1896, and 1897, *i.e.*, before the Dingley tariff increasing duties on silks through the medium of specific duties went into effect, the average yearly imports in piece goods were but \$2,449,000. This shows conclusively that our imports of silk goods from France cannot possibly be increased on account of this paltry reduction. A lowering of duties would have to reach many times the proposed 5 per cent

in order to affect importations in cheap goods. Plain silks and taffetas are produced here at nearly as low a price as abroad. They are inferior in finish and color. A remedy for this would be quickly found if competition with foreign countries drove our manufacturers to greater exertions — a thing not so likely to occur while we persist in the policy of the dog in the manger.

The cut proposed in gloves is 10 per cent. The duty on the class now imported from France is \$3.50 per dozen. An abatement of 35 cents would only partly affect the gloves we get from Germany. The French gloves are of a higher class. France, however, could put herself in a position to produce an article to compete with the quality sent to us from Germany, and the reduction granted to her might then injure German trade. But Germany would have to get the same advantages, otherwise she would put into effect Section VIII of her proposed tariff, which will be undoubtedly passed. We cannot incur the risk of having her double all duties against us. The advantage to France of these reductions is illusory. The injury to our glove makers, however, would be as unreal as in the other instances cited. We make men's gloves, and import ladies' gloves. All our endeavors have not enabled us to make a success of the manufacture of ladies' kid gloves, which are imported all the time in steadily recurring amounts.

France has a particular advantage in the manual skill of her working classes, which is apparent in every article produced by individual manipulation. Knowing her advantage she perseveres in her traditional methods. We ought to welcome imports from that country. The aid their example gives us in developing the taste that creates our crude products is of the greatest benefit to us. That the 5, 10, or even 20 per cent reductions proposed could injure the American producer would be regarded as inconceivable, if the relative character of the various products going under the same name were not an entirely unknown quantity in the minds of those who have so far taken part in the discussion of these questions.

The treaty which has given most concern, next to that with France, is that with Argentina. The reduction of 20 per cent in sugar duties would be a gift, pure and simple, to the sugar trust, and would not affect the consumer at all. The case would not be different with the reduction on hides. The benefit would all be reaped by the leather trust. We draw hides from almost every trading country, and most of these countries are in a position to retaliate upon us if we do not extend the same conditions to them all. Any doubts on the subject would be

quickly dispelled by the action of Germany. Sugar and hides stand upon the same level in this respect.

Wool is another formidable subject of contention. But it must be remembered that we do not import from Argentina much of the fine wool which gives our political shepherds most concern. Most of our imports of fine wool are of Australian growth.¹ The reason is simple, though not suspected by the critics. Australian merino wool shrinks from 50 to 52 per cent in scouring; Argentine wool about 62 per cent. The duty, however, is 11 cents a pound, whether four or two pounds of greasy wool are required to produce one pound of clean wool. Reckoning the tariff duty on the basis of clean wool, we have to pay 22 cents duty for a pound of Australian wool and 27½ cents for the same weight of Argentina wool. The reduction would only bring the duty on Argentina wool to the level of that on Australian wool. It would not remove the more desirable qualities inherent in Australian wool. Accordingly, it would benefit neither the American consumer nor the Argentine producer.

Similar strictures may be passed upon the reciprocity arrangements entered into with Barbadoes, Jamaica, and British Guiana. The reduction would affect produce which we import in much larger quantities from other parts of the West Indies, and from South and Central America. The advantages expected to be gained by our consumers would be reaped by our combines of middlemen, and would be neutralized in regard to the present treaty-making countries if all other countries obtained the same concessions by means of reciprocity treaties from us. They certainly have at their disposal the means to secure equal terms.

If we look at the other side of the table, we see the same Barmecide feast spread. Barring 19 articles out of a total of 651 enumerations contained in the French law, we are to receive the benefits of the minimum tariff rates in return for our concessions. This seems to have made a deep impression on those who urge the confirmation of the treaties. A careful examination must lead to different conclusions. I will state briefly the chief obstructions in the path of our glorious expectations: (1) There is no minimum rate on breadstuffs, and none on provisions such as France draws from us, like lard, salted or other hog products, etc. (2) In textiles only cotton fabrics of the heavier class are exportable by us. But on these the French duties are prohibitive, and would be so no less were the duty that is of an average of 50 per

¹ In the fiscal year 1901 the imports of class I wool of Argentine growth were 3,886,376 lbs., and of Australasian growth 22,570,030 lbs.

cent reduced to average 40 per cent as the minimum tariff prescribes. (3) Copper and petroleum cover a great part of our dutiable imports by France. These, however, like articles mentioned above (1) could scarcely be imported from other countries. In copper, aside of the question of procurability, exports would scarcely be depending on a reduction in the French duty, now equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, to one of $\frac{2}{10}$ cent, the minimum tariff rate. (4) On manufactured articles, which we are able to export, iron and steel manufactures, machinery, etc., the duties are so low, as has been shown above, that reductions given by the minimum tariff are not of sufficient weight to incline the wavering balance to the side of American would-be sellers.

In saying this I have practically dealt with the whole subject of the other pending treaties also. In some of these treaties we even find now put on the free list articles which have already been there for a long time preceding the reciprocity arrangements. Of this character are implements and tools of agriculture; machinery for mining; apparatus for generating, storing, and conducting electricity, etc. Further, we see duties reduced on goods which could not by any possibility be imported from any other country than the United States. It would be a waste of effort to go into particulars concerning these still-born treaties, even had I the space to do so.

Summing up the matter, we find that the fox invites the crane to a symposium served by him in flat dishes, and the crane retaliates by a feast to the fox served in high jars with narrow necks. The treaties deserve the disdain which they have met. To the reformer, looking for an abatement of burdens, they certainly offer no single feature recommending them to his consideration. They were meant to serve as a sop to Cerberus. Cerberus wants none of it. The party which has descended from its ideals, and become the instrument of trusts, manufacturers' combines, and promoting jobbers, cannot be trusted with a reform which would affect the fortunes of its patrons. The mission belongs to a party which is not hampered by traditions and obligations.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

OUR HONOR AND CUBA'S NEED.

WHEN General Wood went to Cuba as military Governor he was not at liberty to ignore the course which had been marked out, for better or for worse, by his predecessor. General Brooke had initiated there a policy for the military government of the United States. Moreover, the political situation at home must be taken into the account. The interests of the Republican party demanded the preservation of order in Cuba, at least during the presidential campaign of 1900. A common belief is that, but for this consideration, the Constitutional Convention would not have been summoned at such an early date, the plain fact being that the Cubans were not prepared to take this most important step. It is at least probable that General Wood's hand was forced by instructions representing the best opinion which could be formed at that time in regard to Cuban tendencies and conditions.

Therefore the question of the responsibility of individuals for certain mistakes need not be considered in the present article. My purpose is to point out the opportunity for well-doing in the most important particulars. But one must refer to capital errors with emphasis whenever it is necessary to show them so plainly that there can be no possibility of further misunderstanding. These are things which a warm friend and supporter of the Republican principles trusts that the present Administration will correct, and he will even assume for a moment the standpoint of an unfriendly critic in order to represent views to which our future course should lend no support whatever. An unfriendly critic, then, might say:

By all means let us make such concessions to the Cubans in the matter of the tariff as may be necessary to satisfy them for the present. Shall we say fifty per cent off for all Cuban products imported into the United States, or shall we carefully study the tariff, article by article, and decide in respect to each article what duty will best serve to harmonize the interests of both countries? Really, all such questions of detail are unimportant, because the arrangement is not destined to continue for any great length of time, as the concessions alluded to

will be certain to bring about the annexation of the island to the United States.

There is bitter need of financial assistance for Cuba at present. That fact seems to be so generally understood that I need not analyze the conditions which occasion the distress, or give particulars of them beyond the statement that we have driven the Cubans to the verge of bankruptcy by maintaining our tariff against their products while the planters have been struggling to recover from the effects of the war and to overcome certain difficulties which were the war's legacy. We take advantage of this anxiety; we secure as an immediate return for our tariff concessions much more gratitude than an unembarrassed people would accord on receipt of such favors.

So far, so good. Now mark the sequel. We take pains to satisfy these poor creatures; we really and fully satisfy them. We can afford to err on the side of generosity for a while. Let them enjoy such discrimination in their favor that the island may suddenly become more prosperous than ever before in all its history, so much more prosperous that there cannot be the slightest doubt in the mind of any Cuban that a close relation with her great and good neighbor was what Cuba had always lacked in the past, and what she must always maintain in the future.

It will do no harm at this point in the progress of affairs to let the affections of the people of Cuba attach themselves to our country; for they have hearts, too, it is said, as well as the best lands for raising sugar and tobacco. At least, in a population of one and a half millions, it is safe to assume that we shall find quite a number of warm hearts capable of gratitude. Until they are quite wedded to their new-found prosperity, and are as fond of us as we have the right to expect, we shall do well to say nothing to alarm or injure the sensibilities of those who have so recently fought for "independence or death." In fact, we shall never suggest the propriety of annexing the island; but on the contrary it will be more chivalrous and more effective if we suggest to them that they take their freedom — such freedom as we promised them in 1898. At the same time we shall offer to give up our authority, and "to leave the government *and control* of the island to its people," as we said in our Joint Resolution in April of the year just mentioned.

Naturally, quite naturally, we shall attach one small condition to this grant of freedom: we shall withdraw the tariff concessions — that is all. The Cubans — as we shall be able to point out to them — could not expect us to continue to discriminate in their favor, by making spe-

cial rates, after the island had ceased to be dependent, for their agricultural products which compete with our own in the markets of the United States. And we may be confident that meanwhile the Platt Amendment, made a part of the Cuban Constitution at our bidding, will have accomplished all that we expected of it, in the way of absolutely preventing Cuba from gaining genuine independence. Let us realize and keep steadily in mind the situation which I am now anticipating. We shall in effect say to the Cubans: "You may even amend your Constitution by omitting the articles of the Appendix which make you our wards. You are to be free as air; and, incidentally, you will be ruined." Now, it is to be anticipated that the Cubans will hesitate to accept complete independence upon such terms; that they will have become somewhat "spoiled" by our commercial petting; that the ease and comfort of dependence will have won upon them, the habit of dependence becoming fixed.

But then we shall have to go farther. When a grown man takes a child from the beach out into deep water in order to teach it the art of swimming, the child clings timorously to its instructor; and, especially if there is any affection between the two, it may become necessary to cast off the hugging little arms by force. In the case of Cuba, when we shall say in a tone not to be mistaken that we will carry her no longer, that the time has come for her to sink or swim alone, we, not really wishing to let our prize go, but meaning to justify our policy of retention, shall only need to make sure that she, a beginner in the art of self-government, feels the reimposed tariff dragging her down like a leaden weight, and knows that she has been taken out far beyond her depth.

And now let us see what may fairly be alleged with regard to a special variety of blundering which has been characterized as "profitable." The Cuban Conservative party, once called Autonomist and more recently Union-Democratic, figures as the victim of such a blunder. That element of the island's population which comprised the families of intelligence and wealth was in 1898 friendly to Spain and opposed to the insurgents. It was assumed by those who represented the authority of the United States in Cuba after the termination of hostilities that the work of reconstruction might go on without the aid of such Spanish sympathizers, that is to say, without the cooperation of the best people of Cuba. "A natural conclusion," does one say? It so closely resembles a natural conclusion that it served admirably as a pretext. But, while we are speaking quite frankly, let us look below the surface to discover the motives which inspired the Conservative element.

These Conservatives, being people who had much at stake, favored the power which stood for the maintenance of order, whatever that power might be. Thus, they were for Spain as against the revolutionists, so long as Spain represented the established order of things under which they had prospered. Loyal Spaniards, determined to stick to the flag through thick and thin, they most positively were not, as a class. Cynics they were and are in respect to the sentiment of loyalty to a flag. They were not Conservatives because they were Spanish, but were Spanish sympathizers because they were Conservative. Adherents of Spain while Spain represented stability, they became the most reliable adherents of the United States when our Government alone stood between them and the future of perilous experiments proposed by the war party, which had split into the radical Republican and Nationalist parties, largely composed of people with nothing to lose and everything to win. Splendidly disinterested patriots these Conservatives certainly were not; but they would have been our natural allies if we had aimed directly at building up an independent Cuban Republic through native ability. They formed the element which alone had shown real ability in the works of peace.

Our first military Governor gave the civil offices to members of the war party. Our second military Governor did not avail himself of the services of respectable Conservatives when he was preparing for the Constitutional Convention. If he had done so a practicable constitution might have been made. The reader who takes the trouble to compare the text of the "Constitution of the Republic of Cuba," which bears date February 21, 1901, with the "programme" of the Union-Democratic party, adopted December 20, 1900, will quickly perceive the difference between the shabby work actually turned out and the product of intelligence which might have been secured. If General Wood had enlisted the best Cuban talent the Cuban Republic might have learned to swim alone!

Here we may as well take into account a phenomenon which may always be observed in every part of the world after there has been an uprising of lackland, turbulent, adventurer-led folk. The noble cry of *pro patria* is sure to be vulgarized; the very word "patriotism" becomes, through its misuse, a thing to loathe. One of the gentlemen of Cuba cries:

We do not claim to be patriots. Instead, we declare emphatically that we are not. The mantle of "patriotism" has covered all the swindlers in the country; with it the rascals try to blind those who watch them, and to dessemble the moral enormities

which they commit, dragged into the mire as they are by their lusts, and at the mercy of their ambition. If patriotism consists in making one's-self the accomplice of political adventurers in plots and frauds, and in applauding the stupidity of the ignorant, and the puerilities and absurdities of foolish and vain persons; if to be a patriot one must pay homage to the loud-mouthed demagogues who mount to the highest positions by deceit and lying, and worship idols of clay which the simplicity of the populace places in the most important public offices, we, for our part, shall say resolutely that we are not patriots, nor do we wish to be patriots, and patriots we shall never become!

These gentlemen of Cuba, as I have said, are cynics in all that relates to national loyalty; so we need not stop to comment upon the pathos underlying this declamation.

The people who were not noisy "patriots," but just respectable Cubans, had the ability to plan a constitution which would have been adapted to the particular needs of the island. In spite of official discouragement, they did actually publish a document which approximated to the American Constitution in its spirit much more nearly than does the work of the Cuban Constitutional Assembly. For example, it conceded to provinces and municipalities home-rule in all concerning local affairs; whereas under the centralizing constitution actually adopted, the President is authorized to meddle in purely local matters to such an extent that it is rather hard to see what can prevent an ambitious man in that office from making himself an absolute ruler. Before long we may be saying that this constitution creates a despotism disguised as a republic.

The Conservative element, then, was not utilized in the American plans because, having been attached to Spain, it could with a show of reason be denounced as hostile to the Americans. The task of building up was confided to Republicans and Nationalists—to the war-party which had shown a talent for nothing but tearing down. Blundering, this, but most profitable blundering. An assembly was secured that had not the talent to devise a fundamental law in conformity with which the Cuban people could work out their own salvation; or, to recur to the figure already employed, the novice in swimming was thus practically compelled to continue clinging to the instructor.

I may pass lightly over the story of our broken promises, because some of its main points were contained in an article on "The Work of the Cuban Convention" which was contributed to this periodical last June. It will be recalled that the McKinley Administration secured the assistance of the fighting Cubans by giving them the assurance contained in the Joint Resolution; that the delegates to the Constitutional Convention began their labors, such as they were, relying upon assurances that the proper relations between Cuba and the United States would

be "formulated" in accordance with their own opinion, instead of being dictated from Washington. Add that the articles in the Appendix to the Constitution which debar Cuba from making treaties, contracting debts, etc., were forced upon delegates who did not truly or adequately represent the people, and whose election had been secured by gross frauds. Nevertheless, the entire population of the island is bound by the action of those thirty-one delegates — incompetent persons, irresponsible adventurers, with but three or four taxpayers in the entire assembly. All Cuba is bound to the United States by the Platt Amendment, in a relation of dependence which liberal tariff concessions will make a permanent condition. Give, that one of the most valuable islands in the world may be given unto you.

The only danger is that President Roosevelt may spoil this fine little game in Cuba. If he gets at the very truth of these doings, he will insist upon righting whatever he finds to be wrong. Some one may secure his attention by saying: The more intelligent Cubans believe that our course in Cuba has been thus and so, and that this course is characteristic of our nation. By their manner, even, they show that their minds are filled with insulting misinterpretations of our motives — the motives of individual Americans and of the people as a whole. They believe that we have been guilty of a breach of good faith in our dealings with the Cubans. It remains for us to reject all the supposed benefits of any policy which is not raised high above the reach of unworthy suspicions; to reassert the intention of a truth-speaking and faith-keeping people to let the Cubans decide for themselves whether they will be free and independent or will prefer without constraint to enter into relations with us which confer upon the United States the privileges and obligations of a guardian, trustee, or protector.

The present phase of the Cuban problem has been admirably stated in that part of the President's message which invites the attention of Congress "to the wisdom, indeed the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States." Next in order may come the question, What shall be done about a constitution so strangely made by delegates who were not representative, not very intelligent, and not quite free? But underlying these, and more important than either of these, is the question, When shall the elements of real strength in the Cuban population be called into the public service?

MARRION WILCOX.

MR. HOWELLS AS A CRITIC.

"In these latter days there is no artist who is not also a critic," so Turgenev once wrote to Flaubert; "in you the artist is very great, and you know how much I admire him, and love him; but I have also a high idea of the critic, and I am very happy to have his approval." It was in a private letter that the French novelist thus expressed his favorable opinion of the Russian, for neither of them was ever an open practitioner of the art of criticism. That they both kept for their friends their final convictions as to the true aim of the modern novel and as to the degree of success with which this ideal had been attained by one or another of their contemporaries and predecessors, and that they both refused resolutely to discuss in public the principles which underlie the fascinating craft of the story-teller — this reserve was very likely advantageous to the reception of their own works, since each of these was taken for what it was, and it was not required to be an exemplification of any theory which its author might have set forth in analyzing the narratives of some other novelist. This reticence from criticism had the further advantage for Flaubert and for Turgenev that they avoided arousing against their own books the noisy animosity of the ardent admirers of every dead and gone novelist, whose fading pages they might, perhaps, have failed to laud as loudly as ignorant partisanship would demand.

This voluntary self-exclusion from the arena of literary debate may have been for the immediate advantage of the two novelists themselves; but it was indisputably to the disadvantage of the rest of us, who wanted to be as fully enlightened as to Turgenev's theory of fiction, as we had been, or were to be, informed about M. Zola's and Mr. Henry James's and Robert Louis Stevenson's. We should have been glad to know Flaubert's opinion about the art which he found so despairingly difficult and to which he devoted himself with so Benedictine a determination. To those of us who are keenly interested in any art, there is never any criticism so suggestive and so interpretative as that of the artist himself. Where is there any inquiry into the principles of painting so penetrative and so subtle as Fromentin's — unless perhaps it is Mr. John La Farge's?

Where is there any discussion of the elusive art of acting so acute and so stimulating as Cibber's — unless it is Mr. Joseph Jefferson's? Of a truth the critics are not "those who have failed in literature and art"; rather are they those who have succeeded; and when accomplished craftsmen are willing to talk freely about their calling, the rest of us had best keep silent and profit by what we can pick up.

It is well that we should be reminded now and again why it is that the artist always has precedence over the critic. Indeed, the artist must come first, or else the critic would have no subject-matter. All that the critic can be expected to do is to study the masterpieces in a vain search for the secret of their lasting beauty. And for this task, so difficult and so delicate, none are so fit as those fellow-craftsmen who happen also to have the faculty of articulate expression. Not every artist's opinion is worth having; for he may lack philosophy to understand not only his own processes, but even his own aims. It is not easy even for the intelligent artist — and how few artists, pictorial or literary, are really intelligent! — to disentangle the principles which, when he is at work, he is forever applying consciously or unconsciously or subconsciously. But even from those who have only a limited insight into their own methods and who have no firm grasp of the vital principles of their art, there is sometimes something to be gleaned by which the cautious enquirer can benefit. The contribution of any single artist may be narrow; and more often than not his theory will be found to be only an attempt to expound his own practice: it will discover itself only as the result of his own way of doing things, and not as the cause. The criticism of a fellow-craftsman is rarely without the color of a fellow-feeling; and we cannot fairly expect it to be achromatic. But none the less ought we to be able to profit by it.

Of all the American authors at the opening of the new century, Mr. Howells is easily the most multifarious. It is as a novelist that he has presented himself most frequently; but he has also attempted the stage, although no one of his original dramas has had the good fortune to establish itself in the theatre. He has revealed himself as a poet of sombre imaginations, not made visible elsewhere in his works. He has given us a series of charming books of travel. He is one of the most delightful of our essayists, with an exquisite felicity of phrase, akin to Heine's. He is one of the most delicate of our humorists, with a reserve that recalls Hawthorne's. And he is a constant critic of contemporary literature, gracious of manner and courteous of phrase, except when expressing his scorn of what seems to him unworthy, mean, and base.

Such of his critical writing as he has selected for the brief immortality of a book is contained in half a dozen volumes. The first of these, published in 1887, was given up to sympathetic appreciations of the "Modern Italian Poets"; and it is perhaps the closest approach he has ever made to criticism of the more formal and academic type. Acceptable as the volume was to readers of cosmopolitan culture, it was necessarily without the personal note which has made his later opinions more interesting to the average American, who has only a languid liking for the literature of other languages. This personal note was struck firmly in the tiny tome called "Criticism and Fiction," which was published in 1891. In this little book, made up out of earlier articles then first set in order, Mr. Howells said boldly what he thought about certain idols of the market-place; and probably no one was more surprised than he at the turmoil he created. To many placid creatures of habit, the publication of this little book was very like the explosion of a bomb in a reading-room; and the reverberation has not yet died out.

Most of us like to move through life along the line of least resistance; and we are inclined to resent any sudden call to think out the reasons for our opinions. Mr. Howells's declaration of the faith that was in him could not fail to shock many a prevalent prejudice; and at times his manner was not so persuasive as it might be — if, indeed, it was not fairly to be described as frankly aggressive. Himself free from the vulgar superstition of admiration for things once admired but no longer admirable, Mr. Howells wasted no perfunctory praise on what he had described as "those classics common to all languages — dead corpses which retain their forms perfectly in the coffin, but crumble to dust as soon as exposed to the air." He did not foresee that his plain speech about these unwholesome inheritances from our fathers would savor of impiety; that it would seem to some almost like a violation of the sanctity of the tomb.

As so often happens in cases of like character, when we go back to see what it was that caused all this commotion half a score of years ago, we have some difficulty in discovering just where the dynamite was concealed. We see that the little book is plainly too insistent in its tone, too intolerant of the dullards, too impatient with those who persist in liking the things they ought not to like and in disliking the things they ought not to dislike, and who have no health in them. But it is not so very iconoclastic after all, even if we do detect a desire to "speak disrespectfully of the equator." At bottom all that Mr. Howells had done was to voice once again the demand that art, and more especially the

art of fiction, should deal with life simply, naturally, and honestly. This has ever been the watch-cry of the younger generation in every century. It is what the more open-minded of mankind have been striving for ever since the earliest of critics was able to compare the second artist with the first to the disadvantage of the second. A protest against sham and shoddy, a plea for sincerity, it could not help being very like the hundreds of other pleas and protests, apologies and prefaces, with which the histories of literature are filled.

Mr. Howells's plea and protest was straightforward and plain spoken. The novelist should deal truthfully with his material, which is human life in all its breadth and in all its depth. He should not sophisticate it, nor should he in any wise attempt to idealize it. He is to be a witness sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. "The object of a novel should be to charm through a faithful representation of human actions and human passions, and to create by this fidelity to nature a beautiful work" — according to the pertinent dictum which Mr. Howells translated from Señor Valera. The novelist should deal with the mean of human life, and not with the exceptional, the abnormal, the monstrous, or else he will surely violate just proportion and present but a distorted vision of the world as it really is.

Above all, he will set up no false ideals of self-sacrifice, of heroism, of strength, of passion; for who is the novelist that he shall presume to improve upon human nature as it is? It was Emerson who said with his pithy shrewdness that "the foolish man wonders at the unusual, but the wise man at the usual"; and Carlyle it was who declared that for grown persons reality was the only genuine romance. The novelist must beware of begetting high-strung and supersensitive ideals of life which falsify the simpler and saner ideals. He must refrain from the wild, the visionary, the exaggerated, the freakish. He must deal with man as he sees him and with woman as he sees her; observing carefully, with whatever insight and imagination he may have, and then recording faithfully the things of good report and the things of evil report. He must keep his pages free from the hectic flush, which follows when passion is exalted above principle. Though he must needs show sin and sorrow and suffering, he can never palter with the everlasting standards of right and wrong.

Before any work of the imagination there is one imperative question: "Is it true — true to the motives, the impulses, the principles that shape the life of actual men and women?" And "this truth," Mr. Howells declares, "which necessarily includes the highest morality and the high-

est artistry — this truth given, the book cannot be wicked and cannot be weak; and without it all graces of style and feats of invention and cunning of construction are so many superfluities of naughtiness." Although this is more pungently put, there is nothing so new in this, nothing that many earlier writers had not striven to say as best they could; and, had Mr. Howells confined himself to preaching again the eternal verities, it may be that this sermon of his would have aroused as few of his auditors from their slumbers as other sermons are wont to do.

But Mr. Howells waked up the congregation by making a direct personal application of his principles — by naming names, by pointing out how Scott and Dickens and Thackeray had strayed from the path of truth. Then the British journalists, always supersensitive to American criticism, rose in their rage and emptied the vials of their wrath on the head of the American novelist, as they had years before cried out shrilly at a chance remark of an American romancer. Mr. Howells had instant proof of the pertinence of his own remark that "whatever is established is sacred for those who do not think." Not only did the rash American writer bring out the defects of the sacredly established Scott and Dickens and Thackeray, but he dared to express his own preference for Jane Austen and for Anthony Trollope. He even went farther, and said boldly that certain Russians and Spaniards and Italians set a better example than any then to be had in the English language.

The same beliefs inspired the next volume of criticism, a book far less polemic in tone, or at least less militant, but quite as individual and as sturdy. "My Literary Passions," published in 1895, was pleasantly novel in form; it was a discursive record of the fleeting impressions made on Mr. Howells as he had discovered for himself one after another of the authors the world has agreed to accept as great. It was frankly an attempt to set down the personal equation. All criticism must be more or less autobiographic, even when the writer is most confident that he has succeeded in stepping off his own shadow. Nowadays it savors of conceit for any critic to maintain that he has been able to take himself out of the way, and that he is merely the medium through which the final judgment of mankind is expressing itself. "The adventures of one's soul in contact with masterpieces" — this is one of M. Anatole France's definitions of criticism; and it is good that a critic should have a soul, and better that he should keep it in contact with masterpieces as constantly as may be. In "My Literary Passions" Mr. Howells was as little academic as M. France himself; and he was also as sympathetic and as honest. He was aiming not so much to warn us against what he

held to be noxious as to help us to enjoy what he found most refreshing and most nourishing.

Autobiographic also was the volume called "Literary Friends and Acquaintance," which was issued in 1900. In this personal retrospect Mr. Howells began by chronicling his first visit to New England and his earlier impressions of New York and Boston. Then he set down his reminiscences of Holmes and Longfellow and Lowell, a record of their conversation, and a summary of their characteristics likely still further to increase the affection in which they are held. No other appreciations of these significant figures have been more intimate or more cordial; none have been lightened by a more graceful vivacity. To the young man from the West these were the giants of the East, to be approached as Heine approached Goethe. That they were his countrymen made them only the more worthy of devotion, for the years of residence abroad had not denaturalized Mr. Howells. Even now he is not cosmopolitan, except in his artistic equipment, in his æsthetic inspiration; he is intensely American, irresistibly American; and he is never conceivably anything else.

"Heroines of Fiction" is the title of Mr. Howells's latest series of essays in criticism, and there is ingenious novelty in its scheme. It is an attempt to sketch the development of the fiction of our language in the nineteenth century by centring the attention of the reader upon the heroines, upon the fair creatures whom the heroes love and who by them are beloved again. It is a study of the evolution of the modern novel in which the stages of advance are marked by the increase in the insight, the sympathy, and the skill with which the successive masters have been able to body forth the ever-womanly. Mr. Howells holds that "a novel is great or not, as its women are important or unimportant." He holds also that truth is the one thing needful, and he is therefore not surprised to discover in his wanderings down the history of fiction that "apparently the ever-womanly refuses herself to the novelist who proposes anything but truth to nature; apparently she cannot trust him. She may not always be so very sincere herself, but she requires sincerity in the artist who would take her likeness, and it is only in the fiction of one who faithfully reports his knowledge of things seen that she will deign to show her face, to let her divine presence be felt. That is the highest and best fiction, and her presence is the supreme evidence of its truth to the whole of life."

"Heroines of Fiction" is as candid and as uncompromising as "Criticism and Fiction;" but it is far mellower in tone and its touch is almost

caressing, as is becoming in a book pervaded by the presence of the ever-womanly. It is insinuating often, and it is rarely so rasping as was the earlier declaration of the same doctrine. It is more likely to win readers to think for themselves — and perhaps even to think scorn of themselves for their former relish for the quasi-romantic and the pseudo-heroic. Of course, it would be easy enough to detach judgments certain to evoke shrill protests from amiable readers too indolent to do their own thinking. It will be a shock to some to see George Eliot and Anthony Trollope set up as more representative British novelists than Dickens and Thackeray, as it will surprise others to note that Fielding portrays characters of a certain kind with "blackguardly sympathy." It must be confessed that this last phrase is doubtfully felicitous; and, even when we understand why it was uttered, we may still wonder whether it was not too one-sided, not to call it unfair. Apparently what Mr. Howells resents is the hearty animality of "Tom Jones," the rank coarseness of its masculinity.

On the other hand, Mr. Howells is tolerant toward Richardson, who seems on the whole sickly, whereas Fielding was on the whole healthy, as the barnyard is after all more wholesome than the hot-house. Fielding drew men as he saw them, clearly and honestly, while Richardson was above all a master of feminine psychology. Perhaps this accounts for the odd preference of Mr. Howells, who, although he has drawn men of a convincing veracity like Silas Lapham and Bartley Hubbard, has delighted especially in an analysis and a synthesis of woman. So also we may deem him unduly harsh in his condemnation of Thackeray for the confidential attitude which was perfectly natural to the author of "Vanity Fair," while he shows himself strangely tolerant toward Trollope, in whose works this confidential attitude is a borrowed artifice which some readers find perpetually exasperating. Trollope, again, whatever his merits, which were many and various, had one irredeemable vice — he was forever confessing carelessly that it was only a fiction he was telling. For a novelist this is the unpardonable sin.

Mr. Howells stands on less debatable ground when he is exposing the slovenliness of Scott's style and structure, and when he is calling attention to the thin theatricalism of Dickens in those scenes of empty effectiveness in which the author of the "Tale of Two Cities" revelled with an enjoyment that seemed almost sensuous. Mr. Howells has the firm earth beneath his feet, he is standing on the everlasting rock, when he protests against the "idiotic and detestable self-sacrifice" which "is preached in fiction," and when he points out that Lady Castlewood,

already conscious that she does not love Esmond any longer as a son, is falsely made to promote his passion for her daughter. "This is a little too repulsive for belief"; just as in Dickens's tale we now reject what we once accepted, "the atrocious and abominable notion of Sidney Carton seeking to be guillotined in place of the husband of the woman he loves." And, as Mr. Howells says in another part of the book, it is well for the author to force his readers to think, which they do unwillingly, but which is often the best thing they can do; "to feel is comparatively cheap and easy."

The limitations of Mr. Howells's criticism are not merely the limits of his likings. He is no drifting impressionist with never an anchor to windward. He has a solid body of doctrine; he has a creed of his own to serve as a test. But his criticism, like that of most other critics, is at its best when it is affirmative rather than negative. It is most useful and significant when it is constructive, and its utility is least when it is most destructive; and here again it is like that of most other critics. It is profitable for us to be reminded that it was Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen, estimable maids with a delicious sense of humor, transcending the ordinary portion of woman, that first "imagined the heroine who was above all a Nice Girl" — the Nice Girl "who still remains the ideal of our fiction" and "to whom it returns, with a final constancy, after whatever aberration." It is advantageous to have it clearly stated that "in fiction women exist in the past, present, or future tense, the infinitive, indicative, potential, or imperative mood of love-making"; or "otherwise they do not exist at all, and no phantom of delight, masquerading in their clothes, suffices."

It is valuable to have our attention called to the fact that it was Charles Reade who first "perceived that there is something feline in every woman," and that "he also divined that in many and perhaps in most cases she wishes to use the arts of the cat for no worse purpose than getting a soft place in a man's soul and sweetly purring there." It is instructive to be told that "novelists ought not to have their favorites among their creations, as parents ought not to have their favorites among their children"; and there is no denying that "George Eliot has her preferences most distinctly" and that "she pursues some of her women with a rancor as perceptible as her fondness for others." And it is very suggestive to have it made plain that Trollope "has not shown the subtlest sense of womanhood; his portraits do not impart the last, the most exquisite joy; it is not the very soul of the sex that shows itself in them; but it is the mind, the heart, the conscience, the manner; and

this is for one painter enough. Let Jane Austen catch their ultimate charm, and George Eliot their ultimate truth, and Hawthorne their farthest meanings and intimations; Trollope has shown them as we mostly see them when we meet them in society and as we know them at home."

These quotations serve to show that Mr. Howells's criticism is often technical, not of structure only — although his technical criticism of form is abundant and acute — but more often of the handling of character; and after all it is by the handling of character that a novelist stands or falls. His form may be faulty and his manner may be careless — and here are two of the defects of the earliest very great novel, "Don Quixote." But if he can handle character so as to give the reader the full impression of life, then has he a chance of immortality. Other things he needs also, but this one is essential. It is because Cervantes could handle character with a large certainty and with searching imagination that "Don Quixote" survives, and even the slovenly conduct of the story cannot prevent. Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray could also handle character, each in his several way; and this is why they have been enrolled among the masters of fiction, even though no one of them had said the final word of his art, any more than Cervantes had said it.

However great Scott was, and Dickens, and Thackeray, they were none of them perfect artists; they were great in spite of gross derelictions from the highest standard. This is what Mr. Howells has tried to make plain even to careless readers; and it is for making this plain that careless readers are not willing to forgive him. Nothing is more certain to arrest progress than a smug satisfaction with the past — unless it is a slavish copying of the inferior models bequeathed to us by our more primitive predecessors. Nothing is more helpful than a clear understanding of the merits and of the demerits of the early masters. The merits are obvious enough, but the demerits need to be discovered and declared before they can serve as warnings. It is not a paradox but a truism that the art of fiction is a finer art to-day than it was when Thackeray was writing — just as it was a finer art in Thackeray's time than it was when Cervantes was writing. As Mr. Howells puts it pithily, it was the misfortune of Balzac that he "lived too soon to profit by Balzac"; and so Cervantes had lived too soon to profit by Cervantes. Those who refuse blindly to see any blemishes in the art of Balzac or of Cervantes, those who persist in upholding Scott and Dickens and Thackeray as impeccable artists, need to be reminded that ancestor-worship is no longer esteemed the highest form of religion.

It may be said that Mr. Howells has sometimes seemed somewhat over-strenuous in dwelling upon the errors and the mistakes of the earlier masters; and this charge may be admitted without hesitation. He has had to combat accepted opinions, and the combative mood tempts us to an over-statement of our own case and an under-statement of that of our opponents; and quite possibly Mr. Howells has yielded to this temptation oftener than needful. It has been urged also that Mr. Howells has shown himself careless of proportion, in that he has over-praised certain of his contemporaries while over-dispraising certain of his predecessors; and it may be admitted that this charge has now and then some slight evidence in its favor. Just as he drew attention to the defects of certain novelists of the past, so also he drew attention to the beauty and the truth which he saw in the work of certain writers of the present, and which the duller senses of the public had not recognized adequately. But they are very careless readers indeed who have asserted that Mr. Howells really sets up Mr. J. W. De Forest as the rival of Thackeray and that he holds Mr. H. B. Fuller as an equal of Balzac. They are not only careless, but perhaps a little stupid also, and even a trifle malevolent.

Yet, as the majority of readers, even of criticism, are always more or less careless, it may be that Mr. Howells himself has not been careful enough in the use of his scale. If by his inadvertence he has aroused animosity, where by a greater caution he might have won adherence, it is greatly to be regretted, not so much for his sake as for the sake of the readers themselves, who may allow prejudice to prevent their acceptance of the doctrines which Mr. Howells is setting forth. These doctrines may seem new in some of their applications, but they are old and eternal; they are rooted in the truth, and the truth will surely prevail.

Mr. Howells does not declare his theories merely to celebrate himself, as M. Zola has been accused of doing. He declares them rather because his character is forever forcing him to bear witness to the truth as he sees it. In criticism as in fiction character counts for as much as talent — in fact, character is an element of talent. It matters little whether Mr. Howells is dealing with the art and mystery of novel-writing or whether he is himself applying the secrets of the craft; we get the same impression of the man — a man of a large nature and of a transparent sincerity, liberal in his appreciations, loyal to his convictions, and little hampered by mere academic restrictions.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

WRITERS IN THE JANUARY FORUM.

HON. JOHN CHARLTON, M.P., was born near Caledonia, N. Y., in 1829, of English and Scotch parentage. Was educated in New York, and moved with his father to Canada in 1849. Went into the mercantile and lumbering business in 1853, and is still actively engaged in it. Was elected a member of the Canadian House of Commons in 1872, and has since been continuously a member of that body. Is an advanced Liberal, and has always advocated closer relations with the United States. Is a high financial authority in Canada, and a publicist of repute. Is the leader in the Canadian parliament in moral legislative movements, and is a member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission.

HON. WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS was born at North Killingly, Conn., in 1835, was educated at sundry academies, and for two years and a half was a member of Yale College in the class of 1858. In 1869 the College bestowed upon him the degree of A.M., and, in 1895, the degree of LL.D. Established in 1867 the "Journal of Speculative Philosophy." Dr. Harris was superintendent of public schools in St. Louis from 1867 to 1880, and since 1889 has been United States Commissioner of Education.

REV. WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE was born at Winchendon, Mass., in 1858. Was educated in public schools and Phillips Exeter Academy. Graduated from Harvard in 1879. Is D.D. and LL.D. of Syracuse University. Has been President of Bowdoin College since 1885. Is the author of "Practical Ethics," "Social Theology," "Practical Idealism," and other works.

PROF. BRANDER MATTHEWS, born at New Orleans, La., in 1852, was graduated from Columbia College in 1871, and in 1892 was appointed to the chair of Literature in that college. Prof. Matthews is the author of numerous works of criticism and fiction and of several dramatic compositions.

MR. EARL MAYO was born at Springville, N. Y., in 1873. Graduated from Cornell University in 1894. For the year following was an instructor in the Department of English at Cornell, at the same time pursuing his post-graduate studies in social and political science. Removed to New York, where he joined the staff of the "New York Sun," and later occupied an editorial position with the S. S. McClure Company.

MR. ELWOOD MEAD is a native of Indiana. Graduated from Purdue University in 1882, and pursued post-graduate studies in civil engineering at the Iowa State College. Is a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers and a consulting engineer in irrigation and water-supply engineering in the Rocky Mountain States. Has been successively United States Assistant Engineer in river and harbor improvements, Professor of Irrigation Engineering in the Colorado Agricultural College, Assistant State Engineer of Colorado, and Territorial and State Engineer of Wyoming. Is now Expert in Charge of Irrigation Investigations in the office of Experiment Stations, of the United States Department of Agriculture, and holds a Professorship

in the University of California. Is the author of the Wyoming Irrigation law, and of the water-right provisions of the State constitution. Has written a number of reports for the State and for the national Government on the land and water problems of the arid region.

REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE WALLACE MELVILLE was born at New York in 1841. Was educated at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Entered the United States Navy as assistant engineer in 1861, and served through the Civil War. Headed the expeditions which recovered the records of the Jeannette expedition. In 1890 was gold medallist and advanced fifteen numbers by special act of Congress for bravery in Arctic. Was appointed Engineer-in-chief in 1887, and reappointed in 1892 and 1896. In 1899 was appointed Rear-admiral. Has invented many mechanical appliances. Is President of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

MR. SUNTOWE PANG was born in the Canton district of China about thirty-five years ago. Has been a resident of the United States for the last eighteen years, and has married an American. Was at first a resident of San Francisco, but has been for several years in business in New York. Has followed with the closest interest the political course of China as well as the progress of his Chinese brethren in America. Is an adherent of the liberal Chinese party, which, through its educated representatives in this country, has done much to set China herself on the road to modern progress. Mr. Pang has embraced the Christian faith.

PROF. PAUL S. REINSCH was born in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1869. Was educated at the University of Wisconsin, and studied contemporary politics in England, Germany, France, and Italy. Is Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. Has published monographs on the common law in the American colonies and on "French Experience with Representative Government in the West Indies," and a book on "World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century."

MR. JACOB SCHOENHOF was born in Germany in 1839. Came to America in 1861, was naturalized in 1866, and followed a commercial career up to 1885. His experience in trade and manufacturing soon brought him to recognize the antagonism of facts with the generally accepted economic views. As early as 1869 he published in German periodicals his views on the errors of economic theories. President Cleveland appointed him Consul to Tunstall, England, and gave him a commission to inquire into the state of technical education and the economy of production in Europe. Mr. Schoenhof is the author of "Wages and Trade" (1885); "The Economy of High Wages" (1892); "History of Money and Prices" (1896), etc.

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH was born in Fayette, Mo., in 1854. Entered the University of Michigan in 1872, and graduated in the literary department in 1875. Was admitted to the bar in 1876, and practised law until 1879 at Fayette, and afterward at Denver, Col. Was elected city attorney of Denver in 1887, and reelected in 1889. Has been in many important cases before the Supreme Court of the State of Colorado. Has been a member of Congress since 1894. His speeches upon the Philippine policy, the War in the Transvaal, and Bimetallism attracted considerable attention, and were published in whole or in part by many papers.

MR. MARRION WILCOX was born in Georgia in 1858. Was educated at Yale University, and graduated in 1878. Is an LL B. of Hamilton College, and has been admitted to the New York Bar. Has studied history abroad, and was an instructor at Yale University. Since 1893 has been writer and editor in New York city. Is the author of "A Short History of the War with Spain," and of a "History of the War in the Philippines."

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The Forum

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THE SETTLEMENT WITH CHINA.

ALL Europe sallied forth to punish China. A resounding blow was to be struck for justice and civilization. Nothing was considered beyond the strength of the allies. There was much talk of deposing the dynasty. At all events the crafty and cruel Empress Dowager was to be forever shorn of power. China was to be humbled and forced to repentance. The irresistible might of the West was to crush the guilty and awe the innocent. Speaking generally, this dramatic invasion of the East by the West has resulted in failure and ignominious retreat. Prince Tuan, General Tung-fuh-siang, and many another of the Boxer leaders still live, unwhipped of justice. China is not humbled and she is not repentant; she has merely postponed her revenge. We have made martyrs of the Boxers and rallied the nation in support of the policy of "China for the Chinese." We met barbarism with barbarism. We made the country between Tientsin and Peking a desert, and called it peace. We did not administer retributive justice; we let loose on the Chinese a composite, incoherent, and ill-disciplined army, a part of which, at least, gave itself over to unchecked vengeance and barbarous spoliation. The foreign army marched to Peking gloriously enough, and then ingloriously indulged in raids, euphemistically called punitive expeditions.

The West has been given pause. The ease of Japan's victory led to the false assumption that the Chinese were a dying nation; that they were utterly devoid of national feeling; that they could be despoiled with impunity; that they were meekly submissive and could easily be ruled by a foreign power; that they were waiting for the war-lord to stalk

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about among them in military boots; and that all that was necessary in order to govern them successfully was iron firmness and an occasional exhibition of ruthless force. It all seemed delightfully simple. The partition of the empire was flippantly discussed over the tea-tables of the West. The Chinese people themselves were regarded as a negligible quantity. The only danger lay in the possibility of the thieves falling out over the division of the spoils. Russia saw visions of an imperial Asiatic empire. France saw an opportunity for glory. The German Emperor felt a divine call to exhibit the mailed fist and to plant a great colony. English and Americans were planning the exploitation of China without regard for the wishes of her Government or people. It does not seem so simple now. The partition of the empire has been indefinitely postponed. The fighting about Tientsin was a revelation, and an ominous prophecy of the future. Only the firmness of the great southern viceroys prevented a general rising that would have been irresistible.

Another result of recent experiences in China will be an increased tendency in the West to consider the Chinese side of the question; and the more carefully and impartially the history of European intercourse with that country is studied, the more clearly it will be seen that the Chinese are more sinned against than sinning. For a time, at least, we shall treat China with greater patience and consideration. We now know that the Boxer rising was not a wholly meaningless ebullition of barbarous fanaticism, but at bottom a genuinely patriotic movement, the natural and proximate consequence of foreign aggression. It was what Carlyle has called a truth clothed in hell-fire. No doubt the attack on the legations was a great crime; but it would be a nice exercise in casuistry to point out wherein it was more criminal than the stealing of a Chinese province. No doubt the Chinese Government ought to protect the lives of foreigners; but it is well to remember that more Chinese have been killed by mobs in this country than Americans in China. And it is also well to remember that the men composing the American mobs have never been punished.

A review of the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the present settlement is a lesson in patriotism for the American citizen. In its handling of the Chinese difficulty President McKinley's Administration was splendidly loyal to the best traditions of American diplomacy. By virtue of its moderation, its moral impulse and direction, its fulness of knowledge, its straightforward and open methods, its boldness and self-sufficiency, American diplomacy, in the hands of President McKinley

and Secretary Hay, proved itself a mighty instrument of civilization. Our naval victories at Manila and Santiago have been ridiculously over-rated as means of advancing our position among the nations. If that position has recently become somewhat more important, it is chiefly due to the capturing of foreign markets by our merchants and manufacturers and to the leading part we played in the Chinese drama. To the public men of Europe, especially the diplomats, our bold, firm, and independent position, taken at the very outset of the Chinese crisis and before Europe had spoken, came as a veritable shock. They had been comparatively indifferent to our easy victories over a dying nation, but they were quick to perceive the portentous significance of our bold entrance into the field of international politics. Here, indeed, was a new force to be reckoned with, and they knew instinctively that it would work counter to their secretly cherished purposes. Our action has notably strengthened the dislike and apprehension with which we are regarded in the chancelleries of Continental Europe.

The Boxer rising came with bewildering unexpectedness. Public opinion in the countries directly and materially interested was unsettled. The European powers were without any definite policy as to the immediate steps to be pursued, and some of them were secretly rejoicing in the apparent opportunity for the partition of the Chinese Empire. In these circumstances of uncertainty and danger to the territorial integrity of China, Secretary Hay sent to the powers his memorable circular note of July 3, 1900, in which he stated that our Government regarded the situation in China as one of anarchy rather than war to be met by a declaration of war on our part; that we should treat the friendly viceroys as the representatives of the Chinese people, with whom we desired to remain at peace; that we should act concurrently with the other powers in rescuing the legations, in protecting foreign life and property, and in preventing a spread of the disorders; that our general policy was to seek a solution which might "bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." This unequivocal announcement of wise, humane, and unselfish policy cleared the atmosphere wonderfully. It quickened the international conscience, and made the opposite policy of revenge and partition seem mean and unworthy. It crystallized public opinion, and did more than anything else to prevent a disastrous declaration of war against China and to bring the powers to quick agreement

as to the immediate steps to be taken. It gave us in the Concert a position of moral ascendancy which we maintained to the very end.

The diplomatic negotiations leading up to the present settlement have fully disclosed the distrust, jealousy, and cross-purposes of the powers respecting China and the ineptitude of the Concert of Europe as a tribunal for the final determination of the Chinese question. On August 19, 1900, five days after the rescue of the legations, Li Hung Chang proposed to the powers the cessation of hostilities and the immediate commencement of peace negotiations. Russia promptly acquiesced, but all the other powers rejected the proposal as premature. The next important move was the most remarkable and the least understood in the whole course of the negotiations. On August 28 the Russian chargé d'affaires at Washington made an oral statement to Mr. Adey, Acting Secretary of State — Mr. Hay being ill at the time — as to the general policy of his Government toward China, and in particular as to the peace negotiations. After stating that Russia was in favor of maintaining the integrity of China and that the occupation of Newchwang by Russian troops was intended to be merely temporary, he said:

. . . Taking the position that, as the Chinese Government has left Peking, there is no need for the Russian representative to remain, Russia has directed her minister to retire with his official personnel from China [later found to mean from Peking to Tientsin]; that the Russian troops will likewise be withdrawn; and that when the Government of China shall regain the reins of government and afford an authority with which the other powers can deal, and will express a desire to enter into negotiations, the Russian Government will also name its representative.

Our Government was urged to adopt this extraordinary policy. It has always been supposed peculiarly advantageous to the victor to dictate terms of peace while in the occupation of the capital of the vanquished. Obviously the return of the Court to Peking was not an essential condition of peace negotiations, for its agents could bind it wherever it might be. The objections to a retreat from Peking were that the Chinese would construe it as a sign of weakness and defeat, and would probably renew aggressive hostilities; that there was no assurance that the Court would return to Peking if that city were vacated; that it would leave the city in a state of anarchy; that it would be a dishonorable abandonment of native converts; and, finally, that it would be a needless surrender of the best means of forcing the Chinese to a satisfactory settlement.

The motives of Russia in making this proposal are well understood. Russia and China have a common boundary for 4,000 miles, and it is

obviously desirable that they should remain on good terms. It is the ambition of Russia to play the rôle of China's next friend and protector as against the aggressions of the other powers. As she designs ultimately to absorb Mongolia and Manchuria, it is her settled policy to keep China weak, but nevertheless free from control by the other powers. She is particularly anxious that no other power shall secure a foothold in North China, thereby endangering her present position and rendering more difficult the realization of her ambition in Mongolia and Manchuria. German designs in North China are particularly obnoxious to Russia. If the proposal had been accepted, Russia would have been able to pose as the savior of China, while at the same time furthering her own designs. And Russia certainly had good grounds for hoping that the policy of withdrawal would be adopted. We were at the time badly involved in the Philippines, and a presidential campaign was approaching, in which imperialism was to be one of the main issues. Furthermore, we were anxious that diplomatic negotiations should be well under way before the arrival of Count von Waldersee. We were at one with Russia in seeking to prevent the realization of Germany's aggressive designs. France, of course, could be depended upon to follow Russia, if, indeed, she had not already pledged her support. England was absorbed in South Africa, and was exceedingly anxious to get out of China.

In reply to the Russian proposal our Government expressed itself in favor of "a joint occupation of Peking under a definite understanding between the powers until the Chinese Government shall have been reestablished and shall be in a position to enter into new treaties with adequate provisions for reparation and guarantees of future protection." But the Government believed that a general withdrawal was expedient unless all the powers could agree harmoniously to a joint occupation. It therefore notified Russia and the other powers "that unless there is such a general expression by the powers in favor of continued occupation as to modify the views expressed by the Government of Russia and lead to a general agreement for continued occupation, we shall give instructions to the commander of the American forces in China to withdraw our troops from Peking after due conference with the other commanders as to the time and manner of withdrawal." This reluctant and conditional acquiescence in the Russian programme was virtually an expression of hope that it would not be accepted by the other powers. France signified her approval so quickly as to give the impression of a prior understanding; but Lord Salisbury could not afford to affront the German

Emperor and so withheld his support. Russia did not carry out her plan of withdrawal, and our Government willingly abandoned the idea.

The next move was made by Germany. On September 18 the German Government proposed to the powers that they should consider "as a preliminary condition for entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese Government, a surrender of such persons as might be determined upon by their representatives at Peking as being the first and real perpetrators of the crimes committed in Peking against international law." On September 21 our Government peremptorily rejected this proposal. The reply re-affirmed the intention of our Government to hold to the uttermost accountability the responsible authors of any wrongs done in China to citizens of the United States and their interests, and then proceeded as follows:

It is thought, however, that no punitive measures can be so effective by way of reparation for wrongs suffered and as deterrent examples for the future as the degradation and punishment of the responsible authors by the supreme imperial authority itself, and it seems only just to China that she should be afforded, in the first instance, an opportunity to do this and thus rehabilitate herself before the world. . . . This Government is disposed to hold that the punishment of the high responsible authors of these wrongs, not only in Peking, but throughout China, is essentially a condition to be embraced and provided for in the negotiations for a final settlement. It is the purpose of this Government, at the earliest practicable moment, to name its plenipotentiaries for negotiating a settlement with China, and in the meantime to authorize its minister in Peking to enter forthwith into conference with the duly authorized representatives of the Chinese Government, with a view of bringing about a preliminary agreement whereby the full exercise of the imperial power for the preservation of order and the protection of foreign life and property throughout China, pending final negotiations with the powers, shall be assured.

This was a bold stroke. It was not merely a blunt rejection of the German proposal; it was also a notice to Europe that we should withdraw from the Concert unless a basis of negotiation more in harmony with our general policy should be quickly agreed upon. It was received with jeers and flaunts by the diplomats and journalists of Europe. The "amateurish diplomacy" of America was ridiculed, and our threat to withdraw from the Concert was characterized as presumptuous and dishonorable. All the leading English papers strongly endorsed the German plan. The London "Times" said editorially that the country "would be both astonished and shocked if our [British] Government did not warmly support the German proposal." France, Austria, Italy, and Japan were all prepared to follow the German programme; but Lord Salisbury, following the lead of the United States, condemned it by withholding any formal reply and by seeking a compromise. The German proposal was virtually an invitation to all the powers to join

Germany in declaring war upon China, for the latter country would inevitably have refused to comply with the demand; and a war on China, under the circumstances, meant a partition of the empire, and the probability of a European conflict. It was also highly objectionable and unwise because it involved the danger of protracted disagreement among the powers as to the persons who should be brought to trial, as to the organization of the court, and as to the nature of the evidence to be received and the punishments to be inflicted. It violated the salutary rule of international law that one nation shall not be compelled to surrender its citizens to another for punishment. Subsequent events have shown that the "amateurish diplomacy" of the United States, by killing the German proposal, saved Europe from committing an egregious blunder. By finally waiving the death penalty for Prince Tuan and the other leaders, the European powers acknowledged that the German condition was unwise and impossible of enforcement.

On September 25 the Chinese Emperor issued an edict ordering the punishment of the more prominent of the Boxer leaders. This gave Germany an opportunity to withdraw her proposal with grace. Accordingly, on October 2, she presented to the powers the following substituted proposal:

The Imperial Government, therefore, proposes that the powers come to an agreement to instruct their diplomatic representatives in China to examine and give their opinion as to the following points: (1) Whether the list contained in the edict of persons to be punished is sufficient and correct. (2) Whether the punishments proposed meet the case. (3) In what way the powers can control the carrying out of the penalties proposed.

This suggestion met with the approval of all the powers; but Russia was not content that Germany should take the lead in laying down the terms of negotiation. On October 4, France, it is believed at the suggestion of Russia, proposed to the powers for their approval the following six bases of negotiation:

- (1) The punishment of the chief culprits, who will be designated by the representatives of the powers at Peking.
- (2) The maintenance of the embargo on the importation of arms.
- (3) Equitable indemnity for the states and for private persons.
- (4) The establishment in Peking of a permanent guard for the legations.
- (5) The dismantling of the Taku forts.
- (6) The military occupation of two or three points on the Tientsin-Peking route.

On October 10 our Government accepted these bases of negotiation; making reservations, however, respecting a permanent guard for the legations, the interdiction against the importation of arms, the disman-

tling of the Taku forts, and the military occupation of the Tientsin-Peking route. At the same time it expressed its approval of the Russian suggestion "that in case of a protracted divergence of views on the subject of the indemnity the matter might be commended to the consideration of the International Court of Arbitration of The Hague." All the other powers ultimately acceded to the French programme. It was agreed that the final redaction of the terms of negotiation should be committed to the ministers at Peking, using the French bases as the foundation. This proved an exceedingly unfortunate step, as many of the ministers had passed through the siege of the legations and naturally were in no temper to approach the question in a spirit of moderation and justice.

They at once zealously devoted themselves to the pleasing task of strengthening the French bases and adding fresh demands. On November 11, after five weeks of wrangling, they submitted to their Governments, for approval, a joint note embodying the irrevocable conditions of peace negotiations. It was in line with the German policy of severity and vengeance, inasmuch as it transformed the French bases of negotiation into an ultimatum, and so precluded all diplomatic negotiation with the Chinese. The note demanded the death penalty for eleven of the Chinese leaders, including Prince Tuan and General Tung-fuhsiang. Although these terms were well known to be such as our Government had been opposing for months, Mr. Conger nevertheless signed the note. All the other powers were inclined to adopt the note as drafted by their ministers. It remained for the "amateurish diplomacy" of America once more to take the lead and save the European powers from their headlong folly. Our Government repudiated the action of Mr. Conger, and addressed a circular note to the powers insisting on a radical modification of the note or the submission of the whole question to a different tribunal; at the same time plainly intimating that we should withdraw from the Concert unless more moderate counsels should prevail. All the ministers at Peking strongly urged their Governments to resist modification, and they were vigorously supported by Germany. Japan, Russia, and France sided with the United States, after some hesitation. England, Germany, Austria, and Italy held out for the death penalty. This was the crux of the negotiations. A break-up of the Concert was imminent. Finally, the more moderate counsels prevailed, and on December 4 the joint note was modified, on motion of the American minister, by substituting for "death penalty" the phrase "severest punishment."

No doubt Prince Tuan and the others designated by the ministers richly deserved the death penalty; but under the circumstances it would have been sheer fatuity to make their death a condition precedent of peace. At the very time that the note was being drafted by the ministers, Tuan and Tung-fuh-siang were dominating the court. The Chinese Government could not have sacrificed them if it would, and would not if it could. To send a European army in pursuit of them was too manifestly unwise for serious consideration by responsible statesmen. Had the note not been modified, as suggested by our Government, a deadlock would have resulted, the outcome of which would necessarily have been deeply humiliating to the powers; for the Chinese Government was, beyond a certain point, master of the situation. The practical impossibility of pursuing the Court to Si-ngan-fu and indefinitely beyond put an iron limitation on the demands of the powers. The practical question was not what officials ought to be punished, but what officials the Chinese Government would sacrifice rather than risk the indefinite occupation of Peking by the foreign forces. We could safely press China up to a certain point, and no farther. To go beyond that point was to invite consequences even more disastrous to the allies than to China. While the waiving of the death penalty was a humiliating acknowledgment of impotence, yet it was wise and statesmanlike, for it was a clear-eyed recognition of the actualities of the situation and a deliberate choice of the lesser of two unavoidable evils.

The joint note, embodying the irrevocable conditions of peace, was finally signed, on December 22, 1900, by the eleven powers, including the United States, without reservations. But our troops, with the exception of a legation guard, had been already withdrawn from China, and it was understood that the United States retained its freedom of action in regard to any continued military operations under the final clause of the note. Quite unexpectedly the Chinese Government promptly acceded to the demands of the note. The settlement of the indemnity remained, and consumed eight months of negotiation. The protocol embodying the definitive terms of settlement was finally signed by China and the eleven powers without reservation on September 7, 1901. The protocol records the compliance of the Chinese Government with the demands of the powers embodied in the joint note, and provides for the payment of the indemnity. To show the nature of the settlement with China, the terms of the joint note and a summary of the protocol as to the indemnity are given below. After a lengthy preamble reciting the crimes of China against humanity and international law,

and directly charging the Chinese Government with complicity, the note proceeds as follows:

Inasmuch as China has recognized her responsibility, expressed regret, and evinced a desire to see an end put to the situation created by the aforesaid disturbances, the powers have determined to accede to her request upon the irrevocable conditions enumerated below, which they deem indispensable to expiate the crimes committed and to prevent their recurrence.

I.

A. The despatch to Berlin of an extraordinary mission headed by an imperial prince, in order to express the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government for the assassination of His Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, Minister of Germany. [This demand was satisfied last summer by the memorable mission of Prince Chun.]

B. The erection, on the spot of the assassination, of a commemorative monument, befitting the rank of the deceased, bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages expressing the regrets of the Emperor of China for the murder. [A memorial arch is now in course of construction.]

II.

A. The severest punishment for the persons designated in the imperial decree of September 25, 1900, and for those whom the representatives of the powers shall subsequently designate. [Prince Tuan and Duke Lan have ostensibly been exiled to Turkestan and condemned to life imprisonment, but it is well known that both are practically free men. Tung-fuh-siang has also escaped with a nominal punishment. The Chinese Government has informed the powers that Chuang, Ying-Nien, and Chao-Shu-Chiao have committed suicide in obedience to an imperial decree. Yu Hsien, Chi Hsiu, and Hsu Cheng-yu have been executed. The other leaders of the rising have either been honored by the Government or let off with a nominal punishment.]

B. The suspension for five years of all official examinations in all the cities where foreigners have been massacred or have been subjected to cruel treatment. [This indefensible demand has given a great impetus to the purchase of office and the irregular appointment of Manchu politicians.]

III.

Honorable reparation to be made by the Chinese Government to the Japanese Government for the murder of Mr. Sugiyama. [This demand has been satisfied by the mission of Na-Tung.]

IV.

An expiatory monument to be erected by the Imperial Chinese Government in every foreign or international cemetery which has been desecrated or in which the graves have been destroyed. [This is being done to the satisfaction of the powers.]

V.

The maintenance, under conditions to be determined by the powers, of the interdiction against the importation of arms as well as of materials employed exclusively for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. [By imperial edict of August 25, 1901, the importation of arms and ammunition was forbidden for two years; this term to be extended, if necessary, for subsequent successive periods of two years. This puerile demand is a measure of the statesmanship of the diplomats who drafted the note. It has simply put a premium on domestic production at the expense of the foreign manufacturer. Two thousand men are now employed at the arsenal in Han-

kow and an equal number at Shanghai in manufacturing Mauser rifles, rapid-firing field guns, and all kinds of ammunition of the highest grade.]

VI.

Equitable indemnities for the Governments, societies, companies, and individuals, as well as for Chinese who, during the late occurrences, have suffered in person or in property in consequence of their being in the service of foreigners. China to adopt financial measures acceptable to the powers for the purpose of guaranteeing the payment of said indemnities and the interest and amortization of the loans. [The protocol provides that China shall pay to the powers indemnities aggregating 450,000,000 Haikwan taels (333,900,000 dollars gold) in Government bonds bearing 4 per cent interest payable semi-annually. Principal to be paid in annual instalments beginning January 1, 1903, and closing at the end of 1940. Payment to be made to a commission of bankers at Shanghai named by the several powers. The revenues assigned as security for the bonds are: (1) The balance of the revenues of the imperial maritime customs after payment of the interest and amortization of preceding loans secured on these revenues, plus the proceeds of the raising to five per cent effective of the present tariff on maritime imports, including articles until now on the free list, but exempting foreign rice, cereals, and flour, and gold and silver bullion and coin; (2) the revenues of the native customs, administered in the open ports by the imperial maritime customs; (3) the total revenues of the salt gabelle, exclusive of the fraction previously set aside for other foreign loans. The raising of the tariff was agreed to on condition, first, that all duties levied on imports ad valorem shall be converted as far as possible and as soon as may be into specific duties; and, secondly, that the beds of the Whangpoo and Peiho—the approaches to Shanghai and Tientsin—be improved, with the financial participation of China.]

VII.

The right, for each power, to maintain a permanent guard for its legation and to put the diplomatic quarter in a defensible condition, the Chinese having no right to reside in that quarter. [The legation quarter has been defined and already put in a defensible condition. China has recognized the right of each power to maintain a permanent legation guard within this quarter.]

VIII.

The destruction of the forts which might obstruct free communication between Peking and the sea. [This has been done to the satisfaction of the powers.]

IX.

The right to the military occupation of certain points, to be determined by an understanding among the powers, in order to maintain open communication between the capital and the sea. [The points agreed upon are: Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tientsin, Chun-liang Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai-Kuan. It is understood that the United States will not participate in this occupation.]

X.

The Chinese Government to cause to be published during two years in all the subprefectures an imperial decree (a) embodying a perpetual prohibition, under penalty of death, of membership in any anti-foreign society; (b) enumerating the punishments that shall have been inflicted on the guilty, together with the suspension of all official examinations in the cities where foreigners have been murdered or have been subjected to cruel treatment; and (c) furthermore, an imperial decree to be is-

sued and published throughout the empire, ordering that the governors-general (vice-royes), governors, and all provincial or local officials shall be held responsible for the maintenance of order within their respective jurisdictions, and that in the event of renewed anti-foreign disturbances or any other infractions of treaty occurring and which shall not forthwith be suppressed and the guilty persons punished, they, the said officials, shall be immediately removed and forever disqualified from holding any office or honors. [Such decrees have been published, but there is little hope that they will be taken seriously.]

XI.

The Chinese Government to undertake to negotiate amendments to the treaties of commerce and navigation considered useful by the foreign powers, and upon other matters pertaining to their commercial relations, with the object of facilitating them. [The new commercial treaties are to be negotiated in the near future by the several powers acting independently, but necessarily on a common basis.]

XII.

The Chinese Government to determine in what manner to reform the Department of Foreign Affairs, and to modify the Court ceremonials concerning the reception of foreign representatives, in the manner to be indicated by the powers.

Until the Chinese Government has complied with the above conditions to the satisfaction of the powers, the undersigned can hold out no expectation that the occupation of Peking and the province of Chih-li by the general forces can be brought to a conclusion.

[An Imperial edict of July 24, 1901, transformed the Tsung-li Yamen into the Wai-wu Pu, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which takes precedence of the other six Ministries of State. The Court ceremonial has also been made to conform to the wishes of the powers.]

The terms of settlement are so manifestly unwise as to make it difficult to believe that they were formulated with a sincere desire of securing a lasting peace. With striking consistency the powers have done those things which they ought not to have done, and left undone those things which they ought to have done. (1) They ought to have strengthened the Chinese Government, proceeding on the necessary fiction of its innocence, not because it did not deserve punishment, but because it is manifestly in the interest of foreign intercourse that there shall be a strong native Government in China capable of maintaining peace, protecting foreign life and property, and discharging its international obligations. They have deliberately weakened and humiliated the Chinese Government by exacting a larger indemnity than it can safely pay, by prohibiting the importation of arms, by razing the Taku forts, and by establishing military stations between Peking and Tientsin, as well as a permanent legation guard. (2) They ought to have restricted or removed altogether the causes of Chinese hostility. They have multiplied them by imposing terms that are unjust, humiliating, and incompatible with Chinese sovereignty. (3) They ought to have seized the occasion to place foreign trade on a more satisfactory basis.

They have burdened it with a crushing indemnity. (4) They ought to have shown their appreciation of the incalculable services of the great Southern viceroys in ignoring the orders of the Empress and maintaining peace in their provinces under circumstances of great provocation and at the risk of their lives, their fortunes, and their official positions. They have hypothecated the local revenues of these very viceroys for the payment of an unconscionable indemnity. (5) They ought to have played into the hands of the native reformers, not by demanding any specific reforms, but by manifesting a spirit of moderation and justice. They have acted with such gross injustice as to make it difficult for any Chinaman to say a good word for foreigners or to urge the adoption of reforms along Western lines.

The indemnity is so far beyond the capacity of China to pay, under her present revenue system, that it is certain to cause administrative paralysis in many quarters and to provoke popular risings. It will fall on the innocent rather than on the guilty, on the distant provinces and not on the central Government. The effect of paying the indemnity largely out of foreign duties will be that those powers which have demanded the smallest indemnities — they having the largest import trade — will pay the powers that have demanded the largest. Our Government endeavored to keep the indemnity within \$200,000,000, believing that to be the extreme limit of China's ability to pay. Then, too, we were always prepared to scale our demands in return for increased trading privileges; but we were outvoted at every turn by powers having comparatively no commercial interests in China. France, Germany, and Russia were opposed to opening China more fully to foreign trade, because they hope to secure preferential advantages in their respective spheres of influence. But upon England rests the blame of the outcome. If she had sided vigorously with our Government, as we had every reason to expect and as her commercial interests in China demanded, the result would have been very different.

The tenth section of the joint note, making local Chinese officials responsible for anti-foreign outbreaks within their respective jurisdictions, was adopted at the suggestion of our Government, and is the most statesmanlike provision in the whole note. If it is enforced prudently and firmly by the joint action of the powers, and only in cases where the connivance or inexcusable neglect of the official is proved beyond a reasonable doubt, it will do more than anything else to render foreign life and property secure. The difficulty lies in securing trustworthy evidence of guilt from Chinese sources and unanimity of

action by the powers. The want of success that has characterized Western diplomacy in China for sixty years has been largely due to the fact that it has not been founded on reality. It has falsely assumed that China was centralized; that administrative measures could be initiated at Peking; and that the Chinese Government could be treated like one of the centralized Governments of Europe. In dealing with a federal Government like the United States it is necessary for other powers to take cognizance of the limited control of the central Government over the several States. Just so, in dealing with China it is necessary to take cognizance of the fact that the provinces are all but independent. The distinctive features of the Chinese constitution are local democracy and provincial autonomy. China is a congeries of semi-independent states, called provinces, and there is a larger measure of local democracy than in America. To understand Chinese politics you must go to the village. A blow at Peking does not affect the whole organism.

Regret has been expressed that the powers did not take advantage of this occasion to throw all China open to foreign residence and trade; but it is sound policy to restrict rather than enlarge the exceptional rights of foreign residents. The relations between China and the West are just now so embittered that it would be folly to multiply causes of discord. It is far wiser to enforce with firmness and unanimity the rights we now have than to seek further rights incompatible with Chinese sovereignty and impossible of enforcement without working grave injustice to the Chinese Government and people. Foreign residence ought to be restricted, as it now is, except in the case of missionaries, to the treaty ports; for the reason that it is practically impossible for our consuls to exercise jurisdiction over their nationals in the interior. If an American citizen commits a crime in the interior of China, five hundred miles from the nearest consul, is it not palpably unjust to China to insist that the case shall be tried by the consul, remote from the scene of the crime and the residence of the witnesses? We cannot establish American courts in every judicial district of China. Hence, so long as we retain the right of extra-territoriality we are in honor estopped from demanding the opening of the interior. The interior of Japan was not opened to foreign residence until the powers yielded their right of extra-territoriality, and the precedent should be followed in China.

The settlement has been unjustly criticised for not providing security for the future. In so far as that object can be attained by treaty

stipulations, the provision making local officials accountable for anti-foreign disturbances is all that could be desired. But paper guarantees are wellnigh valueless. It ought to be thoroughly understood that there can be no real security for the future except in the good-will of the Chinese people, and it is fatuous to suppose that we can secure that by any other means than good-will and fair dealing on our own part.

The settlement is distinctly distasteful to the American people; but our Government has played a great part in the negotiations, and emerges with honor and dignity. We have been worthily represented at Peking by Mr. Rockhill. Our disinterestedness has stood out in strong relief, and our course throughout has been one of rare moral distinction. To the covert and sinister designs of Europe we boldly opposed one or two elementary principles of international morality. That the Boxer rising did not lead to a war on China and a partition of the empire is almost wholly the result of the firm and unselfish opposition shown by our Government to a declaration of war at the outset, to the German proposal that the surrender of the Boxer leaders should be made a condition of peace negotiations, and, finally, to the provision of the original joint note making the death penalty for such leaders a condition of peace. We signed the treaty without reservations, but our opposition to its more objectionable features was so strenuous and prolonged that we cannot be held accountable for them. We signed the treaty reluctantly, and only to end intolerable conditions and to avoid the still greater evils that would have followed a break in the Concert.

Naturally enough, there has been much impatience in this country at our position in the Concert; but a policy of splendid isolation was impracticable owing to the solidarity of foreign interests in China. A single power can secure new rights, but old rights cannot well be modified or abolished without the consent of all. Then, too, it is only by united action that China can be forced to observe her treaty obligations or give new "security for the future." We were right in joining the Concert, but we blundered in not insisting that the principle to govern the assessment of the indemnity should be agreed upon in advance. The only powers materially interested in China are the United States, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. We should not for a moment acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Concert of Europe over the subject-matter, and we should peremptorily refuse to enter any conference of the powers concerning China in which there might be a chance of our being outvoted on important matters by powers having comparatively no interests in that country. Either the minor powers should be

excluded from such a conference, or else all the important matters should be agreed upon in advance by the powers chiefly interested, leaving only the details to be worked out by the conference. Spain, Italy, Austria, Holland, and Belgium — powers having comparatively no interests in China — have had an equal vote at Peking with the United States, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan; and they generally voted more with reference to the game of European politics than to the merits of the question before them. The farce is not likely to be repeated.

Concerted action by all the powers is often necessary in China; but our interests, in many particulars, differ radically from those of every other power, and our policy, so far as possible, should be distinct and independent, and should be independently pursued. It should be our studied policy to impress the Chinese with our disinterestedness and our dissociation from the European powers, except when it is a question of enforcing treaty rights and protecting foreign life and property. Our recent experience shows how impossible it is that we should have an understanding with England in the Far East, and how dangerous it is for us to put our feet into the entangling meshes of European politics. The Chinese difficulty was not settled on its merits, but with reference to the exigencies of European politics. Lord Salisbury deliberately sacrificed British commercial interests in China to the supposed necessities of his country in Europe. It is well known that he considers it indispensable that England should have at least one firm friend on the Continent, and it is his policy to make Germany that friend. Moreover, with Germany unfriendly, there was grave probability of intervention in South Africa. In the circumstances, Lord Salisbury felt constrained, for fear of offending the German Emperor, to play a subordinate part in China, with results disastrous alike to American and British commercial interests.

We have compelled China to accept our terms of peace, but it remains to be seen whether we can compel her to live up to them. In the past she has always baffled us by a yielding resistance. A witty American minister at Peking once likened his task to boxing a feather-bed. Promises are freely given and high-sounding Pickwickian edicts issued, but the local officials have always had their way. In 1862, Sir Frederick Bruce, in my opinion the ablest minister England ever had at Peking, wrote to his Foreign Office: "In a country like China, where the principles of administration differ entirely from those practised by us, the conclusion of a treaty is the commencement, not the termination,

of difficulties." Of the accuracy of this observation fresh proof is destined to be afforded by the settlement we have just made.

Foreign intercourse with China has always been unsatisfactory, and it will continue so indefinitely because of the exceptional rights and immunities which China has been forced to grant the foreigner. So long as China is treated differentially — that is, so long as she is compelled to treat the foreigner within her borders as no Western power treats a Chinaman or other foreigner in like circumstances — enlightened and patriotic Chinese will justly regard foreign intercourse as an evil. China cannot now meet this evil by regular warfare, and it is only natural that she should meet it by administrative obstruction, diplomatic finesse, and popular risings. There can be no just and lasting solution of the Chinese problem short of the admission of China into the family of nations on terms of perfect equality. The Western powers ought to encourage and assist China in the adoption of such judicial and administrative reforms as would make such admission safe. Unfortunately, there are several so-called Christian powers whose fixed policy it is to keep China weak, helpless, and degraded; and they are able to thwart the more humane and enlightened policy of the other powers. The only hope for China, therefore, is in the development of sufficient military strength to inspire fear and compel respect. She must imitate Japan. It was the Japanese army and navy, and not enlightened considerations of reciprocity, that induced the Western powers to surrender the right of extra-territoriality which they so long enjoyed in Japan.

The root of the difficulty in our relations with China lies in the fact that we impose upon her by force the obligations of a sovereign state in the family of nations, and at the same time withhold from her the rights of such a state. The Western powers say to China: You must allow our people to live among you; you must allow our merchants to trade and our missionaries to proselytize; you must allow us to navigate your inland waters and participate in your coasting trade, although we ourselves do not accord such privileges to the foreigner; you must allow us to send you opium, although you declare that it is injurious to the health and morals of your people, and that you could stamp out domestic production if importation were stopped; you must allow us to fix the amount of customs tariff we shall pay on your imports from us, although we ourselves regard the right of taxation as the most sacred of sovereign rights; you must allow our missionaries to reside in the interior of your country, but you must not exercise any authority over them, although their

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES?

THE final disposition of the Philippine Islands will depend on questions of expediency, to be decided in a manner compatible with our national and international obligations. An intelligent discussion of the subject requires, therefore, a careful consideration of our past, present, and prospective relations with these people, and of the political, commercial, and industrial conditions of the Islands, past, present, and prospective; a correct appreciation of the fundamental principles of international law on which our responsibilities to the Philippines and to other nations are based; and an intimate knowledge of the political tendencies here as well as there, as probably affecting our future relations with them, whatever the final disposition of the Islands may be.

Our relations with the Filipinos began in a very favorable manner. We first came in contact with them through our able consular agents, and then through one of our greatest naval officers of this generation. Their representatives in that contact were of their ablest, most progressive type — men who had been prominent before the Filipino public for years; who had become leaders of the native population by their own force of character and as a result of preëxisting conditions; and who, as the sequel undoubtedly proved, possessed the whole confidence and the loyal support of the majority of the Filipino people. Our attitude, as they saw it, was that of deliverers from the galling yoke of a foreign bondage which for three hundred years they had tried vainly to shake off. This attitude was guaranteed to them by the courteous hearings given to their representatives and by the cordial coöperation of their forces with ours in the beginning of the contest with Spain, and was clenched in their minds by the arms and ammunition supplied to them through the action of our authorities, with the full approval, as they believed, of the Administration. This was to their minds the crowning test of friendship, recognition, and alliance.

Following this came the sale of Spanish rights in the islands to the United States, and the assumption by our Government of sovereignty over the archipelago. There can be no doubt that our assumption was

and is correctly founded on the principles of international law. Sovereignty must be vested somewhere, in some recognized power in the family of nations. Revolutions, to be effective in the transfer of sovereignty, must be successful, and that success must be recognized. Technically, in spite of the high-sounding phrases contained in our Declaration of Independence, the sovereignty of the colonies was probably vested in Great Britain, in the international sense, until she, by treaty, ceded that sovereignty to the new power which emerged from the throes of the eight years' revolution. It was certainly so vested until the recognition of our independence by France. There has never been a Filipino sovereignty recognized by Spain, by the United States, or by any other member of the family of nations. The existence of such a sovereignty was dependent on its success in obtaining recognition. This does not in any way conflict with the inherent ultimate right to a change of government by revolution — a right inalienably possessed by every people — but merely asserts the evident fact that to create a national existence such a revolution must succeed.

Hence, in the sense of international law, the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands was vested in Spain until she, by treaty, duly ceded that sovereignty to the United States, when the United States became fully vested therewith. Thus there devolved upon us full responsibility for the exterior relations of the islands and their internal administration. The nations of the world looked to us to guarantee to their subjects in that part of our territory the rights assured to them by treaty — protection commensurate with our power and responsibility.

Not only so; the inhabitants also had a right to look to us to redeem the constitutional pledges respecting personal rights and liberty which are guaranteed to every citizen of the United States by our own fundamental charter of organized government. Whether courts so hold or not, it is undoubtedly the desire of our people generally that the rights of free speech, of the free exercise of religion, of trial by jury, and of the benefit of habeas corpus shall extend to every person subject to the sovereign power of our country, with such limitations only as the safety of paramount public interests may require.

Yet a complication arose which disturbed the orderly and progressive application of these principles, and has proved to be a serious obstacle to peaceful progress. This impediment was simply the fact that Spain could not deliver possession. Cession of territory usually implies peaceable possession. In the case of Porto Rico, we had, by the able strategy of the commanding general, possession of all the country except the

armed camps of the Spaniards. But in that of the Philippines the conditions were reversed. Not only did we make use of the tacitly acknowledged allies, after arming them, but those same forces were actually, at the time of the cession of Spanish sovereignty, in effective possession of nearly all the archipelago except Manila, Iloilo, Baler, and perhaps one or two other unimportant points. Under the technical application of international law they had no sovereign rights; but the fact remains that they had actually made themselves masters of the territory, had captured the Spanish garrisons, were in possession of the official records, and, whether we acknowledge it or not, had organized a system of government, republican in form but imperial in nature, well suited to their needs and very effective in administration. Not only was Spain unable to deliver possession, but she left a legacy of strife entailed upon us by as unfortunate a series of misunderstandings as ever complicated a page in history.

It was hardly to be expected that the mass of the Filipino people would be able to discriminate as above on nice points of international law. The majority of our own people cannot do so. Still less could they appreciate the fine points of our internal system by which the final determination of our policy with reference to Spain and to them had to be postponed for the deliberative action of a political body, in which the most delicate points of our domestic and foreign relations were made the subject of heated and partisan discussions. Moreover, these discussions degenerated into acrimonious political recriminations in which not only the merits of the questions at issue, but likewise the lives and welfare of Filipinos and American soldiers, were equally forgotten, and in which after months of useless delay the honor of the United States, the integrity of the administration, and the dignity of our representatives abroad were upheld by the narrow margin of one vote.

When our own representatives, who had so unanimously plunged us into a war of which these conditions were the direct result, so far forgot that patriotic unanimity which ought to have characterized our whole course in everything relating to that war, less blame can be placed on the leaders of the revolution in the Philippines, who eagerly grasped at the tangible hope of independent sovereignty, of new-born but cherished nationality, thus so plainly set before them. The speeches of those who so noisily opposed the policy of the Administration were published broadcast in the islands by active agencies, not all of which were in the Philippines, and, translated into the Spanish language and thence into the native dialects, became the ordinary topic of daily discussion by the

simple natives in the remotest parts of the archipelago. Nor was it the judicial utterances of men of standing and wisdom, who conscientiously opposed the actual course of the Government, which received the widest circulation and carried the most weight. It was rather the incendiary utterances of partisan orators who openly condemned the policy of the Government that were most speedily translated, most widely distributed, and most eagerly read by the poor, deluded, ignorant people. They were thus lured on to deeds of violence against lawfully constituted authority, which deeds recoiled on their own heads, bringing untold misery and destruction.

The awakening has been painful. Slowly but surely the conviction has been driven home to them that nothing can stay the irresistible onward march of American authority in the Philippines. Its progress, although conducted as gently and with as little severity as possible, under such conditions, has been marked by many heartrending scenes of anguish. War is never a gentle minister, and civil war is the worst phase of armed conflict. When civil war degenerates into open bushwhacking and acknowledged guerilla operations but little can be added to its horrors, and that little has been added by the secret machinations of the unspeakable Katipunan society, controlled in the interest and for the personal aggrandizement of a few unscrupulous leaders, with absolute disregard for the honor, liberty, welfare, or happiness of any part of the people so powerfully affected by its terrible crimes.

The common people, not intelligent enough to discriminate between the treasonable rant of demagogues and the solid utterances of conservative statesmen or the formal announcements of government policy, and not sufficiently well informed to draw correct conclusions as to the significance of current events, bitterly charge the American people with deception, fraud, and duplicity. They honestly believe they are right. The few native leaders who are sufficiently well informed and intelligent to appreciate the stern conditions that have resulted from their rash, ill-considered, and selfish policy are utterly powerless to stem the tide of revolution. A few, in a half-hearted and uncertain way, professing of late a conversion of sentiment, and incited thereto by palpable hope of honors and emoluments, are timidly working with ostentatious publicity, that according to Filipino traits may conceal deep duplicity, for the pacification of the islands on the basis of autonomous government. The very suddenness of their conversion, and the honors and offices that have fallen to some ex-revolutionists, discredit them in the eyes of their former followers, who rationally ask themselves whether it is safe

any longer to follow pilots who deserted the ship in the midst of the storm, sacrificing consistency at least, and in their eyes also integrity, to the gratification of their passion for dominating power.

Yet the steady advance of our armed forces, penetrating gradually into the remotest recesses of the interior, gives tangible assurance that we have by force established our recognized authority in actual supremacy in all parts of the country; while side by side with it the implanting of the free school and the advance of commercial relations moving at an even and sustained but accelerating rate of progress assure us that a better mutual understanding will replace the bitterness that has necessarily resulted from the above conditions. Now that we have reached a point from which this consummation is happily in sight, broad-minded and conservative statesmen may well pause to review the actual situation, and seriously ask themselves what ultimate disposition of these possessions will best conserve our national interests without being incompatible with our national honor and the best interests of the Filipinos themselves.

Heretofore, the full possession and enjoyment of American citizenship has been tacitly acknowledged to be the destiny of all our acquired territory. But in this case the distance is so great, and the alien character of these people so distinct, that it is worse than folly to hold out to them the idea of proximate statehood. Should they ever become fitted for it, this result can be attained only in the course of many generations. In the meantime the dependency must be governed; and this has introduced to our earnest consideration many grave questions, not the least of which pertain to public economy and national defence.

It is conceded that for many years the firm application of strong military power will be absolutely necessary to the maintenance of order and tranquillity. There is but slight encouragement to believe that the actual force of about 45,000 men now there can be soon materially reduced, and none to hope that the resources of the country, so greatly impoverished by many years of war, will ever be adequate to do more than support its own civil list and constabulary. Therefore, there is entailed on the United States the heavy burden of about \$67,500,000 per year, merely for police purposes, in a country which evidently cannot become more than selfsupporting.

But in this proposition there is a deeper significance than mere expense. This force comprises the bulk of the military forces of the United States. So long as it is there, the forces at home will be but auxiliary to the effectiveness of the force thus withdrawn from duty in

the home country. Leaving out of account the artillery (17,000), which may be broadly considered a fixture in our sea-coast fortifications, there is available for relief purposes 21,000 men only, always to be in process of reorganization and primary instruction in the United States, while standing as half a relief or reinforcement for that irksome and onerous duty in the Philippines. Further, in case of any sudden demand for a first line of defence, the force in the Philippines will be not only no longer available, but will possibly be cut off from relief or succor, while at the same time occupying the most exposed part of our territory. Those who were on board the army transports which hastily put back into Port Tampa on June 7, 1898, at the false report of a Spanish fleet in the Nicholas Channel, will fully appreciate the difficulty of either transferring the forces there to the United States or sending reinforcements to them. In other words, we sacrifice two-thirds of our actual army to the needs of an outlying possession, which is of little benefit to us, and which we retain subject to such final disposition as the best interests of all concerned may require. In time of war the Philippines become a source of public danger and national weakness, absorbing our preparations and dividing our energies.

If there were any great public policy to be served there can be no doubt that the people of the United States would heroically make whatever sacrifices might be required to sustain it. But the United States desires no other policy in Asia than the open door, a policy happily guaranteed to us by solemn treaties, and already assured, independently of our occupation of the Philippines or of their ultimate disposition. Besides, the Philippines do not promise to be a special source of national pride or aggrandizement, even in time of peace. Their commerce is not at present an important factor in our export trade; and, while it will undoubtedly increase, there is no reason why we should not participate in it as much to our advantage under a satisfactory treaty arrangement with some responsible power as under the present system.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the permanent retention and government of the islands as dependencies is only one solution of the many problems here presented; that such a course is not especially desirable from the standpoint of domestic policy, either in peace or in war, and may indeed prove an element of national weakness in time of war; that some other honorable disposition, if any such there be, would be in harmony with the best interests of the United States and would probably be acceptable to the people of the Philippines; but that the honor of the United States requires the thorough establishment of stable condi-

tions as the first step toward a consideration of the ultimate disposition of the islands.

Unfortunate as have been the events of the last three years in our relations with the Filipinos, these events have demonstrated a virility, a capacity for organization, and a tenacity of purpose which were never before credited to them. Their *de facto* government was a strong one, exercising real power over the people while it lasted. It was distinctly an advance on the former Spanish rule. The ease with which their leaders have maintained secret authority over the people since its disintegration demonstrates the cohesive power of their projected system. The bitter sacrifices they have made on the altar of nationalism and the devotion which they have manifested in blindly following a mistaken ideal give earnest of rich development under more favorable conditions. For the purposes of this discussion it matters little whether or not the common people were impelled thereto by fear of the secret system of espionage and administration adopted by their leaders; in the main they were loyal to their now defeated and discredited chiefs, whom they still admire and reverence. Such tenacity to a lost cause is marvellous. It supplies abundant food for reflection as to whether, with more favorable opportunities, they might not speedily rise to a more dignified position as a people.

This chain of ideas leads to the suggestion whether the proposition of autonomous government, advanced by some of the Filipino leaders, is not, after all, the best solution of our relations with the Islands. It seems to be almost unanimously the opinion of competent observers that the Filipinos are far better able to institute and maintain even an independent government than the Cubans, who have been intrusted with that delicate task by the United States. But there enters into this consideration a serious objection, founded on racial defects of character common among them. In all our dealings with them we have encountered that defect; and all competent observers, from Foreman to the present time, have noticed it. That defect is the absence of sincerity and good faith among them, a vice observed not only in their relations with all foreigners, but equally in their internal intercourse. No Tagalo can trust a Macabebbee, nor can either of them depend on the good faith of a Visayan. Still worse, they show the same defects in their inter-tribal relations; so that duplicity and treachery form the normal attitude of every native toward all the rest of mankind. It would ill become the United States Government to launch on the sea of international relations a craft which would be steered by such a chart.

But there are strong reasons why we should discharge ourselves at the earliest opportunity of an Asiatic responsibility which may entail upon us endless difficulties and complications. Now that the United States is a world power in the true sense of the word, it stands essentially for two well-determined policies. The first of these is one that has become almost as fundamental a principle in our foreign relations as the Constitution itself. This is the Monroe Doctrine, which may be aptly set forth in the phrase, "America for Americans." It implies, in my judgment, not merely that we defend the Western Hemisphere from outside interference, but inversely, that we will refrain from unnecessary interference in the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere. "Europe for the Europeans," "Asia for Asiatics," are expressions just as logical, to the observance of which we are bound not merely by consistency, but equally by the long-established policy of our Government.

The possession of a permanent Asiatic dependency may vitally menace these principles. So long as the United States adheres consistently to the domination of the Western Hemisphere, it may logically maintain the principle of non-interference therein by any other power, assuming to that extent the protection of other and weaker Western nations from the rapacity of Eastern powers. But if we should permanently invade the Eastern world, we could no longer logically maintain that position. The right of any European country to a South American dependency, if obtained in some manner as legitimate as our acquisition of the Philippines, would be as logical as our right in Asia; nor could we logically maintain the contrary. If it be accepted that the Monroe Doctrine is a fundamental one in our foreign relations, we are bound to respect the implied limitation. If we seek a field for the expansion of Anglo-Saxon ideas we have a broad one in our own continent, not yet even fallow-ploughed; and the peaceful extension of more cordial and intimate political and commercial relations with our South American neighbors has been, since it became so intimately linked with the name of Blaine, a recognized field of American diplomacy. It was clearly indicated and emphasized in the last speech of President McKinley, and conforms equally to our past policy and our future interests.

Few will assert, and none can successfully maintain, that our course in the Philippines could have been different from what it has been. But our entrance there and our subsequent operations to maintain our sovereignty have been, until the present time, merely an incident unavoidably connected with a righteous war which was forced upon us by unavoidable circumstances. They have not, as yet, become a part of our

definite and settled policy as affecting other nations; nor are we committed to any action beyond the establishment there of law and order, tranquillity and good government. We are now at the parting of the ways. The coming years will determine whether we are to depart from the wise policies that have heretofore governed us and embark upon stormy and unknown seas, or whether we shall guide the ship which bears our national destiny along the old-established and well-plotted course laid down by the Fathers of the Republic. May the God of Nations aid us to choose aright!

The desire for a foreign outlet is just as strong among other nations as with us. We have been absorbing the young brawn and brain of Europe until our draft on the older countries has become a serious menace to their interests. We have encouraged immigration until the time has come when we may well pause to inquire whether it would not be well for our own interests to check the steady stream which has set for over a hundred years toward our shores. The normal increase of our own population will insure for our future a healthy growth, nurtured in American principles and imbued with a patriotism that has not to be transplanted. We have grand territory of our own yet to be reclaimed from the primeval wilderness, sufficient for many a decade for the normal growth of our own people. We have few to spare for the deadly perils either of Asiatic jungles or of Filipino treachery. The stream of an immigration no longer desirable might, perhaps, be diverted to those Eastern shores, insuring the development of those islands under some more interested power, and, perhaps, at the same time turning the gaze of neighbors, already semi-hostile, to an Asiatic rather than an Occidental expansion.

The right of alienating territory is equal to that of acquiring it; and it may well be seriously considered whether the cession of the Philippines for some suitable equivalent to some European or Asiatic power, capable of guaranteeing the continuance of the stable conditions we have therein instituted, would not be the best disposition we could make of an undesirable and embarrassing possession forced upon us by unavoidable and unforeseen circumstances. If such a disposition could be made, at the same time guaranteeing to us that "open door" and "trade expansion" demanded by the second of our fundamental foreign policies, this course might, perhaps, be compatible with our national honor and in harmony with our best interests.

JOHN H. PARKER.

THE EXPANSION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

POPULATION lies at the basis of all human problems. The growth and expansion of the black race in America must be the controlling factor in the many complex problems to which its presence gives rise. Political, industrial, and social adjustment will depend upon the development and expansive tendency of the black bulk. Exact knowledge concerning the condition of the brother in black, or rather the brother in colors, has a far deeper importance than usually attaches to dry statistics. The social philosopher must rely upon it as a basis of sober speculation; the statesman must reckon with it in the formulation of policy; and the philanthropist has need of it in order that he may adopt wise measures of relief.

The student of race development looks to the federal census as furnishing the surest indication of its general trend and final outcome. The theories as to the destiny of the negro race, based upon the several censuses since 1860, have swung with the regularity of a pendulum between the extreme limits of speculation. As a result of the count of 1870, those who assumed the sociological wisdom of their day predicted that the race would not be self-sustaining under freedom, and that its ultimate extinction would only be a matter of time. Ten years later a new alarm was sounded. The startling increase of the negro race as revealed by the census of 1880 gave rise to a new dread which was christened with a new name. We then heard for the first time of the "Africanization" of America; and the nation was solemnly warned that the over-prolific barbarian must be returned to the land of his savage sires without regard to material or moral cost. In the succeeding decade the extinction theory was revived. The low rate of increase between 1880 and 1890 was taken as proof positive that the race was doomed through degenerative traits and tendencies. These rhythmic theories have, in turn, had their day and ceased to be, and are now in the limbo of absurdity. Such examples should warn the present-day speculator to exercise less haste and more caution in building a theory upon the twelfth census.

The growth of the negro population for the last ten years has been healthy and normal, affording little room for sensational speculation. The pendulum has reached the middle point between its extreme ranges.

A comprehensive view of the negro population for the last one hundred years will reveal the changes of tendency wrought by the new political and industrial régime which emancipation effected, and will also afford a hint as to the direction and tendency of future expansion.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Negro population.	DECENNIAL INCREASE.		Per cent of total population.
		Number.	Per cent.	
1790	757,208			19.27
1800	1,002,037	244,829	32.33	18.18
1810	1,377,808	375,771	37.50	19.08
1820	1,771,656	393,848	28.50	18.39
1830	2,328,642	556,986	31.44	18.10
1840	2,873,648	545,006	23.44	16.84
1850	3,638,808	765,169	26.63	15.69
1860	4,441,830	803,022	22.07	14.13
1870 ¹	4,880,009	438,179	9.87	11.68
1880 ²	6,580,793	1,700,784	34.85	13.12
1890	7,470,040	889,247	13.51	11.93
1900	8,840,789	1,370,749	18.35	11.57

¹ Estimated by General Francis A. Walker.

² New territory.

Prior to the Civil War the negro was sheltered and protected by the institution of slavery, the philosophy of whose method was inspired by gain. For a part of this time the ranks were reinforced by fresh importations. Under these influences the black population increased between 1790 and 1860 from 757,208 to 4,441,830, or, in other words, sextupled itself in seventy years. Under thirty-five years of freedom, these four and a half million ex-slaves have grown to 8,840,789 souls; that is, the population has doubled itself in four decades. The black increment from 1890 to 1900 was 1,370,749, a number sufficient to populate the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut to their present degree of density. This increment is in itself the strongest possible argument against the theory which ten years ago predicted the disappearance of the negro through enfeebled vital capacity.

On scanning by decades the increase of the negro population since 1860, one is mainly impressed with its irregularity.

DECENNIAL RATE OF INCREASE OF NEGRO POPULATION.

1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
9.87 per cent.	34.85 per cent.	13.51 per cent.	18.35 per cent.	

When a population is not affected by immigration, emigration, or other perturbing influences, the increment should conform to some regular and easily ascertainable law. But, instead, we find that the growth of the negro population has been as irregular as if due to sportive caprice. This irregularity can be most easily and satisfactorily explained on the assumption of bad counting. It is customary to assume the imperfection of the census of 1870 as the cause of the amazing increase of 1880; but this would utterly fail to account for the subsequent discrepancies. There was, at the time, a widespread suspicion that the census of 1890, especially as it affected the negro population, was grossly inaccurate. The twelfth census furnishes strong corroborative proof of this suspicion. How shall we account for the behavior of a series whose every condition demands uniformity, but which suddenly rises from 9.87 to 34.85 per cent, then dips to 13.51, and then, without warning, jumps to 18.35 per cent? Is it not easier to impute error to the census office, which is subject to ordinary human imperfection, than to suppose that nature violates her well-known method, and in this isolated instance whimsically proceeds by leaps and bounds?

The figures show that the negro constitutes a slowly diminishing minority of the total population; but this relative diminution is due to the influx of white immigration. Since 1860 the white race has been reinforced by more than 14,000,000 fresh recruits. These newcomers were, for the most part, in the prime of life, and they have contributed more than their share to the growth of the native white element. If the two races should continue to grow at the same rate as during the past decade, according to the law of diminishing ratios, it would require 110 years to reduce the negro element to one-tenth of the total population. We may, therefore, for all practical purposes, regard ten per cent as the irreducible minimum. So long as the negro constitutes one-tenth of the nation, the race problem will continue in all its forms and phases. This problem is at bottom a social one; and so long as the injection of one negro will upset the social composure of ten white persons the problem will be kept alive, even if the blacks should be equably diffused throughout the entire mass. It is vain to look for a solution through the relative decline of the negro element.

Seeing, then, that the negro will constitute a persistent physical factor of the population for all the time which our discussion can consider, it may be interesting to notice how this race tends to expand itself, and to ponder the consequent problems which its development entails. There are four clearly defined tendencies: (1) movement toward

the Northern States; (2) drifting away from the border region; (3) influx into the cities; (4) solidifying in the Southern States and in the black belt.

(1) The movement toward the North and West has not been of sufficient magnitude to affect materially the general mass. It might seem, on a first view, that the negro who complains so bitterly and so justly against harsh restrictions in the South would rush to the freer conditions of the North as a gas escapes from a region of higher to one of lower pressure. But, on closer inspection, we find that he does well to bear the ills which he has rather than fly to those he knows not of. The warm-blooded, warm-hearted child of the tropics is chilled not more by the rigidity of the climate than by the frigidity of the social atmosphere which prevails in the higher latitudes. There are not as many negroes in all New England as there are in Washington and Bolivar counties in the State of Mississippi. Between industrial exclusion in the North and political suppression in the South there is not much to choose. In the thirty-one Northern and Western States and Territories the negroes are not as numerous as in the State of Alabama.

NEGRO POPULATION.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
In Alabama	437,790	475,510	600,103	678,489	827,307
In thirty-one Free States ..	227,216	341,127	483,640	577,912	759,788

The number of negroes in the free States had risen from 5 per cent of the entire race in 1860 to 8.5 per cent in 1900, leaving 91.5 per cent of the race still in the old slave States. These figures reveal no mad hegira to a fairer or happier land. The negro increment for the old free States during the last decade was 181,876, most of which was found in the large cities of the East. From 1890 to 1900 Pennsylvania gained 49,249 negroes, New York 29,143, New Jersey 22,206, Illinois 28,056, and Indiana 12,290, leaving a paltry 50,000 for the increment in the other twenty-six States. The growth in all the free States west of the Mississippi was only 5,943. There was an absolute decrease in the negro population of California, Oregon, Nevada, Nebraska, New Mexico, and the two Dakotas. It is safe to predict that the future will present no precipitous rush of negroes to the North and West. The race can hardly adjust itself to the severe rigors of the climate or compete with Anglo-Saxon rivalry where it lets itself out at full length. Nor is there

any guarantee against violence and outrage. We have recently heard of race riots in New York and Illinois, of lynchings in Ohio and Indiana, and of burning at the stake in Kansas and Colorado.

(2) The tendency of the negro to drift away from the border States is notable and significant. If we take the region including Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, we find that, in twenty years, the negro population has done scarcely more than hold its own. The increase in two decades has been 15 per cent only. Even this small increment has been due almost wholly to the growth of such cities as St. Louis, Louisville, Memphis, and Baltimore. The purely rural section of this region has grown little if at all since 1880. While the negro element has remained almost stationary, the whites have increased by 40 per cent. There can be no doubt that the border States, at least, will ultimately become a white man's country. State boundaries give a very imperfect outline of this region. If we should shut out the western part of Tennessee and Kentucky and include the western half of North Carolina and Virginia, the thinning-out process would be greatly accentuated.

The decline of the negro element in the border section is significant whether viewed in the light of cause or consequence. The agricultural conditions are not so easy as in the farther South; and many negroes leave the section for the Northern States because of close proximity. But perhaps the chief reason for the decline of the negro element is the unsatisfactory social condition which prevails. The negro is by nature a gregarious creature, and longs for pleasant intercourse and social congeniality with those of his own kind and color. In the border States there exists all the social and civil separation of the races that prevails in the far South. The few negroes, who are thinly scattered among the whites, feel themselves in social captivity, and naturally seek those communities whither the race resorts in larger numbers. This fact is suggestive of the destiny of the negro not only in the border area, but in the country at large. Birds of a feather will flock together, even though that feather be a black one.

(3) The growth of the urban population is one of the most marked sociological phenomena of modern times. The negro has joined the procession from sheer force of imitation. Although he has no fixed status in the industrial régime of city life, he is attracted by its allurements as a moth by the glare of a candle. He is compelled to loiter around the ragged edge of industry, and can obtain only such kind of employment as white men are unwilling to accept. He inevitably sinks

to the bottom of the social medium, and forms the dregs of municipal life. The individual of exceptional endowment will rise to a commanding place; but his elevation, so far, has had little influence upon the industrial lot of the mass below. The aimless drifting into the alleys and crime-dens of the large cities constitutes the most lamentable feature of the negro problem.

The twelfth census shows that there are forty-one cities with a colored population of more than 8,000, the total number of negroes in these cities reaching about one million. This exceeds the total city population of the United States in 1830, when there were twenty-six cities above the 8,000 limit, with an aggregate of 860,000 souls. The social and industrial backwardness of the negro cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by this comparison. It will require almost superhuman effort to bring these people up to the level of opportunity and efficiency maintained by their white fellow-citizens.

There are fifteen cities containing more than 20,000 negroes, with a total population of 700,000. Five of these cities exceed 60,000, namely, Washington, with 86,702; Baltimore, with 79,259; New Orleans, with 77,714; Philadelphia, with 62,613; and New York, with 60,666. The increase in these fifteen cities in the last decade has been 29 per cent. Several cities have shown surprising rapidity of growth. The negro population increased 55 per cent in Philadelphia, 111 per cent in Chicago, 74 per cent in Memphis, and 68 per cent in New York. It is not known how long these rates of growth can continue before these cities will have taken on as much of the dark element as the social medium can hold in solution without causing a black precipitation.

The most marked feature of the urban negro population is the predominance of the female element. While the negro man has no fixed place in the industrial order of the large cities, there is an almost unlimited demand for competent colored female servants in the domestic industries. There are on the average 120 negro females to every 100 negro males in the large centres. Washington has an excess of 10,000, and Baltimore of 9,000, negro females. This disproportion is a most serious factor in the urban life of the negro, and one that must be taken into account in the formulation of plans for his social betterment.

(4) A careful study of the growth and movement of the negro population shows that it is solidifying along the river courses and fertile plains where it was most thickly planted by the institution of slavery. The centre of gravity is slowly moving toward the Gulf of Mexico. The negro does not belong to a nomadic race. Ninety-two per cent of the

race is still found in the sixteen original slave States. There are eight Southern States with more than half a million negroes.

NEGRO POPULATION IN EIGHT SOUTHERN STATES.

	Negro population in 1900.	Increase from 1890 to 1900.		Negro population in 1900.	Increase from 1890 to 1900.
Virginia	680,722	25,284	Mississippi	907,630	165,071
North Carolina . . .	624,469	63,450	Louisiana	650,804	91,611
South Carolina . . .	782,321	93,387	Texas	620,722	132,551
Georgia	1,034,813	175,906			
Alabama	827,307	148,818	Total	6,108,788	896,170

The negroes in these States outnumber the entire population of the United States in 1800, and their decennial increase exceeds the population of Vermont and New Hampshire combined. Although the negroes outnumber the whites in South Carolina and Mississippi only, nevertheless they constitute the majority in the group of States comprising South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, a continuous territory of 290,000 square miles. This area contains 4,433,605 negroes and 4,308,398 whites. The negroes gained the numerical ascendancy in 1870 and have held their own ever since. During the last census decade the negroes increased more rapidly than the whites in Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, maintained almost an exact parity in Georgia, but showed a sharp relative decline in South Carolina and Louisiana. The surprising gain of the white race in Louisiana may be explained by the likelihood that many of the light-hued colored people, of whom there were 90,000 in 1890, were returned as white. It is interesting to note, however, that outside of New Orleans the negroes constitute a majority of more than 50,000 in the State.

If we draw a line from the head of the Chesapeake Bay, bisecting Virginia and North Carolina, to the middle of the northern boundary of South Carolina, and thence along the northern boundary of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, continuing to Little Rock, Arkansas, and thence southwest to the 97th meridian, and along this meridian to the Gulf of Mexico, we enclose a region of about 400,000 square miles, in which three-fourths of the negroes reside, and where they constitute a majority of the total population. It is here that the race problem must be worked out, and the persistence of the black factor shows that it cannot be solved by elimination.

If we study the county as a smaller unit of area, several interesting

results are revealed. The tendency of the negro to gather into "black belts" is marked and unmistakable.

NUMBER OF COUNTIES IN WHICH NEGROES ARE MORE NUMEROUS
THAN THE WHITES.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
More than two to one.	71	79	92	108	108
Less than two to one.	166	170	178	165	171
Total	237	249	270	268	279

This Africanized area increased from 71 counties in 1860 to 108 counties in 1900. These counties would make a State of about the size and population of Georgia. The average density of the negro element within these counties is more than three times that of the whites, and is steadily increasing. Surrounding these spaces that are hopelessly black, there are 171 counties in which the negroes exceed the whites, but are less than twice as numerous. It is thus seen that there are 279 counties, covering an area of about 150,000 square miles, in which the negroes constitute the majority of the population. This modern land of Goshen, as it has been called, is quite as large as the North Atlantic division of States, and contains about 130 negroes to 100 whites. Fully half of the negro race is found in these counties. This area of total eclipse is fringed by a penumbra that fades away by imperceptible stages until its sombreness is entirely lost.

The opposite tendency of the Southern population is also noticeable. Just as the black spots are growing blacker, the white spots are growing whiter. In Virginia, where a constitutional convention is now sitting for the purpose of eliminating the ignorant negro from the governmental equation, there are ten counties in which the negro constitutes less than ten per cent of the population. In one county there are 9,687 whites and only five negroes. There is but one negro voter, and we are told that he is intelligent! The white counties writhe under the yoke sought to be imposed on the black ones, which has been the cause of not a little political friction.

As a general rule, where the negro constitutes a small fraction of the population his relative decline is notable. There is a marked tendency toward a geographical separation. This has not been brought about by any philanthropic scheme of policy, but by the sheer force of racial gravitation.

If we turn to the cities the same segregative tendency is noticeable.

In all our large centres of population there are white wards and black wards, with which the politician is as familiar as the seaman with the depths and shallows of the sea. As manufacturing industries move Southward, the country whites will be drawn to the cities as operatives along lines of higher mechanical skill, leaving the blacks in numerical preponderance in the rural districts. Wherever possible, the whites avoid rivalry with the negroes on terms of equality, and studiously shun black communities as a place of residence. This process will continue until there are left in the black belts only a few whites who remain for purposes of philanthropy or gain.

The great mass of the negro population will be gathered into the black belts and into the corresponding wards of our large cities, from which many volatile particles will fly in all directions to be dissipated and lost. This will be due no less to internal cohesion than to the solidifying power of outside pressure. We have here a suggestion for the statesman and the philanthropist as to the wise method of treatment. The social and industrial life must be elevated. These humble people who have demonstrated a capacity for knowledge, virtue, and intelligent industry must be given an opportunity for its development and exercise. It is no reproach to say that if left to themselves they would relapse into barbarism. No people can lift itself unaided from a lower to a higher level of civilization. It is a social as well as a physical impossibility to uplift one's self by pulling against one's boot-straps. If the moral sense of the American people would not leave the distant Filipino to his pitiable fate, but impelled them to reach out a saving hand across the seas and snatch him within the ennobling circle of benevolent assimilation, how much more incumbent is it to elevate the negro who is within our gates, and is closely associated with our national destiny? It is incumbent upon philanthropy and statesmanship, alike, to devise and apply uplifting agencies so that the dark places of the South may not become a menace to the welfare of the nation.

KELLY MILLER.

THE NEED OF TRAINING FOR THE COLLEGE PRESIDENCY.

SIX years ago, when I was a professor of Greek in a New England college, it seemed to me that the president led a very easy life. He received nearly twice the salary of a professor and did scarcely any teaching; and his brow told nothing of the care within. When I finally made up my mind to accept an executive position in the West, this president's wife, who had always been a very kind friend, said: "You don't know what you are undertaking. It's a dog's life."

While the latter statement was not intended to be taken literally, and has to a certain extent proved a false prediction, it is not difficult now for me to realize what was meant. My only regret, however, is that I entered on the work of administration so poorly prepared, and that it has taken so long to learn comparatively little. Possibly, if I had been taken aside by my president and told how to avoid the snares and solve the problems that would come, I should not have been altogether too conceited to listen; but this may be doubted. At any rate, when one thinks of all the difficulties of a college executive, it is a matter for surprise that no training or advice for so important a work has yet been offered. It may be interesting to review our present educational tendencies, and inquire why such provision has not been made.

The present is an era of specialties. That sounds rather trite, but it is a truth the full significance of which we sometimes fail to realize. In the college world especially, a jack-of-all-trades was never so distrusted as at present. A college teacher to-day must have studied one subject thoroughly, although, as it has been often pointed out, his general knowledge need not be limited. As a university president, I receive every year applications enough to fill each position in the institution fifty times over. An effort is made to give each letter careful examination and polite treatment, but there is one style of letter that is very trying. It comes from the man who states that his specialties are Greek, Latin, French, and German; that he can teach mathematics and chemistry; and that he feels that he would be successful with history and philosophy. It is difficult to reply courteously to such a man, as it is evident

that he either is a humbug or has little conception of the quality of work now done in a university.

A college graduate who wishes thoroughly to prepare himself for college teaching may do so in any one of a dozen superior universities at a merely nominal cost. He is not really in earnest unless he is willing to do this. He may make a special study of any portion of the entire field of knowledge, from Sanskrit to entomology, from electricity to paleontology, and from the culture of the soil to the physics of the celestial bodies. There is open to him a complete preparation for every possible specialty save one, the executive office. But should he choose this line, which, because of its relation to the rest, is in a sense the most important of all, he must become skilled as best he can. The tyro at the bar practises in a moot court before he addresses a real jury; the young divine bores his classmates with his preaching ere he edifies a congregation; the embryo doctor may first try his scalpel on a cadaver; and even the school teacher acquires her skill in a training school; but the poor young college president, without a particle of specific preparation, is pushed out into the midst of things, and must stand or fall by the result. For him there is no training school except actual practice, and he must use his scalpel on real life. Fortunate, indeed, is the youthful president who is permitted to make his experiments in a small institution, or among people who are more kind than critical.

Why, then, has no provision as yet been made for educating young men for executive work in our colleges? Probably many reasons will suggest themselves. Two may be briefly outlined. In the first place, there is a conventional modesty which would operate powerfully to deter a young man from publicly enrolling himself for the necessary training to become a college president. He may, with entire propriety, it seems, seek to prepare for a chair of German or astronomy; but any effort to fit himself for a presidency is viewed as a mark of inordinate ambition. A distinguished scholar who had been elected president of a university once stated that he had never sought the headship of an institution of higher learning, and would not think of accepting an offer of such a post unless the conditions were most favorable. Those, however, who had followed this gentleman's career reported that for several years previously he had been doing everything in his power to fit himself properly for executive duties. In view of our foolish conception of modesty, it is easy to pardon his want of candor, especially as the careful training he had given himself resulted in his making a great success of administrative work.

An instance of a different method of procedure was presented two years ago to the regents of the University of Washington. They received a letter from a young man, about to complete his course at a certain theological seminary, who stated that he had met with considerable success as a teacher and as administrative head of a preparatory school, and would be glad, if the regents saw fit to dispense with the present executive, to become president in his stead. The regents referred the letter for an answer to the writer of this article. At first he was tempted to send a somewhat caustic letter in reply; but the more the matter was considered, the more it seemed that, despite the shocking abuse of professional courtesy, the young man deserved some commendation for his courage in asking for what he wanted, and for preparing himself properly for the object of his ambition.

Again, it is probably the opinion of many that college administration cannot be taught, because it is so far from being an exact science. Its problems seem isolated, and they vary greatly under different conditions. But, while the theory of administration can hardly be said to be exact in the same sense as the science of mathematics, an executive of experience could teach a novice some general principles that would save him many sleepless nights and days of worry and failure. It may be well in some matters to let a man work out his own salvation; but such a course is hardly profitable for the young executive, and is certainly not fraught with the best results for the unfortunate professors and students under his direction.

Probably the newness of the present type of college president accounts in part for the prevalent feeling that administration is not yet an established science.¹ It is a familiar fact in the history of American education that through the first third of the century we have just passed a clergyman was regarded as the ideal college president. The essential aim of a college course was preparation for the ministry, or, at the widest, the development of character. These objects, it was conceived, belonged peculiarly to the church; and it was not unfitting, therefore, that ministers should be at the head of institutions of learning. So we find in this first period such presidents as Increase Mather and Jared Sparks, of Harvard; Timothy Dwight, the elder, of Yale; and at Union, Eliphalet Nott, whose power for righteousness was so great that it has been said that "he took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back into society pure gold."

¹ A more complete discussion of this evolution of the college president will be found in President Thwing's "College Administration," chapter iii.

But a college education was eventually demanded by young men preparing for every sort of profession, and so academic training came into the category of scholarship rather than of theology. This fact was reflected in a generation of college presidents who were preëminently scholars, and ministers only secondarily, if at all. Within this middle epoch flourished Woolsey and Porter at Yale, Felton at Harvard, and McCosh at Princeton. Williams also during this period contributed to history the president who was so saturated with aggressive scholarship that Garfield claimed that it could exude and permeate the farther end of the log.

This type of executive, however, did not continue quite half a century. With the inauguration of President Eliot, in 1869, the present ideal of a college president began to develop. From action and reaction among the colleges it has now become a fixed type. A college president, according to this latest ideal, is an executive in the fullest sense of the word. Though in entire sympathy with education, he is a business man and a broad-minded man of affairs, with the gift of diplomacy and the alertness and poise of an *entrepreneur*. He may be a scholar — and very often is — or even a minister; but these qualities are merely incidental and have little to do with his success as an administrator. The "executive" president is at present the latest and best type, and in developing our science of administration we may safely follow his lead.

It may not be out of place to speak in this connection of the field now offered to young men by executive work. A few years ago, when one of the classes was about to graduate from the Harvard Law School, an eminent New York lawyer, in a spirit of humor, said to its members: "It may be that some of you young men think that you are going to pursue the practice of law in the city of New York. I want to inform you that all the law has been *pursued* off Manhattan Island." Such an idea could not be truthfully expressed with regard to the opportunities presented to-day by the college presidency. There are always more openings than there are men competent to fill them. A list of colleges published in an almanac for 1899 revealed the fact that nearly forty colleges were then without executives, and among them were such institutions as Yale, Amherst, Oberlin, Marietta, Brown, Colgate, Rochester, California, Oregon, Iowa, and Cincinnati. During the college year just passed, the presidencies of Northwestern, Wells, Iowa College, Williams, Pacific, West Virginia, Maine, and other institutions, have all been vacant.

This constant demand for college presidents is easily explained by

the scarcity of men fitted for such positions. An inspection of the careers of the faculty of the University of Chicago, as given in the catalogue, shows that about twenty members of it have at some time been college executives and have resigned the post. It is easy to recall instances of men standing high in the world of scholarship who failed in the executive office, or who found the work distasteful and had the good sense to return to the places which they adorned. Two of the greatest scientists in the United States attempted university management for a considerable time before they decided that executive work was not their forte; while one of our most noted Hebrew scholars, who took up administration, and a college president who had previously made a reputation as a Hellenist were both ultimately forced to resign the presidential work they had undertaken.

On the other hand, it has sometimes been difficult to induce well-qualified men to accept the executive office. Professor Bessey, whose fame as a botanist is not confined to this country, has thrice refused the chancellorship of the University of Nebraska, although not for the same reason that influenced Cæsar in a similar matter. "No, gentlemen," he has repeatedly said to his regents, "I am a botanist, and I cannot be tied down to an executive's desk at my time of life." An educator of great prominence who is still a professor at Columbia, but who is believed by many to possess extraordinary executive ability, is said to have already seventeen presidential scalps on his belt. The merest accident brought David Starr Jordan into executive work, quite against his will. That was more than sixteen years ago. When he was once in the position his fitness was so evident that neither he nor the regents wished for a change.

There is surely a wide opening for any young man of ability who wishes to enter upon an administrative career. He must, however, expect to find many disagreeable features in the work. There is no need to mention all of them, but they may be summed up under the heads of constant worry and the sacrifice of scholarship. Yet executive work may be well considered a species of scholarship in itself, and the cares and worries of the office should be met with as philosophic a spirit as possible. Mr. Booker T. Washington tells us that he comes to his desk each morning hoping for a prosperous and happy day, but is fully prepared to hear that something unpleasant has happened — that one of the buildings has burned, or that a newspaper has abused him for something he has not done, or criticised him for saying something that most likely never entered his head. That readiness to meet everything that may

come should be the spirit of every young college president; and he may at the same time remember, with pardonable pride, that, by the character of his work, he is keeping himself out of many of the narrownesses of ordinary scholarship, and is doing a real service for humanity.

Certainly, there is nowhere a field of greater usefulness and honor than the college presidency for a young man of the right scholarship, sympathy, tact, energy, and courage. While all the qualities enumerated must be possessed to some degree, they are here mentioned inversely to the order of their importance. The young executive may lack much in scholarship and sympathy, and even a little in tact, but he cannot possibly succeed without energy and courage, especially the latter.

The means for starting such able and ambitious young men aright and insuring the efficiency and success of their administrative work must be soon forthcoming at some of our large universities. Methods of training may have to be developed slowly, but it is time for a beginning to be made. A popular magazine contained about four years ago an educational article by the editor, in which he suggested that two very important subjects were omitted from the modern college curriculum, and recommended the establishment of chairs in the sciences of choosing a profession and selecting a life partner. These are admitted to be two very important subjects; but it was quite generally urged in criticism that the gentleman in question was inclined to make too much of them, and that each topic could be satisfactorily treated in a course of lectures. If, in like manner, to demand a chair in college administration would seem to magnify the matter, it certainly will be admitted that something should be done in that line. The future executive should at least take as broad a course as possible, specializing on some subject of large import, such as a branch of the social or philosophic sciences, and in addition should have the benefit of a practical course of lectures from a successful and experienced president. What the subject and purpose of each lecture should be is an important consideration, which would require a more detailed discussion than the limits of the present article will allow.

It is rumored that next year President Wheeler, at the University of California, will institute a course of lectures on college administration, and that Dr. Harper intends eventually to establish a chair in the subject at the University of Chicago. Speed the day! Meanwhile there is a perfect caravan of young college presidents going and coming from Cambridge, where for a short time they may sit at the feet of the great executive president, Charles W. Eliot.

FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES.

HOW TO ASSIMILATE THE FOREIGN ELEMENT IN OUR POPULATION.

No other subject in the larger politics of modern times deserves more earnest attention than the problem of assimilating the foreign element in our population. Unless an intelligent effort is made for the protection of our national ideals, the United States will be in a fair way to become un-Americanized; and sooner or later the question will become not how we may assimilate the foreign element, but how we may discern traces of our original government and institutional spirit. The native population in some parts of our country to-day is practically saturated by the foreign element, and no more of that element can be absorbed under existing conditions without a dangerous precipitation.

Certain well-meaning social scientists, with this fact staring them in the face, are exerting themselves to restrict immigration. But those who clamor for such an interdict have better intentions than information; for, with the positivism born of a scanty supply of sociological facts, they ignore the possibility of immigration being regulated by natural laws. As surely as a vacuum invites air, the unique natural and industrial advantages of the United States attract the oppressed and impoverished of all other countries. From the humanitarian standpoint — the only right, safe, and never-changing view — this is without qualification fortunate for the ultimate improvement of man. It would, indeed, be supreme presumption for any little body of people, especially happy in earthly blessings, to prevent those in need from obtaining a share of these plentiful gifts. We must not forget that America as a nation was founded by foreign elements. The hardy pioneer spirit of our sturdy forefathers was the direct outcome of unfavorable European conditions. Increased heterogeneity was the principal cause of America's progress. The first influx was fed by a score of pure streams, diverse in origin, yet united in destiny, and in that strongest of all bonds — hope. The diversity of the original colonies persisted even up to 1789, when a common language and a common purpose united them all into one nation.

How strange it is that the causes leading to unity of feeling, harmony, and unswerving loyalty in the life of nations have all been of such a variable nature! In ancient times the love of country was vague. Teucer cheerfully told his companions that wherever he fared well there was his home. "Ubi bene, ibi patria." Later in the history of the world we learn that it was religious belief that formed the bond. As long as the Visigoths in Spain and the Ostrogoths in Italy remained faithful adherents of the doctrines of Arius, and at the same time the great body of their Roman subjects were thorough believers in the doctrines of Athanasius, there could be little unity on the part of the conquerors and the conquered; but when the rulers changed their creed to that held by their subjects, the two peoples became amalgamated, and the country was united into one nation. In course of time the question of creed gave way to that of race. Race remained a factor, and is a factor yet, but, in the case of men of the same color, only when there continues to be a difference in language. This feeling of a common race and nationality based on language became pronounced about the middle of the nineteenth century, and betrayed itself first in Austria, especially in Bohemia, where the Slav objected to German supremacy, and in Belgium, where the Flemish opposed French rule.

It seems now that language and all the customs, habits, and traditions that spring from it form the only cohesive power that assimilates a people. When the question arose in the Pennsylvania State Legislature whether English or German should be the official language of that commonwealth, it was a German who cast the deciding vote in favor of English. This was not because he loved German less, but because he recognized the fact that in an English-speaking country — in his case the country of his choice and not of his birth — it was surely the duty of the foreign-born citizen to do all in his power to secure and maintain the institutions which had given him freedom and a home.

In the United States the condition of affairs is peculiar. No European country offers a parallel. Austria, it is true, like our own country, consists of a conglomeration of various nationalities: the German throughout the realm, the Hungarian in the south, and the Slav in the east, north, and west. Yet the bond that holds it together as a nation is so weak that it seems to be only a question of time when that old domain will fall to pieces; a part to go to Russia, a part to Germany, and a part to become the new Hungary. There is Switzerland also, with its German, French, and Italian constituents of the population, all at variance with one another, but held together — partly by jealousy of th

so-called great powers and partly by democratic institutions — in such a way that neither monarchical Germany, Austria, and Italy, nor republican France has so far impaired the bond. The other European countries, with great skill, much tact, and unremitting zeal, have in past decades succeeded in assimilating the foreign elements within their borders, or are on the way to accomplish that end. In Germany, for example, the Danish element in the North and the Polish in the East are rapidly diminishing in numbers as such. How well the Teuton has succeeded in Germanizing the French-speaking population of Alsace-Lorraine has been sufficiently shown by the result of the last Reichstag elections. ✓

Yet in all these countries the danger menacing the state is comparatively but a small one. With them immigration is not large, while with us the foreign population is so immense as to hold the balance of power in any election. Of the total of males of the voting age in this country, numbering about 17,000,000, the foreign-born reach the astonishing figure of 5,000,000. The danger of their influence will be realized when it is noted that they are so concentrated that in the North Atlantic, North Central, and Western States, there is but a small margin in favor of the native-born population. In addition to foreign citizens we have now 1,500,000 aliens, twenty-five per cent of whom are unable to speak the English language. With allegiance still due to other powers, these people would form, to put it optimistically, a distinctly uncomfortable military possibility in case of any international disagreement. Italy, Germany, and Russia, it must be remembered, do not relinquish their military claims upon their subjects even in cases of expatriation. ✓

Moreover, while formerly those who landed on our shores came for the most part from peoples akin to us — the Irish, English, Scotch, Germans, and Scandinavians — and were bent upon agriculture and eager to settle upon the unoccupied parts of the public domain, those who now come are from the Romance countries, from the farthest east and south-east of Europe, from Asia, and from Africa; that is to say, from nations totally unlike ours. These strangers as a rule scorn to till the soil. Factories, mines, and vocations that demand nothing but unskilled labor attract their attention. The push-cart and other forms of bartering goods have a fascination for many, and the small trades that can be entered upon with little or no capital afford the means of livelihood to the rest. Whereas in the past the immigrants were absorbed in our agricultural communities, and became in a short time a part of the body

politic, now they cluster in the large cities, where can be found a Little Italy, a Little Russia, a Little Poland, a Little Turkey, etc., in which the mother tongue is carefully preserved, the English language is ignored, the institutions of the home country are revered, and American habits are despised.

In these altered conditions it is not reasonable to suppose that a foreigner can become an American citizen simply by landing or merely residing in the country and waiting the number of years required by law. By an abuse of our method of naturalization the immigrant often obtains the power to influence our most precious and sacred institutions for the worse. Almost at once he is given power in our body politic. According to the law, two years before they can be admitted to citizenship aliens must take an oath of their intention to become citizens. They must renounce allegiance to other powers; must agree to support the Constitution; must have resided in the United States continuously for five years, and in the State where they take oath for one year; and they must satisfy the Court before which they appear that they are of good moral character. Yet these restrictions are often disregarded in densely populated districts — as can be made clear, to any one interested, by a cursory examination of the illegalities tolerated during the few months preceding election.

The past can throw some light on the present. In Europe, in mediæval times, the political and social dangers of alien influence were so keenly realized that community interest rendered migration itself a cause for suspicion. The stranger was sometimes fined and often made a dependent. The people to whom he came felt themselves likely to be reproached by the people from whom he came; for monarchs did not favor the loss of military strength resulting from migration. The stranger was disliked in England as late as the end of the eighteenth century. He was considered a commercial rival, as the Navigation Acts of Cromwell and Charles II bear witness. The English Statutes of Laborers once made it impossible to migrate even from one parish to another; and Germany went so far as to refuse admittance except to those having independent means or legitimate business. Even now Russia gives no immunity of travel or permanent residence, Germany demands passports, and France requires police registration. In fact, all European countries restrict or forbid immigration. But individual interest, as symbolized in the French Revolutionary period, proclaimed to the world the principle of personal freedom. National and international concerns absorbed petty provincial interests. Machinery supplanted

guilds and apprenticeships. Migration became an inalienable right. A faint prophecy of cosmopolitan humanitarianism affected the thoughts of men, and universal brotherhood became their desire.

Yet no one can deny the disintegrating influence of a commingling of our civilization with that of an inferior class of immigrants. The average culture of the world cannot be raised at a touch. Nor can a homogeneous nation result without the blending power of time and effort. The internal consolidation of the German nation is the greatest modern work of practical politics. Unification is the supreme plan of the greatest minds, as illustrated by our own motto, "E pluribus unum." Now, as never before, does it need to be our watchword, our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. The solidarity of our government is absolutely necessary to our efficiency as an aid in moral progress. It has proved true in the case of all older civilizations, whose falterings and failures may serve as danger lights for us. The adage of the Revolutionary period might well hold good for all time: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Now that we have become a nation in every sense of the word, how can we preserve our nationality and at the same time be true to that broad, liberal spirit which attracted our fathers to this land? The fusion of the diverse elements of our population into one common nationality cannot be attained by saying: "You are an American. You have passed the forms of naturalization. Vote!" No; the security of the perpetuity of our Government is based upon a higher, broader, and more effective principle, that of a responsible and intelligent use of the franchise. Is any one worthy to cast a ballot that he cannot read, explain, and defend? Surely we should regard the gift of the high estate of citizenship as a most sacred blessing, to be won, at least, by the testimony of earnest desire. In the five years nominally required for the process of naturalization, any foreigner of sufficient intelligence to be worthy the honor of American citizenship should be able to master enough of our language to read intelligently the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. No one could demand less of a prospective maker of laws than that he should be cognizant of the underlying principles of our Government. The influences under which the foreigner would come in his pursuit of even this slight amount of knowledge would be an infinite aid in his assimilation; and in this direct contact with the formulas of the rights of men he would inevitably absorb some of the true principles of liberty and equality.

It would, perhaps, be useless to attempt to assimilate all the stran-

gers that enter our gates. People who have reached a certain age, varying in the case of different individuals, have become crystallized in their ideas to a certain degree. They love the land from which they have come. Perhaps they have simply followed their children here. They live in the past. The only way in which they can possibly be reached is through their children, by means of the new ideas that the children have conceived and carried home. These people form, as a whole, an unassimilable element wherever they congregate. Probably the best that can be done with these, who are of the first generation, is to render them harmless by a kind of parental care, and by directing their energies into useful lines of industry that will lead to their general prosperity and consequent contentment. The dignity of honest labor will in time make them conscious of being integral parts of society; and a property interest will promote allegiance, prevent anarchy, and insure political assimilation.

But the younger generation and their descendants can be reached. Their eyes are clear, their tongues are flexible and willing, and their purposes are strong and fixed. At the present time illiteracy in the native-born American is decreasing, while in the foreign-born it is increasing—a practically unavoidable condition because of the great proportion of ignorant adult immigration. This tends naturally to correction in the second generation, but the unfortunate influence is still traceable. Yet the measure of raw material has this encouraging showing: compared with the 900,000 of the foreign born element of school age, there are 12,400,000 of the second generation of school age. In Massachusetts alone twenty per cent of illiteracy in the foreign-born is offset by one per cent in the native-born: showing the immediate effect of our schools on the children of a deplorably ignorant class of newcomers.

Education will solve every problem of our national life, even that of assimilating our foreign element. The ameliorating effects of general education would be evident in a decade in every manifestation of social life. Knowledge is light, and evil dies in the light. Ignorance is the mother of anarchy, poverty, and crime. The nation has a right to demand intelligence and virtue of every citizen, and to obtain these by force if necessary. Compulsory education we must have as a safeguard for our institutions. What other element of our country's progress is so important? In the language of the principles set forth by the National Educational Association, let me say that the progress and happiness of a people are in direct ratio to the universality of education. A free

people must be developed by free schools. History records that the stability of a nation depends upon the virtue and intelligence of the individuals composing it. The child has the same right to be protected by law from ignorance as from abuse, neglect, or hunger.

We have said that the younger generation of immigrants can be reached by education. But this education must be compulsory. For, while these people are usually thrifty they are often lacking in foresight; and the manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the telegraph company, and many others that employ help offer a thousand inducements here to the boy and girl to earn a dollar, even if it be at the risk of losing a chance of going to school. It is a strange fact that some of the foreigners whose country is known for the general, thorough education which it bestows upon all its children are those who are most inclined to reject all the inducements of our public-school system, and to allow, nay to urge, their children to stay away from school, that they may earn money at an age when they ought to be interested in books. And yet compulsory education in this country is to a great extent a far easier matter than it proves to be in European countries — no tuition fees; in many places free books and school supplies; all people treated alike; no distinction between the masses and the classes.

What does compulsory education carry with it? (1) The pupil's very association with intellectual and honorable men and women tends to inspire toward higher standards of living. The children soon find themselves in wider horizons of thought. (2) It brings children of all ranks together. They all feel that they belong to one and the same great family or nation. (3) It enables them to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, not the slangy English of the street, but good, idiomatic, grammatical English. (4) It gives the child an opportunity to get a knowledge of the country in which he lives, of the government under which he exists, and of the people of whom he is to be a part. He learns that while he needs the country, the country needs him too; that he is to be a sovereign limited in his powers by such laws only as he himself may help to create, and by such restrictions as modern civilization places upon him as being, upon the whole, for the good of all; that there is no one below him, and no one above him except those whom he may some day help to elect to attend to the business which his country demands.

We might be justified in diverging at this point a little from the main topic to show why a common language is such an important factor in giving to a people a feeling of kinship. Travellers who come in

contact with people of a foreign tongue know with what suspicion, distrust, or awe any one is regarded who speaks a language other than that indigenous to the land in which he travels. In our own country we can see the same inclination. People shrink from the stranger and his strange speech. It is said that European housemaids, when required to attend foreign guests, despise and scorn their foreign ways of acting, as much as American laborers look down upon Hungarian or Italian workmen. They do not understand one another. Mutual misunderstanding begets mutual dislike, which in turn produces hatred and distrust, thus preventing assimilation. The uneducated foreigner who lands upon our shores brings with him the fears and prejudices of his native land. Give him the English education of which he is in need, and he will be able to understand what is said to him and what is expected of him. Encourage him; make him feel that this is his home; and he will become a loyal citizen. All this can be done through the public schools.

To imagine that all foreigners, or even a large proportion of them, are anarchists is absurd. Anarchy is world-wide. It has no home to cherish, no permanent abode. It is an attempt to return to barbarism. The anarchist wants freedom only to abuse it, while the average immigrant longs for freedom in order to be free. Man in general wishes for liberty, and needs it; but he knows that it has its bounds. On a deserted isle he might do as he pleased. In a civilized country law must be observed. Law is not only a restriction but a benefit as well.

To sum up, compulsory education will give to the foreigner a chance of obtaining a thorough understanding of the English language; a fair knowledge of our government, and of the means of governing himself; and last, but not least, it will make him feel that he is the peer of all if he conducts himself as a true American citizen. The city of New York provides educational facilities not only for pupils who come within the age required by the compulsory educational law, but also for people of any age. It has its primary schools, its grammar schools, its high schools, its City College for boys, and its Normal College for girls; and, besides, it has its Training School for teachers, its junior and senior evening schools, its evening high school, etc. And within this system it exerts a necessary paternalism; furnishing text-books and material without which education would be inaccessible to the masses. It lays special stress upon the teaching of the English language and of the nature of our institutions. So the schools become the real safeguards of national life. Without its free public schools New York would be helpless in dealing with its hundreds of thousands of foreign population. This

process of regeneration is slow; as slow, really, as the education of the young and the ignorant. It is possibly still imperfect, but I am convinced that it is the way. The results attained by the public schools in bringing the various elements of our population into such pleasant relations as to make them easily assimilable are so apparent in New York and in other cities and places where compulsory education is demanded by law, that I am forced to the conclusion that the most efficient, persistent, and constant power of assimilation in America is the free public school under a well-devised compulsory education law.

"America for Americans" is not an unjust demand. But is our inheritance so limited, is our hospitality so lacking, is our love of freedom so destitute of vigor that it is necessary to place an insurmountable barrier between the immigrant and our shores? Should we not be more in accord with the spirit of our forefathers, if industry and intelligence are to receive open-armed welcome? St. Ambrose said: "When I am at Rome, I do as they do at Rome." And we should be entirely justified if we were to say to the incoming alien when he arrives: "Thou shalt do as we do; in our land our language shall be thy language; our customs shall be thy customs."

JOHN T. BUCHANAN.

THE YOUNG MAN WITH NOTHING BUT BRAINS.

WHAT are the chances for the young man "with nothing but brains"? Forty years ago no one would have thought of asking such a question. Why should any one ask it now? Is not the market for brains just as great at the opening of the twentieth century? Many will contend that the demand for brains and the market price for them have been immeasurably enhanced by our marvellous industrial development. Others declare with equal persistence that the young man with nothing but brains has no chance at all in this age of combinations. They note with apprehension the tendency of all business activity toward centralization. It is an age of trusts, in which manufacturing and commercial enterprises are conducted upon a colossal scale and the young man is crowded out.

Let us see about that. It strikes me that the young man with nothing but brains has an immense advantage over the young man with nothing but money. The young man who inherits a fortune in these times receives a legacy of trouble and worry unless it is securely invested against business hazards. It will put gray hairs on his head. The chances are that he has not had the training that would qualify him to handle it without losing it. He has been chasing the Greek verb or the "pig-skin" at college while his father has been running the business. His poor cranium is doubtless full of the classics; but he knows no more about his father's business than his father knows about the Odes of Horace.

The late Philip D. Armour once told me that he did not give his sons a dollar's worth of stock in his immense business until they had satisfied him that they could "make sausage." This was the great packer's homely way of saying that he did not take his sons into the firm until they had shown business capacity and industry. But not many rich men in this country follow the example set by the founder of the great house of Armour. The young man with nothing but brains has nothing to lose. What to do with a patrimony of \$100,000 does not bother him or keep him awake at night. The young man with

\$100,000 will soon realize that this is too small a sum to risk in business in an age of combines, when all productive and mercantile enterprises are conducted upon a scale of great magnitude. Manufacturing is certainly out of the question; and if he wants to embark in a mercantile pursuit he must go to a small town that is not yet invaded by a mammoth department store selling everything from a tack-hammer to "store teeth."

But the young man with nothing but brains is not confronted by such perplexities. There is no "trust" in brains. It may be possible to corner the wheat crop or control the yearly output of corn starch; but you cannot corner the crop of ideas. If the young man looks about him and studies the situation, he will quickly learn that the age of combinations is also the age of brains.

It is true that the learned professions, such as law, medicine, and theology, are open to him; but these are overcrowded. There are not enough patients to go around. Mankind has not lost faith in the efficacy of medicine, but it knows better how to live than it did fifty years ago. It does not need so much medicine. Sanitation and a more general observance of the laws of hygiene are crowding the disciples of Esculapius to the wall. As for law, the legislatures of the different States cannot grind out enough ambiguous statutes to keep the lawyers busy. The few laws now put upon the statute books are so clear and lucid that the ambitious young attorney has no chance whatever. Moreover, the tendency of the people is away from litigation. Men are more inclined to settle their differences out of court. In fact, these differences become such a costly luxury when entrusted to lawyers that most men are willing to drop them and forget them where the financial sacrifice is not great. In Chicago most lawyers are unable to make a living by confining themselves strictly to the practice of law. Again, there is less demand for theologians. The people are coming to regard theology as a man-made substitute for simple, practical Christianity; a heritage of profound thinking and scholarship, it is true, but too deep for the common understanding. There is more practical, every-day Christianity than there ever was, but less theology.

Journalism, of the kind that does not completely efface the writer's personality and that encourages individuality of style and freedom of utterance, still offers an attractive field for the young man with nothing but brains. The growing ascendancy of the counting-room and the tendency toward impersonal and irresponsible journalism, however, cannot fail to drive young men of force and talent from the editorial to the

commercial end of this pursuit. The journalism of the future must be a journalism in which the public may connect the statements of editors and reporters with some personality that stands for knowledge and common honesty. No other kind of journalism will attract the serious attention of ambitious men.

The federal service certainly offers no attractions to the young man with nothing but brains. Perhaps in no other department of human activity can there be found such amazing mediocrity and inefficiency as here. Character and brains count for nothing. An educated applicant for a federal position may deluge the departments at Washington with "letters of endorsement" from hundreds of men who stand high in the world of business and politics; but the letters are filed away in the archives of the department "for reference," while the place that is sought is given to some obscure nonentity, who has not bothered his poor brain about endorsements, in order to reward the friend of a politician with a "pull," or to carry out a deal arranged by the bosses.

Literary and clerical pursuits are being rapidly invaded by women. The time is past when a desk-man can hope to earn enough salary to support a family. In fact, desk-work of the purely clerical or routine kind can no longer satisfy the man of energy and ambition. He is conscious of occupying an inferior position in life — one that can be easily filled by a woman, and that will be filled by a woman as soon as a favorable opportunity to make the change presents itself to his employer.

It ought to be very plain, it seems to me, that the greatest opportunity for the young man with nothing but brains lies in fitting himself for an important place in the great distributing machinery brought into existence by the era of combines. He must contribute something to the twentieth-century crop of ideas. The era of expansion which the politicians are talking about carries with it an expansion of the market for ideas, an expansion beyond the dreams of the generations of yesterday. It is to be a battle of ideas; and the man who has none will have to "go way back and sit down" with the typewriter girl or the telegraph operator, or some one else who does nothing but handle other people's ideas. The man with ideas will occupy the centre of the stage, and the lime-light of public interest and thought will be turned upon him more than ever before in our history.

For what are the objects of industrial combination? To cheapen the cost of production and distribution. The most perfect labor-saving machinery and the purchase of raw materials in great quantities, both of which are secured by the consolidation of capital and resources, tend to

Good
work

accomplish the first object — that of cheapening production. The young man with brains will not want to be a part of the machinery of production. He will not want to feed a tack machine or carry bobbins in a knitting factory. If he is of a mechanical turn of mind, and the public-school system has not entirely smothered or crushed out his inventive faculties, he may contribute some of the labor-saving machinery to production; but he himself will never be a part of the machinery of production. It is the department of distribution that will engage the energy and thought of the young man with nothing but brains. This is the branch of industry that takes the product of a plant and finds a market for it; that brings it to the attention of people who need it, or want it, or think they want it. It is this machinery of distribution that converts the product of industry into coin. Without it the wheels of the factory would stop, and there would be industrial stagnation.

The other primary object of combination is to cheapen the cost of distribution. Costly and out-of-date methods of putting goods upon the market and finding purchasers for them are being abandoned. The most expensive wheel in the machinery of distribution and the first to be discarded has been the "drummer." In certain lines of production he is still employed to some extent; but it is a self-evident economic proposition that the consolidation of small plants into larger ones must cut into the ranks of the great army of travelling trade solicitors, and that if the tendency toward concentration in all lines continues the drummer will soon be as extinct as the dodo. He is a relic of the days of wasteful competition. His hotel bills, railway fares, and the other incidentals of a peripatetic vocation must be added to the cost of the goods, and paid in the end by the consumer. There sometimes have been four or five drummers in the same little hotel, in the same little town, on the same day, each adding to the cost price of the goods sold to the local merchants. Under the new system the producer will talk to thousands at a time instead of employing a drummer to talk to each person individually. How is he going to do it? Through the printed catalogue, the artistic booklet, the attractive poster, the pages of the magazines and weekly periodicals, the columns of the daily press, and the thousands of ingenious and unique devices for catching the public eye, designed by the brightest and cleverest minds in this country.

Who will furnish the ideas for this new and vast twentieth-century system of publicity? Surely here is the golden harvest for the young man with nothing but brains. Here is a field for any one with original ideas. It is no place for a mere copyist, a mere thinker of thoughts

that were thought by others long ago. No compiler, collator, or purveyor of other people's ideas can participate in this contest. The competition is keen and strenuous. The producer who is investing a million in advertising will scent a mildewed idea from afar. He will have none of it. What he buys must drop clean-milled, new, and bright from the mint of genius. It must have the ring of the pure metal, with no "dull thud" business about it. A man might make the finest soap and the best starch on earth; but if the people are not willing to be soaped with that particular soap or starched with that particular starch, what profit is there in it to the producer?

It is true that the profession of advertising has always engaged the talent and energy of some of the brightest minds in the land; but the work of the past-masters in publicity will seem small and commonplace compared with what will be demanded by the era of industrial combination and trade expansion upon which we are now entering. Thousands of "good things" are slumbering in the intellects of men — mechanical inventions, chemical compounds, toys for children, foods for invalids, remedies for diseases, appliances for contributing to the luxuries and comforts of life. Who is the alchemist that can transmute them into gold? The man who can merely write a good magazine or newspaper advertisement will not answer the purpose. It calls for a genius who can originate and work out the entire publicity scheme.

Humanity will wear more shoes and farmers will use more wagons in 1902 than ever before in the history of the race; but the man who has a million invested in the manufacture of shoes or wagons can do little in the coming years without the genius of publicity. He must call to his aid the men of ideas, men who are masters of the art of presenting forcefully and effectively to the millions of consumers the merits of a particular commodity. The genius of the artist, the printer, the photographer, and the writer will be laid under tribute to this twentieth-century profession of publicity. More than ever before will it engage the thought and energy of men of talent and education. The time will come when the devising of an original, skilful, and successful plan for launching a new commodity upon the market will command a fee that would now appear incredible. Here is the golden opportunity offered by twentieth-century industrial evolution and expansion to "the young man with nothing but brains."

TRUMAN A. DE WEESE.

WANTED — AN OPPOSITION.

IN his famous address, "On Conciliation with America," Burke declared: "A great empire and little minds go ill together." The political opponents of Burke doubtless retorted that *his* was the little mind, and confidently asserted that the adoption of the policy of conciliation he advocated would mean loss and humiliation to the British Empire. Posterity, however, has formed a different opinion. In the clear light of after events, we of to-day see that Burke was right, and that his opponents — the majority — were wrong. We now know that, thanks to a foolish and arrogant policy of narrow-minded ministers and an obstinate King, the British Empire lost what at the present time would have been the largest and fairest gem in her imperial crown. But the majority in Parliament failed to see this when Burke, Chatham, Barré, and the few other members of the small, but fearless, minority were pleading for conciliation, and uttering direful prophecies that were, alas, to be fulfilled.

Eighty years later the warning voice of John Bright sounded almost alone in denunciation of the policy that was hurrying the country into war with Russia in behalf of the unspeakable Turk. Again the minority in Parliament — a hopeless one at the time — was right. Again it was proved that *vox populi* is not always *vox Dei*; and it was left for a subsequent premier of the very party that had denounced as "traitors" those who opposed its war policy, to admit sadly that "we put our money on the wrong horse" in the matter of the Crimean War.

It has been said that "history is only past politics, and present politics are future history." If such be the case, the politics of to-day will furnish a fruitful field for the future historian.

To the thoughtful man, even though he be no deep student of history, the present situation of things in regard to South Africa offers many striking points of analogy with the two instances from the past mentioned above. Will the outcome be the same? Will the future historian have to record that South Africa also was lost to the British Empire because of the same fatuous levity and indifference, the same crass ignorance, the same stupid severities of arrogant and misguided minis-

ters? Or, though chronicling a victory for British arms, will it be as costly and barren a triumph as that won at Bunker Hill, or in the Crimea? The future will tell. What that verdict shall then be, we of to-day are determining now.

After twenty-seven months of fighting in South Africa, what is the actual situation confronting us there at the present moment? We need go no further than the recent speeches of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Brodric to get an answer that should cause even "the man in the street" to pause and consider. According to the Secretary for War, in a recent speech, we find that after all these weary months, after all the terrible cost in money and in blood, after all the specious assurances that "the war is over," British arms are to-day supreme in only one-eighth of the Transvaal, and in less than one-third of the Orange Free State! The regularly appointed governments of the two Republics — incorrectly called ex-Republics, for *de facto* governments still exist — are uncaptured, and continue to exercise jurisdiction; their daring commandants apparently move in whatever direction they choose, while the end of the war none can foresee. There have been many official predictions, but all these have been contradicted by the course of events. Could more damaging proof be given of the woful ineptitude, the hopeless lack of diplomacy and statesmanship, the culpable levity and self-complacency of the present Government? Proclamations, farm-burnings, banishment, confiscations, hangings, floggings, and concentration camps have all been tried, and tried in vain. Such measures — with the exception of the concentration camps and banishment — were also employed without success in the war with the American colonies. They had the same effect on the Americans that they have had on the Boers, simply stiffening the resistance of the people, and breeding a hatred that has not yet wholly died out.

The only measures to end the war and bring about a lasting peace, namely, conciliation and generous terms, have been the very measures omitted. It is meaningless buncombe to assert, as has been asserted, that "the most generous terms ever offered to a beaten foe" have been held out to the Boers. Lord Kitchener knows better. Any thinking man knows better. Such an assertion is on a par with the reiterated declarations that "the war is over," or with the unctuous pharisaism that declares the concentration camps to be healthier places than the average Boer home before the war. The unreliability of such statements, to use a mild term, is self-evident and conspicuous. The death-rate in the concentration camps is over 250 in 1,000. The death-rate

in the Transvaal before the war was under 16 in 1,000. It is also instructive to note that of all the many thousands of prisoners taken by the Boers, 5,000 or 6,000 of whom were kept for many months before being released, less than 100 have died in captivity.

That the country is drifting all can see. But whither is it drifting? Taxes are mounting upward, and still upward, while trade is steadily going downward. The ship of state is in distress. A pilot is needed whose qualifications consist in something more than an ability to box the whole political compass.

In the war with America it took seven long years to bring Parliament to its senses. But in the end the right-seeing minority became the majority, and won the day. On March 4, 1782, General Conway moved and carried in Parliament, without a division, the motion that the House would consider as enemies to the Sovereign and the country all those who should advise the continued prosecution of the war. After this the way toward a treaty of peace was assured. What happened then may happen now. And yet, the war with America cost less than one-third of what the present deplorable struggle in South Africa has already swallowed up. The Americans, too, were revolted British subjects, while the citizens of neither of the Republics in South Africa could be so designated.

The Boers have made overtures for peace more than once. From the start they have invoked arbitration, and have declared themselves ready to abide by whatsoever verdict should be rendered. Can the cause of any nation be a just or righteous one that refuses to submit to this civilized and Christian method of settling disputes? Arbitration was successfully invoked in the case of Venezuela. Why should it not prove of equal potency in the present conflict? The door is still open for an honorable and lasting peace. But the negotiations must be put into trustworthy hands. No one on whom even the breath of suspicion rests should be entrusted with such a task. Can it be doubted that negotiators of the unquestioned honor, ability, and fairness of Mr. John Morley, Lord Coleridge, Mr. James Bryce, or Sir Robert Reid would still be able to bring order out of chaos, and peace out of internecine war? Men such as these are known and trusted by the Boers. Their word would be as good as their bond. Their promises, the Boers know, would be sacred, and carried out to the letter. Reliance could safely be put on such men, and on their knowledge of South African affairs as well.

A united opposition with a definite policy will use the opportunity presented by the reassembling of Parliament to direct the attention of

the people toward a sensible policy of conciliation. It will urge the offering of generous terms to an honorable foe, whose unpardonable crime, in the eyes of the present Government, is, that they prize their liberties and will maintain their rights, even to the last man, rather than submit to the disgraceful terms of "unconditional surrender." Englishmen would do the same under like circumstances. Cannot Englishmen, then, respect a brave enemy battling for something better than the total extinction of all national existence, and the abridgment of local self-government?

The Liberal party has to-day an opportunity such as comes but at rare intervals in a nation's history. It has the men, and it has the ability, to effect much. The questions that the country is anxiously waiting to see decided are: Will the Liberal party employ to the fullest extent the power and ability it possesses? Will it present a united front to its shaken and dispirited opponents? Will it, by taking a firm and unmistakable stand, compel the adoption of a policy that shall save the drifting ship of state from striking on the rocks that loom ahead?

ALAN P. GILMOUR.

THE SINKING FUND AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.

IN the vault of the Register of the Treasury at Washington there is preserved a thin, ledger-shaped volume of sixty pages, entitled: "An Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of the United States commencing with the Establishment of the Treasury Department under the Present Government, and ending on the thirty-first day of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one." The book is time-worn and charred by fire, and was doubtless rescued from the flames that destroyed the Treasury Building on August 24, 1814. At the top of the fifty-fourth page, which is yellow and brittle with age, appears this statement in the account of the disbursements of the Treasury:

For the Reduction of the Public Debt.

For monies advanced to sundry persons Agents for the President of the Senate, the Chief Justice, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General, who, by virtue of the act entitled, "An act making provision for the Reduction of the Public Debt," are impowered to make purchases of the Debt of the United States.

1790.	Dec. 15.	To Samuel Meredith, Treasurer, Warrant No. 776.	\$200,000
1791.	Jan. 26.	do. - - do. 856.	50,000
	Sept. 29.	do. - - do. 1265.	149,984.23
			\$399,984.23
	Feb. 5.	To Benjamin Lincoln, Collector for the District of Boston, do. 869	\$50,000
		To William Heth, Collector for the District of Bermuda-Hundred, do. 870	50,000
	Sept. 29.	To William Seton, Cashier of the Bank of New York, do. 1266	200,000
		Total amount,	\$699,984.23

This is the first entry of the long series of entries that tells the story of the borrowing and repayment by the United States, in original and refunding loans, of over fifteen billions of dollars in a little over one hundred years. This story has no parallel in the financial history of any other nation, either in the magnitude of the results accomplished or in the rapidity with which they were brought about. It is especially

interesting at this time when we are approaching the period which will witness the extinction of the last vestige of the enormous debt contracted during the Civil War.

While there is nothing more irritating and harassing to all honest men than the burden of private debts, there is nothing which gives the citizens of the United States less concern at the present time than do the public debt and the national obligation for its repayment. This apparent indifference is not due to any lack of integrity in the attitude of the people toward the national obligations, or to any desire to defer indefinitely the final discharge of the public debt; for, in the words of the late Senator Morrill, "The American people are emphatically a debt-paying people. They do not believe in perpetual mortgages." The prevailing feeling cannot be attributed to a falling-off in the zeal of our people in upholding the honor of our country, or to any failure to realize our duty to posterity in our present conduct of the affairs of the nation; for we have always believed with Jefferson that "the discharge of the debt is vital to the destinies of our government." Still less can the general indifference be ascribed to a disregard of the importance of maintaining unimpaired the credit of the nation; for we are still acting, as we always have done, upon the maxim of Hamilton, that "the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment."

The national debt gives us little or no concern at this time because the charges imposed by it upon the people are light and are rapidly diminishing, and because our abundant resources guarantee its prompt payment as it matures. The annual interest on the debt had fallen from over 143 millions in 1867 to less than 38 millions in 1898; and, notwithstanding the loan necessitated by the war with Spain, the present interest charge is only a little over 28 millions a year.

The principal reason why the national debt has ceased to vex the minds of men is because our people are conscious that the dream of the founder of our financial system has come true, that posterity would realize that he had solved the problem of rendering public credit immortal. Our interest-bearing debt is now about 940 millions, while the estimated revenues for the current year are 700 millions. Our two-per-cent bonds command a premium of over eight per cent in the open market. During the last four months the available cash balance in the Treasury has ranged from 160 millions to 190 millions. It is little wonder, then, that the question which now engages the attention of the legislative and administrative officers of the Government is not what we can do with the debt, but what we shall do with the surplus.

The secret of rendering not only national but individual credit immortal lies in the prompt payment of debts. National debts, however they may be converted or refunded, can only be extinguished by the application of the accumulated annual surpluses of receipts over expenditures. No imaginary "earnings" of a sinking fund composed of bonds that have been paid and withdrawn, no juggling with figures, no necromancy of unintelligible accounts, no magic of compound interest on a cancelled debt — none of these has ever contributed one cent toward the discharge of national obligations. Whatever language may be used to describe it, and in whatever form its accounts may be kept, the only fund that wipes out national debt is the fund that results from spending in the support of the Government less than is received from the national revenues.

The story of the payment of the national debt is, therefore, the account of the means devised for earning a surplus and the methods adopted for its application. This narrative divides itself quite naturally into three periods: (1) From the establishment of the Government to the extinction of the debt in 1836; (2) from the commencement of the new debt in 1837 to the outbreak of the Civil War; and (3) from 1861 to the present time.

The Secretaries of the Treasury whose names were prominent in the first period of our financial history were Hamilton, Gallatin, Dallas, Crawford, and Woodbury. Hamilton's task was the establishment of the new Government and the restoration, or rather the creation, of public credit. Gallatin simplified and improved the debt-paying system, and, together with Dallas, met successfully the demands made upon the Treasury by the second war with England. Crawford enlarged the scope of the debt-paying provisions in the law, and paved the way for the final discharge of the debt. Woodbury had to deal with a surplus, but he found more difficulty in handling a surplus than his early predecessors experienced in dealing with deficits.

Hamilton's administration of the Treasury lasted a little over five years, from September 11, 1789, to February 2, 1795. The assumption of the debts of the Confederation, amounting to over 75 millions, made it imperative upon the new Government to provide for the funding and final payment of these debts. The Act of August 4, 1790, provided that, out of the amount realized from the duties on imports and the tonnage of ships, the sum of \$600,000 should be reserved for the support of the Government, and that the residue should be appropriated annually toward the payment of the interest and the principal of the foreign

debt, which amounted to \$12,000,000. The President was authorized to borrow not exceeding \$12,000,000 to meet the instalments that should come due on this debt, which was discharged in full in 1810. Provision was also made for funding the domestic debt. Section 22 of this act contains the first sinking-fund enactment. It provides that the proceeds of the sales of lands in the western territory shall be appropriated "towards sinking or discharging" the debts of the United States.

But this was only the beginning of Hamilton's elaborate sinking-fund scheme which was perfected in the legislation of the next five years. He briefly outlined his plan in his first Report on the Public Credit, in January, 1790:

The Secretary proposes that the net product of the Post Office, to a sum not exceeding one million of dollars, be vested in commissioners, to consist of the Vice-President of the United States or President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chief Justice, Secretary of the Treasury, and Attorney-General of the United States, for the time being, in trust; to be applied by them, or any three of them, to the discharge of the existing public debt, either by purchase of stock in the market, or by payments on account of the principal, as shall appear to them most advisable, in conformity to public engagements; to continue so vested, until the whole of the debt shall be discharged.

In his report of February 7, 1792, he refers for the first time to the interest on the purchases of the debt as a fund available for the reduction of the outstanding obligations. "The purchases of the debt, already made, have left a sum of interest in the Treasury, which will be increased by future purchases." This delusive language, which ascribes earning power to a cancelled debt, clothes with obscurity all the sinking-fund legislation of England and America during the last two centuries, and still throws an air of mystery about our existing laws.

No doubt Hamilton was familiar with Stanhope's sinking-fund plan, which was adopted by Walpole in 1716, and with Pitt's scheme of 1786. But he cannot be accused of borrowing the general idea of a sinking fund from Pitt, for in 1782 he had introduced in the Congress of the Confederation a resolution for the establishment of such a fund. Pitt's plan, which was largely the outcome of the work of Dr. Price, has been described as consisting of "the annual appropriation of a certain sum of money to the purchase of public stocks at their current price, and the application of the interest accruing upon stock so purchased to yet further increase the operations of the fund." Price convinced himself of the efficacy of his scheme with this astonishing argument:

One penny put out at our Saviour's birth to five per cent compound interest would, in the year 1791, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in three hundred millions of earths, all solid gold. But, if put out to simple interest,

it would in the same time have amounted to no more than seven shillings and six pence. All governments that alienate funds destined for reimbursement choose to improve money in the last, rather than in the first, of these ways.

Hamilton, of course, was the last man in the world to be deceived by such ludicrous arguments. He knew that if by any stretch of language a cancelled debt could be said to draw interest, only surplus revenues could pay that interest. Why then did he adopt his complicated debt-paying machinery? The reason is plain. The prime object of his financial measures was to establish and maintain the credit of the new Government, not only at home, but abroad. What, then, was more natural than the adoption of a debt-paying plan that was familiar to all our creditors, and respected, if not understood, in all the money centres of Europe? All things considered, it was probably the best plan that could have been adopted at that time, as the results of its operation subsequently proved. Within a generation the United States paid off the debts incurred in two foreign wars and in the purchase of half a continent.

The Act of August 12, 1790, provided that the surplus revenues derived from duties on imports and from the tonnage of ships, together with the interest on the debt purchased, should be applied to the purchase of the debt at its market price not exceeding par. The purchases were to be made under the direction of the President of the Senate, the Chief Justice, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General, with the approbation of the President. In the Act of May 8, 1792, these officers were formally designated as commissioners. "The Sinking Fund" was established by name in the Act of March 3, 1795, and thereafter the officers having charge of the fund are referred to as "The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund."

The members of the first board were John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Edmund Randolph. They first met in New York City on August 26, 1790. For over thirty-five years this board had the supervision of the payment and purchases of the public debt. It was the most august and distinguished political body that ever assembled in the United States, composed as it was of the men who, from time to time, held the highest offices in the Federal Government. The high character of this board gave to the creditors of the nation the assurance that the laws for the payment of the debt would be faithfully executed. All the accounts of the board were kept by the Treasury Department. Moneys received for the sinking fund were passed to the account of the commissioners, and were paid out on their order. The

board had only one salaried officer, a secretary, who received \$250 a year.

Hamilton's sinking-fund scheme, as finally developed in the Act of 1795, contained two propositions: (1) that so much of the revenues as should be necessary to pay the instalments of principal on certain portions of the debt, together with all other sums theretofore appropriated for the sinking fund, including interest on the debt purchased, should constitute an annual appropriation to be paid to the sinking-fund commissioners to be used for the reduction of the debt; (2) that the surplus revenues over and above the annual appropriations should be paid to the commissioners. The Act declared that these funds should "be vested in the said commissioners, in trust," and that the faith of the United States was pledged that the moneys should "inviolably remain and be appropriated and vested, as aforesaid."

These provisions were in accordance with Hamilton's recommendations in his report of 1792, that the sinking fund should be "so vested as to acquire the nature and quality of a *proprietary* trust, incapable of being diverted without a violation of the principles and sanctions of *property*." Hamilton's theory was that whenever a loan was made, the act authorizing it should contain a provision establishing a fund for its payment, which should constitute part of the contract between the Government and its creditors. Such legislation may be assuring to the creditors as a declaration of national policy; but it is based on the assumption, too often proved to be erroneous, that subsequent Congresses will be bound thereby. Apart from its complexity and its adherence to the delusion in reference to the earnings of the cancelled debt, the most striking feature of Hamilton's plan was the uncertainty of its operations. As no specified amount was appropriated, it was impossible to tell beforehand what sum would be applicable in any year to the discharge of the debt; and as this sum depended largely upon the excess of receipts over expenditures it was subject to great and unexpected variations.

This uncertainty in the operations of our debt-paying machinery was removed by Albert Gallatin, who became Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson. He remained in office from May, 1801, to February, 1814, a longer term of service than that of any other cabinet officer in the history of the Government. Gallatin estimated that an annual payment of \$7,300,000 would pay the interest on the debt and discharge the principal as it became due. The favorable condition of the revenues in 1802 led him to recommend to Congress such a modification of the

sinking-fund laws as would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay that sum to the sinking-fund commissioners each year. This recommendation was carried out in the law of April 29, 1802. Owing to the increase of the debt in 1803 by the issue of stock to the amount of \$11,250,000, on account of the purchase of Louisiana, Congress, by Act of November 10, 1803, increased the appropriation for the sinking fund to \$8,000,000 annually.

Under the operation of these laws, the debt had been reduced to \$45,000,000 in 1812. The war with England then necessitated new loans. By January 1, 1816, the debt had risen to \$127,000,000. The restoration of peace and the large increase in the revenues from customs and the sale of public lands enabled Congress, in 1817, to make large appropriations for the payment of the debt. By the Act of March 3, 1817, the sum of \$10,000,000 was annually appropriated for the sinking fund, and \$13,000,000 in addition was appropriated for the current fiscal year. Section 4 of this act provided that all surplus in the Treasury above the sum of \$2,000,000 should be paid to the sinking-fund commissioners for the purchase of the debt.

This reservation is interesting as affording a comparison between what was considered a sufficient working balance for the Treasury in 1817 and the amount deemed necessary at the present time. This section also contains a touch of humor which was hardly to be looked for in a legal enactment, but of which its author must have been conscious. This appropriation for the sinking fund is to be made "whenever there shall be, at any time after an adjournment of Congress, in any year, a surplus of money in the Treasury." The author was undoubtedly alive to the disintegrating effects upon the Treasury surplus of a session of the Congress of which he was a member. To the credit of his perspicacity, however, it may be said that many subsequent Congresses have displayed marked ability in the obliteration of surpluses.

The earlier statutes specified the maximum prices at which the debt should be purchased and threw around the commissioners other restrictions. On January 1, 1830, the debt was \$49,000,000. The Act of April 24, 1830, the last statute conferring authority upon the sinking-fund commissioners, was in the nature of a vote of confidence in that body. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to place at the disposal of the commissioners such portion of the surplus as he might decide upon with the approbation of the President; and the commissioners were given authority "to apply such surplus to the purchase of any portion of the public debt, at such rates as, in their opinion, may be

advantageous to the United States; anything in any act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding."

In his annual message of December 7, 1835, President Jackson was able to congratulate the country upon the extinction of the national debt. In this message he also recommended that the offices of commissioners of the sinking fund be abolished. The commissioners met for the last time in Washington, February 6, 1836. Their report to Congress of that date contains this paragraph:

The commissioners respectfully renew the recommendation submitted by them to Congress in their last report, that the sinking fund and the commissioners of the sinking fund be discontinued, and suitable provision made for the payment of the principal and interest of the remaining portions of the public debt when called for, as was proposed in the annual report made to the commissioners by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1835; and also that directions be given for the disposition of the records and papers of the commissioners, after the discontinuance of the board.

This is probably the only instance where Federal office-holders have recommended the discontinuance of their offices. They set an example which has had no followers and for which there was no precedent. They deserve the gratitude of their country, however, for establishing a precedent that may be commended to those office-holders who are sensitive about throwing upon Congress the sole responsibility of terminating the unilateral relation that exists between them and the national Treasury. The men who made themselves immortal by advising their own removal from the ancient and honorable office of sinking-fund commissioners were Martin Van Buren, Vice-President, John Forsyth, Secretary of State, Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, and Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney-General. The office of Chief Justice was not represented on the board, as Marshall had died in July, 1835, and his successor had not been appointed. The last official reference to the board is in the Treasury Statement of 1837, where this item occurs among the payments for the civil list: "Asbury Dickins, as Secretary of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, to April 11, 1836, \$43.95."

Notwithstanding the recommendations of the President and the commissioners, no action was ever taken by Congress to abolish the board. With the extinction of the debt and the exit of Dickins, its operations were necessarily suspended, and it became practically extinct. Since 1836 the laws previously passed relating to the sinking fund have been considered obsolete.

A review of the first period in the history of the payment of our debt inevitably suggests a comparison between the sinking fund of Hamilton and that of Gallatin. Many such comparisons have been

made, but the writers who criticise one system or the other fail too often to give proper consideration to the difference in the circumstances which surrounded the two men, and to a great extent controlled their policies. The essence of the difference between the two systems is, that Hamilton depended almost exclusively upon annual surpluses for his sinking fund, while Gallatin aimed to make the appropriation of a specific sum for annual debt-paying purposes a permanent lien upon the yearly revenues, prior to all other appropriations. But it is quite evident that Hamilton could hardly have adopted any more definite plan, for he began his administration with an empty Treasury and without revenues. Gallatin, on the other hand, succeeded to a well-established revenue system and a constantly increasing surplus.

The difference between the two systems was largely due to the difference in the times. The dominant object in the minds of Washington and Hamilton was the erection of a lasting Government upon the foundation of the Federal Constitution. To accomplish their object it was necessary to create national credit. This was done by assuming and funding upon favorable terms the debts of the Confederation. With Jefferson and Gallatin, the Government having been firmly established, the paramount issue, to use a familiar phrase, was the payment of the debt. Some months after his retirement Jefferson wrote to Gallatin, who was still at the head of the Treasury: "The discharge of the debt is vital to the destinies of our Government. We shall never see another President and Secretary of the Treasury making all other objects subordinate to this." While there was no net reduction of the debt under Hamilton's administration, and Gallatin's plan broke down under the strain of the war of 1812, it is still true that Hamilton's plan created and maintained the national credit which made possible the successful prosecution of the war, and that Gallatin's plan finally wiped out the debt which the national credit established by Hamilton's plan had enabled us to contract.

The second period in the history of the national debt, from 1837 to 1861, has received little consideration from writers on our revenue and financial systems. One well-known and able historian of the debt disposes of this period in less than three lines. It is, however, a useful period to study not for its triumphs, but for its blunders. The first period was characterized by strong, vigorous, successful national financing. The second period was marked by weak policies, often resulting in the wanton violation of the established principles of sound finance.

One general comparison will show the vast difference between the

results accomplished in the two periods. As we have seen, the second war with England left us with a debt of 128 millions. In less than twenty years the entire debt had been discharged. In the ten years of peace from 1837 to 1847, notwithstanding the increase in wealth and population, a surplus of over 42 millions was dissipated, and a new debt was contracted, which had risen to 39 millions at the beginning of the war with Mexico. Another ten years of peace and national development made no permanent reduction in the debt, which was still over 60 millions at the outbreak of the Civil War.

The period which we are considering opened without a debt and with a large balance in the Treasury. The scheme of distributing this surplus by depositing it with the State treasurers seems in our day more like the vagary of a madman than an act of intelligent legislation. Upon Congress alone rests the responsibility of this blunder, and to no less a man than Henry Clay belongs the discredit of introducing the measure that brought disaster and disgrace upon the country. Although Woodbury was not a great statesman or a brilliant financier, it is to his lasting credit that he always opposed this financial folly.

This dissipation of the funds in the Treasury, the consequent suspension of the State banks, and a falling-off in the revenues, compelled the Government to borrow money to defray current expenses. The Act of October 12, 1837, authorized the issue of Treasury notes to the extent of \$10,000,000. This beginning of a new national debt was marked by a departure from the old sinking-fund policy. For twenty-five years we had no sinking fund, and, although the matter was urged upon Congress, no systematic and effective legislation was provided for the extinction of the debt.

The general powers formerly vested in the sinking-fund commissioners were now transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury. Section 8 of the above act provides:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be reimbursed and paid the principal and interest of the Treasury notes which may be issued by virtue of this act, at the several time and times when the same, according to the provisions of this act, should be thus reimbursed and paid. And the said Secretary is further authorized to make purchases of the said notes, at par, for the amount of the principal and interest due at the time of purchase on such notes. And so much of any unappropriated money in the Treasury as may be necessary for that purpose is hereby appropriated, for paying the principal and interest of said notes.

Clauses similar to this were inserted in all the acts authorizing new loans down to 1862. In the later laws of this period there were no re-

strictions as to the price at which the debt should be purchased, and the entire surplus was appropriated for the purpose of discharging the debt.

Under the stimulus of the tariff of 1846 the revenues rapidly increased, and by 1852 a large balance had accumulated in the Treasury. Extensive bond purchases were made during the next few years; the Secretary, in his discretion, paying at times a premium of over twenty per cent. Congress was again embarrassed by a surplus with which it was unable to cope successfully; and an injudicious cut in the tariff reduced the revenues below the annual demands of the Government and precipitated the panic of 1857. In the follies and blunders of this period, especially in dealing with large Treasury balances, may be found some justification for the conclusion of Professor Adams, that "the policy of systematic deficits is believed to be in more perfect harmony with sound rules of finance than the policy of a continuous surplus."

No financier of the first rank presided over the Treasury during this period, and the financial reports are, with few exceptions, of uniform mediocrity. One report, however, deserves to be rescued from obscurity—the annual report for the year 1844 of George M. Bibb, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury during the last year of Tyler's administration. This report sets forth the dangers of a constant surplus; analyzes the sinking-fund systems of Hamilton and Gallatin; suggests the reappointment of the sinking-fund commissioners; and recommends the annual appropriation of \$2,000,000 for the sinking-fund account.

Bibb had no hallucinations about an automatically working sinking fund that discharged outstanding liabilities out of compound interest on a cancelled debt. His luminous definition of the only real sinking fund should be sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion:

The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which a public debt can be discharged. The lessening of expense and the increase of revenue are the only means by which the sinking fund can be enlarged, and its effectual operations be accelerated.

The third period in the history of the payment of the national debt opens with the revenue legislation of the Civil War. It was the plan of Secretary Chase to carry on the war by means of loans. His revenue measures were based on the principle laid down by Hamilton, that every debt should be accompanied by the means for its extinction. In pursuance of this policy, he recommended the establishment of a sinking-fund scheme that combined some of the features of the systems of Hamilton and Gallatin. This plan, which was enacted into law as Section

5 of the Act of February 25, 1862, authorizes the issue of United States notes and six-per-cent bonds, and provides:

That all duties on imported goods shall be paid in coin, or in notes payable on demand heretofore authorized to be issued and by law receivable in payment of public dues, and the coin so paid shall be set apart as a special fund, and shall be applied as follows:

First. To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States.

Second. To the purchase or payment of one per centum of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall in like manner be applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct.

Third. The residue thereof to be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

This sinking-fund law, codified in the Revised Statutes as Section 3694, is still in force. The language of the law is plain and the intention of the Legislature clear, with the exception of the fiction concerning the interest on the purchased debt. Enough of the coin received from duties on imports to pay the interest and purchase or pay before maturity one per cent of the principal of the debt was to be annually withheld from the Treasury and applied by the Secretary to such payments or purchases. Only the "residue" was to be paid into the Treasury. Every year the interest and one per cent of the principal of the debt were to be paid, no matter how small the balance that would go to the Treasury for the support of the Government.

This is the plain language of the law and the interpretation placed upon it by those who were instrumental in its adoption. As late as 1870 Mr. Sherman said in the Senate, in speaking of this law: "These particular revenues are pledged, mortgaged. You have no more right to take them for any other purpose than the public debt, than you have to take my property." No one has yet been able to determine whether the Legislature intended that the interest on the purchased debt should also be considered a prior lien on the customs receipts.

At the close of the war it was estimated that the operation of the sinking fund would discharge the debt in about thirty-five years. But the law has been variously interpreted at different times by the financial officers of the Government, and, under any interpretation that has been given to it, has never been fully complied with. Strangely enough it is under Mr. Sherman's administration of the Treasury that we find the smallest annual debt reduction in the history of the sinking fund. In 1879 the total amount credited to the sinking fund was only \$18,500. So much easier is it to make and interpret the laws than to execute them.

From 1865 to 1869 large amounts of floating and matured indebtedness were "paid"; but it was not until May, 1869, that any purchases of the debt were made for the sinking fund. It is with this date that the sinking-fund account, as kept by the Treasury, begins. During the last thirty-two years the annual purchases for the sinking fund have ranged from \$18,500, in 1879, to over 74 millions in 1881; and the total amount of securities redeemed for the sinking fund up to July 1, 1901, was 962 millions. On that date there was a balance due the sinking fund of over 343 millions; that is, if the requirements of the law had been fully complied with since 1869 over 343 millions more of securities would have been redeemed and credited to the fund.

But the sinking-fund account by no means shows the full amount of the debt that has been cancelled since 1865, or even since 1869. The interest-bearing debt in 1865 was 2,300 millions, and additions have been made to it since that time. However, the outstanding interest-bearing debt is now less than 950 millions. We must look, therefore, to some other account for an item of 800 millions of cancelled debt.

The Refunding Act of 1870 contained this provision, codified as Section 3696 of the Revised Statutes:

In addition to other amounts that may be applied to the redemption or payment of the public debt, an amount equal to the interest on all bonds belonging to the sinking fund shall be applied, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct, to the payment of the public debt.

The authority vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by this law was extended by the Act of March 3, 1881, Section 2 of which provides:

That the Secretary of the Treasury may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds: Provided, that the bonds so purchased or redeemed shall constitute no part of the sinking fund, but shall be cancelled.

These enactments confer upon the Secretary of the Treasury powers similar to those given to the old sinking-fund commissioners by the Act of 1830.

What is the practical operation of the sinking-fund law in connection with these later statutes? How have these laws been interpreted and administered by the Treasury department?

The sinking-fund law has not been regarded as mandatory. No coin has been set aside to meet the requirements of the law. The interest on the sinking fund has not been considered a permanent annual appropriation. All purchases and redemptions of bonds have been made out of the surplus funds in the Treasury. Whenever in any year the de-

mands of the sinking fund for that year have been complied with, additional purchases of bonds which may be made in that year are carried in another account. This method of separating into two accounts transactions belonging to the same subject is illogical and confusing.

Besides those already mentioned two other transactions are now carried in the sinking-fund account. Under the law of 1890 money deposited by national banks with the Secretary of the Treasury to secure their circulation is carried as part of the public debt. Redemptions of bank notes are now credited to the sinking fund. The Financial Act of 1900 provides that the premiums paid by the Secretary of the Treasury in exchanging two-per-cent bonds for outstanding securities shall also be credited to the sinking fund.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, the disbursements on the sinking-fund accounts amounted in round numbers to 56 millions. The official statement for the year shows the manner in which the account is kept:

SINKING-FUND ACCOUNT. FISCAL YEAR, 1901.

Dr.		Cr.
To balance from last year.....	\$345,968,471.37	
July 1, 1900—		
To one per cent on the principal		
of the public debt on June 30,		
1900, less coin and currency cer-		
tificates, Treasury notes, and		
cash available for reduction of		
the debt, viz., \$1,263,416,912.67.	12,634,169.13	
June 30, 1901—		
To interest on redemption prior to		
fiscal year 1901.....	40,962,369.79	
To interest on \$36,091,548.78		
amount of debt "paid" during		
fiscal year 1901.....	564,324.50	
	<u>\$400,159,954.79</u>	
		June 30, 1901—
		By principal of bonded debt re-
		deemed in 1901
		\$36,068,120.00
		By accrued interest thereon.....
		147,662.79
		By fractional currency and notes
		redeemed in 1901
		3,423.78
		By accrued interest thereon
		125.36
		By national-bank notes redeemed
		5,743,569.00
		By premium on bonds purchased.
		1,841,120.77
		By excess of present worth over
		par value of bonds exchanged
		for 2-per-cent consols of 1980...
		12,808,452.18
		By balance
		343,527,455.92
		<u>\$400,159,954.79</u>

An analysis of this account will show some of the departures from a literal interpretation of the law. The law says that one per centum of the "entire debt" shall be discharged in each fiscal year. The official statement of the "entire debt" on June 30, 1900, shows that it was \$2,101,445,225.67. But the computation for the sinking fund is made on the net debt, or the entire debt less the cash in the Treasury. Even on the basis of the Treasury computation the sinking fund last year called for 54 millions, exclusive of the bank-notes and two-per-cent bond premiums. The purchases, however, were less than 38 millions. The first item in the foregoing account, of over 345 millions, shows the deficit in the sinking fund up to the beginning of the fiscal year 1901.

Again, the law directs that one per centum of the debt shall be paid

or purchased in each year, not that an amount equal to one per centum thereof shall be disbursed. To carry out the intent of the law, therefore, the premiums paid on purchases of one per centum of the debt, if credited to the sinking fund, should also be carried as a charge against the account. Further illustrations are unnecessary to show that the operation of the sinking-fund laws which have been on the statute-books for forty years is not uniform, certain, or automatic. These laws are simply a system of bookkeeping. Their operation depends, as the operation of all such laws must depend, upon the condition of the Treasury and the discretion of the financial officer of the Government.

As no one could justly criticise the Secretary of the Treasury for a full compliance with these laws, to the extent at least of applying the surplus thereto, it is interesting to consider what effect such a compliance would have in the next few years upon the public debt. At the close of business on December 1, 1901, the aggregate debt was, in round numbers, 2,100 millions. Of this sum, 811 millions consisted of certificates and Treasury notes secured by cash in the Treasury, 7 millions of fractional currency, little of which will ever be presented for redemption, and 35 millions held for the redemption of national bank notes. This leaves the debt unsecured except by cash in the Treasury 1,300 millions, consisting of 347 millions of United States notes, or greenbacks, bearing no interest, and 950 millions of bonds. This interest-bearing debt is made up of 20 millions in five-per-cent bonds due in 1904; 240 millions in four-per-cent bonds due in 1907; 98 millions in three-per-cent bonds due in 1908; 140 millions in four-per-cent bonds due in 1925; and 446 millions in two-per-cent bonds due in 1930.

From the above analysis it will appear that there are 358 millions of bonds maturing within the next six years. Now the present annual demands of the sinking fund are something over 55 millions, and of course these demands increase as the capital of the sinking fund increases. It is apparent, therefore, that, if the sinking-fund laws could be made to work automatically and with precision, the entire amount of the debt maturing on or before August 1, 1908, would be discharged by their operation.

The outstanding interest-bearing debt would then consist of 140 millions due in seventeen years, and 446 millions due in twenty-two years. But the annual demands of the sinking fund would, in 1908, be about 67 millions a year. A compliance with these demands would redeem the 140 millions in three years, so that in 1911 there would be outstanding only the 446 millions of two-per-cent bonds. In 1911

the requirements of the sinking fund would be over 71 millions a year. A compliance with these requirements would, therefore, extinguish our interest-bearing debt by 1917. It was after this fashion that the framers of the law of 1862 intended it to work. But in its practical operation the Secretary of the Treasury is restricted to a judicious use of the balance remaining in the Treasury each year "after an adjournment of Congress."

Through the courtesy of the Secretary, I am enabled to give a statement of the sinking-fund account for the first six months of the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1901:

SINKING-FUND ACCOUNT. FISCAL YEAR 1902—SIX MONTHS.

Dr.		Cr.
To balance from last year.....	\$343,527,455.92	July 1, 1901, to December 31, 1901—
To one per cent on principal of the public debt on June 30, 1901, less coin and currency certificates, Treasury notes, and cash available for reduction of the debt, viz., \$1,221,572,244.89	12,215,722.45	By principal of bonded debt redeemed in 1902
To interest on redemptions prior to fiscal year 1902.....	41,960,809.17	By accrued interest thereon.....
To interest on \$43,968,659.75, amount of debt "paid" from July 1 to December 31, 1901	1,484,686.85	By fractional currency and notes redeemed in 1902
	<u>\$399,208,174.39</u>	By accrued interest thereon
		By premium on bonds purchased. 11,399,471.45
		By balance
		<u>\$399,208,174.39</u>

This statement shows that the principal of the bonded debt has been reduced eight million dollars more in the first six months of this year than it was in the whole of the preceding year.

In the foregoing estimate of the reduction of the debt that would take place if the sinking-fund laws were carried out, no account has been taken of the bond purchases which the Secretary is authorized to make by the Act of 1881, in addition to the requirements of the sinking fund. If the rate of reduction during the first six months of this year should be maintained throughout the year, the reduction of the principal of the bonded debt alone would amount to over 87 millions. A continuance of this annual rate of reduction would extinguish the entire interest-bearing debt in about eleven years.

The outstanding bonds bearing interest at three, four, and five per cent can be readily converted as they mature into long-time two-per-cent gold bonds, under the Act of 1900. We have in the Treasury an available cash balance that, as we have seen, has stood at between 160 and 190 millions during the last four months. The Secretary estimates that the surplus for the year ending June 30, 1902, will be 100

millions. This would produce a Treasury balance on that date of about 230 millions, if no future purchases of the debt should be made.

Congress ought, therefore, to determine whether the policy of reducing the debt should be continued, or a plan for converting the bonds adopted. If our ordinary expenditures are not increased and the purchases of the debt are discontinued, a greater reduction in taxation can, of course, be made than if we adhere to the policy of reducing the debt. I have no faith, however, in the supposed benefits of a national debt; neither do I believe in the policy of national deficit financiering, or in the efficacy of the restraining influence of such a system. We cannot tell what national trials the future may have in store for our country, and we should not selfishly transfer to posterity any burden of debt which the present peace and our abundant resources enable us easily to discharge.

In closing his extremely able report to Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury suggests that this is a most favorable time "to enter upon judicious measures to eliminate such elements of financial weakness as experience has brought into view, and to perfect, if possible, our now imperfect system of currency." In accordance with his suggestion this would seem to be a good time to repeal the obsolete sinking-fund law of 1862, whose inefficiency experience has effectually demonstrated.

We are now in a position to revert to Gallatin's policy and make a permanent annual appropriation of a sum that will be sufficient, in connection with the occasional use of the annual surplus, to discharge the outstanding bonds as they mature. Such a policy, definite in its terms and certain in its action, would enable us to adjust more nearly than we can now do our annual receipts to our annual expenditures. With such a permanent appropriation we should still be justified in making a considerable reduction in our present revenues. Such a reduction should, however, be made with caution. While a large surplus in the Treasury offers a tempting invitation to extravagant appropriations, on the one hand, it presents, on the other hand, an attractive inducement to an inconsiderate curtailment of the revenues. Congress is now given an excellent opportunity to shun the folly of 1836, avoid the blunder of 1857, and demonstrate for the first time its ability to deal successfully with a large and increasing surplus.

In 1817 two million dollars was considered a sufficient working balance for the Treasury; in 1837 five million dollars was held to be ample; at the present time fifty million dollars would undoubtedly meet all ordinary demands. There is now in the Treasury a sum of 120 mil-

lions over and above a reservation of 50 millions. In the present condition of the public credit, the accumulation of money in the National Treasury is not only of no benefit to the Government, but it is a positive injury to the business interests of the country.

The present condition of our finances and our prospective revenues recommend the diversion into the channels of productive private enterprises of some 80 millions which now flow annually into the vaults of the Treasury in the shape of war revenue taxes. Sound financial policy and the preservation of good faith with the people who have borne these taxes urge their repeal before another fiscal year begins.

No other portion of the public debt has caused the country as much trouble as the United States notes. As originally issued, they constituted the worst kind of a forced loan, justified only by the inexorable demands of war and the stern necessity of self-preservation. The suspension of specie payments and the issue of these notes — both being due to the absence of an adequate banking system — cost the Government several hundred million dollars through the payment of bond purchases in these notes at a heavy discount and the redemption of the bonds in gold. The total issue of these notes was, in round numbers, 450 millions. Over 100 millions were redeemed before their redemption was stopped. Of the amount redeemed, 29 millions were added to the sinking fund, which also contains 26 millions of fractional currency.

To meet the requirements of the sinking-fund law, so far as the statement of an account goes, interest on this redeemed paper is computed at six per cent, while interest on the other securities in the sinking fund is calculated at the rate which they bore when redeemed, and varies from 2 to 7.3 per cent. What could more effectually demonstrate the folly of the superstition that a cancelled debt earns compound interest than the necessity of keeping up the fiction that this paper currency, which bore no interest while it was alive, is able, now that it has been dead and entombed for a generation in the vaults of the sinking fund, to "earn" six per cent annually?

In his report the Secretary of the Treasury suggests a use to which the United States notes might be put in the improvement and extension of our national banking system. This plan deserves most careful consideration if the greenbacks are to be preserved. But why should we retain for any purpose the worst portion of the public indebtedness? Following in the line of the closing recommendation of the report, is not this an appropriate time to take the necessary steps for the final redemption of these notes? The Secretary of the Treasury under whose

guidance our currency shall be reduced to gold and silver, and paper representing coin, will deserve the gratitude of his contemporaries; and, whether he receives this or not, posterity will add his name to the roll of our greatest national financiers.

The lessons of the history of the sinking fund and the payment of the public debt are important and should frequently be recalled. Although nations should always be prepared, so far as possible, for the unexpected, sudden emergencies will arise which call for abnormal expenditures and justify extraordinary measures, including sometimes, in dire extremities, forced loans and the issue of irredeemable currency.

In these days of extended international credit a national hoard is of little or no benefit to the Government, while the concentration of money, by withdrawing it from the channels of productive industry, is a direct injury to the people. A nation that promptly pays its debts can contract new debts on the most favorable terms. Nations, like individuals, can provide for the payment of their indebtedness only by economy and saving. An automatically working sinking fund is a myth. No sinking fund can be devised that will even operate constantly, with certainty and precision. For this there are two reasons: (1) the discharge of the public debt, and even the payment of interest, must yield at times to the superior demands of the State for its own preservation; and (2) even a sovereign Legislature cannot bind the hands of its successors.

The rise and fall of public revenues are so sudden and so incapable of being foretold that reduction of revenue, when justifiable, should always be made gradually and with caution. Temporary or emergency taxes should be repealed before changes, designed solely for revenue reduction, are made in the permanent sources of the national income.

The history of the debts of modern nations — for national debts are a matter of the last two hundred years — has demonstrated the vast difference that exists between the principles of private and public financing. The chief aim of the man engaged in private business is the accumulation of a surplus and its profitable investment. Wise and successful public financing consists, however, in the nicest possible adjustment of receipts to expenditures; avoiding both constantly recurring deficits and a constantly accumulating surplus.

In conclusion, the story of the payment of our national debt enforces this precept, that periods of peace and prosperity should be devoted to the discharge of national obligations and to laying the sure foundations for future public credit; for it is a nation's credit, and not its army or navy, that makes it impregnable.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

LI HUNG CHANG: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

By the death of Li Hung Chang China has lost not only her greatest statesman of modern times, but her most widely known citizen. The 400,000,000 of China, as well as the millions of all continents, know his name and something of his history. In this fact alone may be seen his striking preëminence. When before has a representative of the Mongolian race made an impression on the people of Asia, Europe, and America? His success became evident when these three continents concentrated their armies and diplomacy in the capital of China. Greater even than any emperor of his lifetime is he; for in all languages his name is spoken even by children and the illiterate, while only scholars can distinguish one emperor in China from another. Tall and stately as he was in stature, he towered above his fellows in intellect, and especially in diplomacy. President Grant had good reason for saying that the three greatest men he had met in his tour around the world were William Ewart Gladstone, Prince Bismarck, and Li Hung Chang.

With what royal honors was he received in Europe and North America! And yet it was known that at the time he was not a *persona grata* with the Court of his own country. The greatness of the man and his past achievements commended him to the fair-minded of other lands while in his own country he was without honor and looked on with suspicion.

His preëminence was unique. The highest official rank in China is that of First Grand Secretary of State, and this rank was bestowed on him in 1875. He was the first Chinese to be thus honored during the present Manchu dynasty. During the China-Japan war, when one attempt after another had been made not only to degrade him from all rank and honor, but to take his life, he was imperially appointed to be the one minister with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate peace with victorious Japan. Again in 1900, after princes, nobles, and various Manchu dignitaries had rushed the Government into the policy of exterminating foreigners, Li Hung Chang, opposed to this policy, was appointed to sue for peace, even before the allies had captured Peking or

relieved the legations. While many mistrusted him, he was still the only man to fill the breach made by Manchu folly. He had his enemies, but he was called to the leadership — placed there, in fact, by the command of his sovereign. Though accused of being a traitor, and even while thus accused, he was given such power as, in the hands of a traitor, would have ruined the empire. His strong personality won him victories, and made him again and again indispensable.

The quality that saved him, and so saved the empire, was his patriotism. More than once was he urged, in the days of his greatest strength, when head of both the navy and the army of the North, to go to Peking, overthrow the Manchus, and seize the throne. He always spurned such counsels. He remained loyal to the Empress Dowager from the first time that she assumed the regency, in 1860. He despised the easy-going, superficial, narrow-minded imperial nobles and Manchu mandarins; but he put forth his utmost energy, in hours of crisis, for the maintenance of the existing Manchu dynasty. He realized, perhaps, that amid the complications which the presence of foreign powers had produced no new rule established by himself could succeed; or it may be that he preferred to bequeath to coming generations a reputation for fidelity and loyalty in the service of his supreme patron, the Empress Dowager. Whatever his motives, his public record evinces a patriotism which many have supposed did not exist in China.

As far as his personal allegiance was concerned, he was loyal more to the Empress Dowager than to her adopted son, the Emperor Kuang-hsu. The latter he regarded as weak-minded; the former he eulogized, notwithstanding her avarice and her complicity in the outrages of 1900. It is, perhaps, doubtful if he could have maintained a feeling of devotion to the dynasty, had he felt no personal admiration for the woman who for forty years has exercised the predominant authority.

In addition to a personal attachment there was in him, as in most Chinese, a conservative element, which turned from revolution and held to existing order and traditional rule. Though a supporter of the Manchu dynasty he was yet a typical Chinaman, devoted to the teachings of the ancient sages, and ready to observe the usages of his people. When only twenty-five years of age he won a degree in the third or metropolitan examination, and ever after he was a defender of ideas, manners, and things Chinese.

With all his conservatism he possessed the opposite quality of progressiveness. While admiring the history and teachings of his own country, he was quick to advocate improvements from abroad. For

more than twenty years before the war with Japan he was the leader of Chinese progress. Through him more than anyone else telegraphs, steamships, railways, a foreign-trained army, a navy, arsenals, foreign medicine, hospitals, and other Western ideas were introduced. He faced ridicule that the new might win its way. It was during this period that, as viceroy at Tientsin, he gained the reputation among all foreigners of being the virtual premier of China. If foreigners desired a concession or syndicate, they came to him. If the Peking Government needed assistance in dealing with the representatives of other Governments, it came to him. His confrères might think of making him a cat's-paw, but he was more apt to become a dictator. He was the middleman between China and the West. International treaties, mercantile compacts, concessionary agreements, papers for the employment of foreigners — all these depended on his approval and seal. He was pro-Chinese, but he was spoken of, and often denounced, as pro-foreign. Slanderers dubbed him "the second grade foreign devil." Few understood him as he really was.

His spirit of reform differed from that of the young reformers, who rushed the Emperor headlong into trouble in 1898. He was conservatively progressive; they were radically progressive. He had the slowness of age; they had the speed of youth. Many of their ideas had been his proposition, but he did not recognize them. He spoke of the young men as crazy, and they regarded him as an obstructionist. They believed in themselves as leaders and saviors of China; while it was his belief that he alone could do anything of value, and that without his advice and guidance the country would come to ruin. Hence it was that, whether progressive Chinese or reactionary Manchus were in power, he became despondent as to the future of China in proportion to the amount of neglect or encouragement which he himself received.

It is also noticeable that reforms which he favored were material rather than moral. He was more affected by outside glamour and attractiveness than by exhortations to moral reformation and the adoption of a new religion. He thought that China possessed enough moral sayings, and that what she needed was practical, visible, tangible improvements. Furthermore, he was convinced that Western nations were ahead of China, not in morals, still less in ethical teaching, but in material civilization. In fact, viewing him as a reformer, we must confess that he failed to inculcate honesty or to resist the various forms of official corruption. He regarded it all as mere custom, and thought that, for the present, Chinese custom need not be changed to foreign custom, espe-

cially when the latter might not be adaptable or easy of operation. Both he and his elder brother, Li Han Chang, began life poor, but accumulated large fortunes, which for the most part could have come only through their official positions. They have therefore, with some reason, been criticised as corrupt, even by those foreigners and Chinese who have used corrupt methods to gain their own ends.

This feature of his political creed and practice illustrates his attitude toward religion. He was more moved by material results in religion, whatever the name, than by its spiritual character. He observed certain religious rites, but rather as rites than as matters of principle. He was a typical Confucianist in thinking little of the future life, and in concerning himself little with dogmas as distinct from conduct. And yet for years he had prepared his coffin, desiring to enter on his long journey according to respectable Chinese usage. He did not believe that death ends all, neither did he try to think out what life hereafter is to be. He was an indifferentist rather than an agnostic, and was inclined to materialism rather than to spiritualism. As to Christianity, he favored the practice of missionary physicians more than the preaching of missionary evangelists. He preferred the Roman Catholic missions for their organization, and Protestant missions for intermeddling less in the native courts, and for the benefits accruing through their schools, hospitals, and translations of scientific books. He often complained that missionaries were a great nuisance, but he was prompt to give them such protection as the treaties required. Being an indifferentist he made less objection to religious toleration than a more religious but more bigoted man would have done. He read the Bible at times, for he had no fear of being made a convert.

In the course of my first conversation with him, after I had lived as missionary for seven years in a region near the sacred birthplace of Confucius and Mencius, he magnified Confucianism by catechizing me as follows: "Why do you missionaries come to China?" "To reform the Chinese people," I replied. "Oh, you needn't do that; we have all our sages who can do that." "But we have heard that there are some who cannot be reformed by Confucianism, and so we thought to try what Christianity could do." "Oh, if our religion cannot reform them, a foreign religion cannot." "But," I insisted, "give it a chance. If Christianity cannot do any good to your people, reject it; but if it can do good, accept it." "Useless!" — with a shake of the head — "useless!" As a parting shaft, when he accompanied me to the door, he asked: "How soon are you leaving for your home country?" "In three weeks," was

the innocent reply. "Well," with a twinkle, "you needn't come back. You had better stay in America to reform the Americans, so that they will treat our people a little better."

As a key to his character he might be termed a fatalist. He was a remarkable example of resignation. During the China-Japan war, when all China's woes and defeats were being traced to his mismanagement, and edicts were being issued for his condemnation, he went about his yamen at Tientsin quietly attending to his duties, and as complacent as in the former days of his widest renown. Whatever Fate decided it was useless for him to try to alter. "Whatever is, is," was his creed. Circumstances he might try to modify, but the force of circumstances he took as inexorable law, yielded to it, and was content. This feature of his character was conspicuous during the trying negotiations for peace which he, with Prince Ching, carried on with the plenipotentiaries of eleven powers. What he thought to be for the interests of his country he exerted himself to secure; but when he received an ultimatum he submitted, and made the best of an unpleasant situation. He did not bewail the inevitable. He went ahead to do the next possible thing, however inferior it might be to his wish or ideal. Very few can equal the Chinese in patience and cheerfulness in unpleasant circumstances, and Li Hung Chang in this gift stands first.

At the same time he was a man of strong passion. He would denounce his attendants, rage at any who opposed him, blurt out contemptuous remarks to inferior rivals, and hurl anathemas at those who differed. It was hard for self-respect to endure his contempt and anger. And yet his greatest fits of passion had a humorous side, and in consequence could be gently overlooked. In his last years one could feel that his disposition was mellowing, and could admire him for his self-mastery.

As an outcome of his peculiar temperament he became a champion tease. Sometimes his teasing was tinged with a small spice of spite, but more generally it was made palatable by the essence of real good-humor. He loved a joke, but still more loved to joke others. Pleasantry was a relief to him. To "poke fun" was his evening recreation after the performance of arduous duties. Even serious deliberations were facilitated by laughter. Probably no other Chinese official shows this trait of humor and sarcasm to as large a degree. Dignity is the more usual characteristic. Chinese have more humor than foreigners suppose, but teasing is seldom indulged in by those high in rank. In fact, it would generally be regarded as unbecoming; even with such a great man as Li Hung Chang many found an inclination to resent it. To ap-

preciate it placidly one needed a long acquaintance and an easy attitude of give and take.

Not only was he a champion tease, but a first-class quiz. Those who came to interview him found, on leaving, that they themselves had been interviewed. His familiarity through forty years with persons of all classes and countries made it natural for him to ask questions. His pseudonym might well be an interrogation point. Many of his questions seemed to a stranger childish or perhaps disrespectful, but through them all might be seen an inquiring mind eager for knowledge. He was especially keen on knowing how much money a man had or had made. It seemed to him as practical a theme as any. Cash is the common talk of all China; and Li Hung Chang was eager to discuss with others their way of getting a fortune, as he himself was eager to possess one and to make the wisest investments. One's age was always inquired into, as it generally is by all Chinese. In addition, he would ask if his visitor, whether gentleman or lady, was married, and if not, why not. Seeing that all respectable Chinese are married, he esteemed marriage an honorable theme for discussion, as also an honorable custom to observe. His queries soon showed there was "method in his madness" of quizzing. If he granted an interview, he proposed to compensate himself by gaining light upon some points. This was his purpose, even when flattered by persons who asked to be allowed an interview because of his greatness.

Few Chinese officials of rank have been more approachable than this First Grand Secretary. If visitors failed to see him, it was generally due to his secretaries or attendants. He lived in the midst of conspicuous exclusiveness; but his guest-room was open to those who sought admittance, especially if they came from abroad and were properly introduced. He had no fear of espionage, neither was he afraid to express himself. One needed to be quick-witted to gain an advantage in argument with him or to obtain a knowledge of any of his secrets. He was generous in manner, but he had the faculty of keeping his own thoughts.

No doubt a large part of his friendly approachableness was due to the influence of the men around him. He knew how to secure the aid of others and to utilize the peculiar ability of each one. For nearly thirty-five years a well-read, well-balanced, accomplished American, Mr. William W. Pethick, acted as his private secretary, translating books and articles on all manner of topics. Certainly the viceroy's familiarity with all questions depended on this capable assistant, whose biography of the distinguished statesman will be the only comprehensive and standard

one. In the negotiations for peace between China and Japan, the Chinese envoy was aided not only by Mr. Pethick, but by the Hon. John W. Foster, and the present Chinese ministers to Washington and to the Court of St. James. In the negotiations of 1901, he was much assisted by the diversified talent of different Chinese who were his protégés; the only foreigner to help China being Sir Robert Hart, who was an official in the Chinese Government, and especially designated by the Throne to coöperate with the two Chinese plenipotentiaries.

A man of massive proportions, stupendous will, wide experience, great authority, and a large and amenable following, he was gentle and kind to children. He especially loved to see the children of his foreign friends. This weak, helpless, but intelligent old man, nearing his four-score years and his journey to the life beyond, would insist on being supported to his feet and shaking the hand of a little one who might be his guest. This interest in children is characteristic of the Chinese, notwithstanding the ruthless massacre which closed the century.

This great man, the "Grand Old Man," entered on the twentieth century, and honorably closed a long and useful career, unparalleled in all China's history, by setting his seal to the protocol of twelve powers for the restoration of peace. His closing task was unpleasant, but no one else in China could have done better, in the face of demands supported by military occupation. The height of his power and popularity was reached from 1874 to 1894, when he was Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province, Superintendent of Northern Trade, and the undelegated but recognized Minister of Foreign Affairs; but his innate greatness was revealed even more fully during the last months of his life, when he was called upon to comply and not to dictate, and when many of his own dreams and enterprises for the good of China had been fraught with catastrophe through the folly of his own countrymen. He was quite willing to say "Farewell"; he saw but little brightness in the coming days for his beloved land. Brave, diligent, high-minded, patriotic, keen, far-seeing, unique in personality, with a grasp on the questions of the hour, born to command but ending life in a great act of submission, appreciating friends and steadfastly true to them, loving life with all its tragedy and romance, and yet resigned to the summons to depart, he stands among men as one deservedly honored, one whose memory will live in China and in all the world.

GILBERT REID,

THE REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

THERE is probably no subject of greater importance to organized society than the problem of how to deal with the criminal classes so as to reduce their number and thereby prevent crime. Criminals there always will be, and hence some crime. How to minimize both deserves the best thought of the hour.

Crime is largely a matter of heredity and environment. Men seldom become criminals unaided. A few acts of crime are committed under stress of extreme necessity; but the men by whom these are committed should not be ranked with the criminal classes.

It is often said that crime is on the increase. It would be truer to say that what constitutes crime is constantly being increased by legislation. Our State Legislatures at every session pass one or more statutes, making certain acts misdemeanors which were not so before. Real crime and actual criminals are not on the increase. Professional criminals are rapidly fading away before the advancing light of civilization and education.

Punishment for crime has much to do with making criminals. This statement seems paradoxical, but it is an indisputable fact. Hundreds may be saved from a life of crime by the proper administration of the criminal laws. It used to be thought that severity of punishment was the wise course, indeed the only method, to prevent crime. Fear, no doubt, deters many; but it is not fear that must be chiefly relied upon to save men from crime. Crime existed when men were drawn and quartered, and when death was the penalty not only for murder but for many minor offences. It existed when the death penalty was inflicted in public places, and when the plucking out of an eye, the cutting off of the hand, and various other kinds of torture were common punishments. No man was ever made better by being put in the stocks. Severity is useful only in cases in which reformation is hopeless, and in which absolute removal from all social intercourse is therefore necessary.

We are rapidly coming to believe that kindness and close supervision are the best preventives of crime. There is no more cruel, in-

human, or unwise provision than that of the New York Constitution which requires the judge to impose for a second offence double the penalty fixed by law for the crime of which the offender is convicted. It simply substitutes brute force for reason and righteousness. Criminals and penalties must both be graded. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of so doing. Until within a few years—say fifteen, as the greatest period—all the States confined convicted persons, whatever their age or offence, in the same prison, and the penalty imposed had to be served by all inmates alike for the term imposed. Such is still the case in many States. But gradually there has grown up, as a first step in criminal reformation, a system of reduction of time for good behavior. This was established at first largely as a measure to assist prison discipline. It was found to be successful in its operation, and it has led up naturally to two other systems, now existing in several States, namely, conditional pardon and parole. Conditional pardon and parole are each simply a system of granting to a prisoner, by the governor or prison board, the right to go at large, upon good behavior, while his term of imprisonment is still pending.

As a part of the parole system several States have adopted what are called—inaptly, I think—indeterminate sentences; that is, they fix all penalties with a minimum and maximum term of years. To illustrate, they provide by statute that a person convicted of larceny shall serve not less than six months or more than three years; and the judge, in sentencing, simply sentences to a certain prison or reformatory where the offender must stay six months, but may be paroled at any time after that “to be at large during good behavior.”

The good effect of conditional pardon and parole statutes in the States in which they are in full operation is remarkable. In Minnesota they have an excellent parole law, and two results are claimed for it: (1) that it greatly lessens the number of severe punishments necessary to maintain a high standard of prison discipline; and (2) that it affords a humane and effective means of reaching and bringing out the better elements of the prisoners. The statistics in that State show fifty per cent less of solitary confinement cases during a given four years of the operation of the parole law than for a like number of years preceding. One hundred and seventy-seven were released on parole during the four years; only seventeen violated the conditions; and only three escaped from the State. Out of seventy-four paroled in California, only eight violated their parole; sixty-six remaining at large and doing well. Of 128 paroled in Michigan, only nine violated their parole, all others

receiving honorable discharges. In Massachusetts and some other States the percentage of good results is even greater. Governor Voorhees, of New Jersey, mentions in his annual message to the Legislature of 1900, that of all the prisoners paroled in that State not five per cent have returned to crime.

We can easily see how this result is attained. To get the parole, the prisoner is upon his good behavior as soon as he enters the prison. It is an indispensable condition that he shall have obeyed the prison rules. And, of course, as soon as he is out on parole he must be still upon good behavior in order to remain at large; otherwise, he will be returned to the prison at once. Each paroled man is required to report monthly to the prison authorities, on prescribed forms, where he is and what he is doing, with the endorsement of his employer or some other person as to the truthfulness of his report. If he breaks his parole, he is liable to punishment, as if he escaped from prison. Hence the result, as seen in the illustrations here given, shows that but few of the prisoners leave the State. It would be too great a risk to take; because, if caught, they would be brought back, convicted, and compelled to serve out not only the remainder of the old sentence, but a severe additional one for breach of their parole.

It will thus be seen that the system holds the person paroled to rectitude of conduct from motives both of hope and of fear — hope for full pardon and continued liberty, and fear of a much more severe imprisonment if the parole is violated. It also enables him to support his family, if he has one, and relieves the public of any charge for him and his. It gives the State a citizen instead of a convict, and inculcates honesty, not only from motives of necessity, but because it is evidently the only policy that can make life a success.

Another matter of equal importance in criminal administration relates not to the confinement, but to the place of confinement. Different persons should be differently confined. Young offenders should never be confined with old or confirmed criminals. Every State should have a reformatory, wherein only persons convicted for the first time and under a certain age, say twenty-five or thirty, should be confined. Imprisonment for this class of offenders should be entirely reformatory, never punitive. Reformation, not punishment, is what the State should seek in the case of the youthful first offender. New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin already have such institutions. They are called by the name of reformatories.

There is no work on which a State can so well afford to spend its money as that which may save the young from paths of crime, and stay the possible criminal impulse at the very threshold of life. To send an eighteen-year-old boy to the State's prison for a first offence, and condemn him to fellowship with confirmed criminals for a period of years, is a greater crime against the State than any offence that such a youth is likely to have committed. Almost every first offence of a young person is the result of environment. There are nearly always mitigating circumstances. Of course, to discharge such an offender without punishment is not possible in every case; but to send him to the State's prison is very unfortunate, if not cruel. Placing him in a reformatory, in which he will learn the value of discipline and from which he may be paroled, being taught thereby the importance of industry, good company, and honesty, is an effort on the part of the State which will probably succeed in turning such a youth into a good citizen. No cost is too great to achieve such a result. Every humane judge wishes for such an institution every sentence day.

First offenders should be made to feel that they are held in confinement for reformation only. They should never be compelled to put on a humiliating garb. They should never walk with the lock-step. They should never be punished in any degrading manner. They should be taught to hope; to feel that there are better things for them, and that their retention in the reformatory is for instruction rather than for punishment.

An address delivered some time ago by the warden of the Ohio State penitentiary contains some startling statements as to the effect of kindly prison discipline and sympathy. He said:

I addressed myself to the moral side of the question of convict treatment and reformation. I will let the results speak for themselves. Of the 2,300 men confined in the institution, but a fraction of 100 require disciplinary punishment. And this punishment is not the paddle. Nor are men stripped naked when brought into the prison court. Their cases are as thoroughly investigated as are the charges against the citizen on the outside. The punishments inflicted are loss of good time earned, degradation in class, and solitary confinement. We have three classes: First, second, and third. The third wear stripes; the first a blue gray uniform; the second a check suit. In a population averaging more than 2,300, there are less than sixty men in the third grade or class. . . . Even the outward appearance of the prisoners shows a marked improvement. They march no more in the degrading lock-step, but in double files, like soldiers, with heads erect. Their eyes, those "windows of the soul," reflect the self-respect they feel and which it has been my constant effort to inculcate.

The reformatory for first offenders under thirty years of age is modern in all its principles of criminal reformation. One of the require-

ments of the Act of 1899, creating the Indiana reformatory, is that the board of managers shall provide for the thorough training of each inmate in the common branches of an English education, and in such trade or handicraft work as will enable him, upon his release, to earn his own support; and shall establish and maintain and make rules for the government of common schools and trade schools. Among the rules of this reformatory is one which requires that the common-school instructor "shall examine inmates on their entering the institution as to their proficiency in the several branches of an English education, as taught in the common schools of the State, and shall assign each inmate to the class or classes he deems him best fit to enter." Another requires the trade-school instructor to "examine and determine to what manual employment each inmate should be assigned, and in which department or class in the manual training school instruction should be given."

One of the great problems of the age is how to save the young from becoming criminals. It is a much more serious question than even the ordinarily thoughtful man imagines. Personal experience, covering several years, has given the present writer convictions on this subject so strong as to be irresistible. Inquiry into the cause of the entry into crime of a boy eighteen years of age will, in almost every case, lead to information which will show that his offence was mainly due to the environment of enforced evil associations, bad home influences, or other improper surroundings. There is excuse—at least, great extenuation—for these boys. When they stand for the first time before the court it is the turning point in their lives. A term of imprisonment means a loss of self-respect and a probable assurance of a continuance in criminal association and life.

Within the last few years—less than ten—there has grown up in some States a system known as probation for first offenders. It takes the offender at the very threshold of a criminal life, and, instead of imposing a sentence of imprisonment upon him, commits him to the custody of a probation officer in whose care it permits him to remain at large. The system had its origin in the State of Massachusetts, where its admirable results have received the commendation of courts, legislatures, philanthropists, and all humane citizens. A study of the statistics of its operation has gained for the system the universal approbation of all investigators, and has produced earnest advocates for its adoption in many other States. Three States, at least, have adopted it in part within the last two years. It is pending in the legislatures of several. It will be eventually adopted in all.

In 1900, the Legislature of New Jersey adopted the system in a very short and simple statute. The New Jersey statute is more liberal and less restricted in the powers it confers upon the court and probation officer than is that of any other State which has adopted the system. Probation is parole before sentence or imprisonment. It is the most salutary method yet devised to save men from wrecking their lives and from devoting themselves to a career of crime. It takes the first offender and gives him a chance. The operative section of the New Jersey Act reads:

In case the record of any person convicted of crime shall in the judgment of the court so justify, it shall be lawful for the court in which the conviction is had, instead of imposing the penalty provided by law for the offence, to suspend the imposition of the penalty, and to order the person so convicted to be placed upon probation under the care of such probation officer for such time and upon such conditions as the court in its order may determine.

The court is required to establish rules for the government of the probation officer and of convicted persons committed to his care, and to enforce the observance thereof.

The results attained under the operation of this act in a single county of New Jersey—the county of Essex, in which is the large city of Newark—are most remarkable. The probation officer was appointed on April 1, 1900. Up to December 1, 1901, a period of twenty months, he had had committed to his custody 193 persons—184 males and 9 females—and of these only 15 have broken their probation, have failed to report to the officer, or have been rearrested for additional criminal acts. Of the 193, there were 88 male and 7 female adults, 77 males and 2 females between 16 and 21 years of age, and 19 boys under 16 years of age.

The New Jersey law applies only to cases in which the offender is under accusation or indictment for crime. Hence, these 193 persons were all committed to the probation officer by the quarter sessions court; and but for this officer all would probably have served at least a short term in the penitentiary. They have been saved from that. The difference in the effect upon the future life and character of these persons is beyond estimation. It is the difference between loss of self-respect and increase of self-respect. In the one case, the State is pushing the man farther down the road of crime; in the other, it is helping him up and away from that highway.

Much of the good result of the probation system depends, as in all other agencies, upon the way it is administered and the character of the

probation officer himself. It can be ruined by blunders or carelessness in operation. Those who enforce it must be as stern as they are humane, and as kind as they are firm. The offender should be made to feel that the State has an interest in his retrieving his error by a life of good citizenship; that the judge who has permitted him to go has done so to give him a chance to redeem himself; and that the probation officer, in whose custody he is, is full of kindness to aid him in accomplishing that result. When the system is thus worked, its beneficent results are past calculation. Crime will be lessened by the only possible method, the reduction of criminals. Any system which will hasten the advent of so desirable a result is worthy to receive the best thought of this enlightened age.

J. FRANKLIN FORT.

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN INDIANA.

FOR many years discussion has waxed and waned as to the proper method of caring for dependent children. The free-home system and the boarding-out plan have each faithful advocates. Some hold that no institution should be used; others, that there should be a combination of the institution and the family-home. The National Conference of Charities of 1899, by adopting the report of its Committee on Child-saving, ended the controversy between the institution and the family-home in favor of the latter, which it declared to be the proper and natural place for the nurture of a normal child. It has been agreed, also, that, whatever the system of care, supervision is necessary.

Needy children are to be found in every community, and Legislatures have enacted laws designed to give them the chance in life which would otherwise be denied them. As a result of these laws various agencies have been organized for the care of such children. Their work has been more or less perfect, according to circumstances. Supervision of the work on the part of the State has appeared to be a plain necessity; but what the best method of supervision may be is an open question. Attention is centred at present on Indiana, which is engaged in working out the problem under conditions peculiarly its own. A study of the experience of that State will show both the necessity for State supervision and its value.

In this paper, the word "dependent" is used to designate children cared for at the public expense, other than those in reformatory institutions, or in schools for the education of the deaf, the blind, or the feeble-minded. These exceptions, together with the dependent children of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, are cared for in State institutions at State expense. Dependence may be the result of orphanage, neglect, ill-treatment, poverty, or abandonment. The care of dependent children includes their rescue from the place of suffering, their temporary maintenance and training, and their establishment in surroundings suitable for the development of respectable, self-supporting citizens. Full State supervision would naturally include such work as would give to the

central authority a complete knowledge of each child requiring public care, and would secure to him just and proper treatment at every step.

The law providing for State supervision in Indiana was enacted by the Legislature of 1897, and vested authority in a State agency to be appointed and controlled by the Board of State Charities. The organization of the work began on April 1, 1897, with the appointment of a State agent. On May 1, 1899, a second agent was placed in the field, and on June 1, 1901, a third was employed. The duties and powers of these agents are set forth in the following extract from the law:

Every such agent shall have the right, and it shall be his duty, to inspect asylums carried on under this Act, and to report the result of every such inspection to such Board and to the Board of County Commissioners interested therein. He shall seek out proper permanent homes for the children of such asylums, or who are in charge of such associations, as are hereinbefore specified. He shall visit children for whom he has procured permanent homes, and, when practicable, other children indentured or otherwise placed in family-homes by any association. Such agent shall apportion the permanent homes found by him among the dependent children in the various counties in such a manner as equitably to distribute his services. He shall keep a complete, itemized record of his work, and shall report concerning the care, condition, and education of every child visited by him to the association or Board of Commissioners from which it was received, and to the Board of State Charities, and if at any time he is convinced that any child under his supervision is not receiving proper care and treatment, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to remove such child from the home in which it has been placed and return it to the association or county from which it came.

The principle obtains in Indiana that each community shall care for its own poor. In the matter of temporary care, the cost of maintenance is charged against the smallest political division, the township. Permanent maintenance, however, is made a charge against the next larger division, the county. To that end, each county is authorized, by statute, to have within its limits what is known as a county orphan asylum, or to join with one or more other counties in the maintenance of such an asylum. This asylum must be wholly distinct and apart from the county almshouse, and under entirely separate management. Dependent children under sixteen years of age are sent to it. The law of the State provides that no child between the ages of three and seventeen years may be maintained in an almshouse longer than sixty days, and makes it incumbent upon the Board of County Commissioners to provide for the care of dependent children otherwise, under penalty of prosecution for malfeasance of office.

There are three methods of administering these orphan asylums. Their ownership is vested either in the county, or in an incorporated association, or in an individual. If owned by the county, the asylum is

in charge of an association, incorporated under the Voluntary Association Act, or of a matron, employed by the Board of County Commissioners. If it is in charge of an association, it receives from the county for the care of each child that may be placed in the asylum the sum of twenty-five cents per diem. If it is in charge of a matron, she is paid this sum and furnishes everything; or she is paid a regular salary, while the county furnishes everything. One asylum in the State is owned by an individual, who makes a specialty of caring for and training so-called incorrigibles. Her compensation for this work is also the sum of twenty-five cents each per diem. Whatever may be the method of payment for the care of the children, the payment carries with it the obligation to furnish proper support, clothing, and moral and other training; also to seek out suitable family homes in which healthy children shall be placed on indenture or by adoption, their welfare while in these families being secured through visits and reports.

There are ninety-two counties in the State, and at the time of the organization of the State agency there were forty-four orphan asylums receiving public wards. Some others have since been built, and three abandoned. There are at present fifty asylums engaged in the work. All children supported by taxes, except the delinquents, the deaf, the blind, the feeble-minded, and soldiers' and sailors' orphans, are in these institutions. The total number now present in the orphan asylums is very nearly 1,700. The number in almshouses is about sixty, about half of whom are babes. The others are awaiting transfer to other institutions, under the law. It may be interesting to note that on August 31, 1891, there were 454 children in the almshouses of the State.

The following persons are authorized to make children public charges: The Judge of the Circuit Court, the County Board of Children's Guardians, the Board of County Commissioners, the Township Trustee, and the President of an incorporated Orphans' Home Association. The last authority admits children to the asylum on a written release of all rights to them executed by the parents; the Board of Commissioners and the Township Trustee commit the children as paupers; the Judge of the Circuit Court holds authority in the matter by reason of his plenary jurisdiction over all minors, and the Board of Children's Guardians through statutory provision, acting under order of the Court. The latter organization needs more than a passing mention, for on it devolves the rescue of ill-treated and neglected children. Its real work is not with dependents, though it sometimes takes charge of them. This board, which is appointed by the Circuit Judge, consists of six members, all of

whom must be parents, and three of whom must be women. They receive no pay. Through its officers, paid by the county, the board investigates all cases of alleged neglect or ill-treatment; and if it cannot induce the parents to live decent lives and care for and control their children so that they will not suffer for want of the necessities of life or grow up a menace to the State, it petitions the Court for custody of the children during minority. The petition is heard in the regular order of court procedure; and the custody of the children is granted or refused according to the evidence, the best interest of the child being a factor in the consideration. When children are once assigned to the custody of the board, their care and disposition correspond with those of pure dependents.

State supervision begins after a child is made a public charge by some one of the above authorities, and continues until he reaches the age of eighteen, unless by adoption or otherwise he previously ceases to be a public ward. As long as he is in an orphan's home, or in a family-home, on indenture, up to the above-mentioned age, he is subject to the watchfulness of the State agency.

Under the Indiana laws, the following authorities, besides parents, may place children by indenture or adoption: (1) *State Institutions*: The Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, the Reform School for Boys, and the State Industrial School for Girls. (2) *County Authorities*: The Judge of the Circuit Court, the Board of Children's Guardians, the Board of County Commissioners, the Township Trustee, the Matron of the Orphan Asylum, and the Orphans' Home Association. (3) *Other Authorities*: Endowed Institutions, Church Institutions, Secret Order Institutions, and Private Individuals.

All the above authorities, and, perhaps, one or two others, undertake to care for children and place them in family-homes in the State. Formerly, outside corporations or associations placed large numbers of children in the State; but, while they may still do so under certain restrictions, few outside children are now being brought in.

The spirit of the law, as well as its letter, anticipates that the State agency shall supervise the placing-out work of all the above-mentioned authorities, in addition to keeping a close watch of the care given to the children in the asylums caring for the dependents. The regular asylums, the Boards of Children's Guardians, the Almshouse Superintendents, and the Township Trustees are required to keep the State agency informed of all their operations. The other authorities may claim the assistance of the agency in looking after their wards, if they see fit to

inform it as to their location. In practice, the agency visits and reports upon the condition of every public ward known to be in a family-home.

In the beginning of the work, it was found that each association had been, in practice, a law unto itself in the matter of placing and supervising the children. In few cases was there any system or order in the work, much less any careful record. Each asylum placed its children where and with whom it pleased, and looked after them as it pleased. The laws and by-laws of all were full of good and sufficient rules for the conduct of the work; and had these laws been strictly enforced, the results would have been good. But while it is easy to make a rule, it is often difficult to follow it, especially when there is nobody to compel one to do so. The preliminary investigation of an applicant's fitness to care for a child consisted, as a rule, in securing written recommendations from various persons, frequently from public officials who would give testimonials to any one who voted for their party. Less than six organizations made a practice of actually examining an applicant's home personally before entrusting a child to his care. Less than that number regularly visited the children after they were placed. It certainly seemed that some authorities supposed any sort of a home to be good enough for a child, and believed that after he was placed in that home he would need no further attention.

Many cases could be cited to illustrate the result of careless methods. One day a man who presented written recommendations, signed by county officials, asked for a girl, selected one, and was allowed to take her away with him. Three days afterward a letter reached the association saying: "You had better come and see where you have placed your girl." The matron went instantly and found that the child was living with a saloon-keeper, whose home was above his saloon and was a house of bad character. In another case a man presented himself to the official head of an association, giving as references, orally only, prominent citizens known to the said official. He was allowed to select and take with him a thirteen-year-old girl. The official, however, neglected to secure either the name of the applicant or his residence, and to this day it is not known what has become of the child. Not a few cases have been discovered of the giving of fictitious names or residences. Much time and money have been expended in attempts to trace such persons. Occasionally, with the best of supervision, a child will disappear with its guardian, and its whereabouts will be unknown for a while. But when a man gives his post-office as Martinsville, and no one can be found in that city, or elsewhere in the same county, who has ever

heard of him, it is pretty good evidence that there has been deception somewhere.

In the beginning of the organization of the plan of State supervision, the following rules were formulated for the government of the work of the State agency: (1) That no applicant's home should be finally approved until a representative of the agency had personally visited it and had had a conference with the family — this, in addition to the necessary outside inquiries. (2) That no child should be entrusted to an applicant until his home had been so approved. (3) That no child should be allowed to travel alone on the railroads. The prevailing custom had been to send a child to his new home in the care of conductors, with a tag pinned to his coat. (4) That each child should be so fitted out with clothing as to present a respectable appearance, and should have enough to keep him comfortable during the trial period of sixty days, and that the extra clothing should be put up in a neat little telescope; the idea being that the children should travel in such a manner that they would not be known as asylum children. It had previously been the custom to put the extra clothing in a bundle or a market basket. (5) That every child should be visited at least once a year, and oftener, if possible. The system of visiting the children had been little practised. One girl was recently found who had never been visited, though she had been in her home nine years. (6) That each guardian should send one written report a year as to the condition of his ward.

As these were believed to be good rules for all engaged in placing children, their adoption by all the agencies was urged by personal interviews, in the annual conferences, and in the publications of the board. The State agency has consistently practised them from the beginning, and in nearly all cases has visited three times a year on an average the children it has placed. Some of the associations adopted these rules at once, to the manifest advantage of the children placed by them. Others, chafing under what they were pleased to call interference with their work and objecting to any sort of supervision, continued to work in the old haphazard way. And, although the State agency was organized April 1, 1897, it is but recently that the last of the associations has swung into line and acknowledged the advantages of such rules. The following is an extract from a letter received a short time ago:

Please allow me to thank you for information in a letter addressed to Mrs. W. in regard to the home of Mr. P. and wife, near J., Ind. It prompted the Board to send me to investigate the home, and it did not take me one minute to decide to bring

the child home with me. In the future, if we have applications for children from persons we do not know, we will confer with you, or make personal examination ourselves.

It might be said, in passing, that this home had been before the State agency three different times, twice in the way of regular investigation, and once to remove a child whom the organization had placed there. A minute in the department's records reads as follows:

P. about fifty, wife about twenty. Slouchy and dirty. Own nothing but a little furniture. Live on a rented sand-hill farm and pay no rent.

It needs but a glance at the list of those authorized by law to care for dependent children to appreciate the possibilities of a system of interchange of courtesies. Under the old régime there was a total lack of cooperation between the various agencies. Each association worked for its own little world, wholly ignoring its opportunities for greater good. Petty jealousies existed and sharp criticisms were made. Rarely would one association take any interest in the work of another, with a view to being helpful. The State made an earnest attempt to unite these warring interests, in order that, as a whole, it might profit by the experience of each. In this effort there has been marked success, and the majority of the agencies are now working in harmony and aiding each other through the State agency. The following are some of the special benefits to be noted:

(1) Many applications for children come to an asylum in which there are no inmates answering the description of those desired. Such applications were formerly placed on file, in the expectation that at some future time there might be brought in a child that would suit. Frequently they remained permanently in the pigeon-hole, so that no child received the benefit of the home. Under the new plan, such applications are sent to the office of the State agent to be distributed among all the asylums. Some local organizations have sent in as many as thirty such applications per year.

(2) The local asylums furnish valuable assistance in the supervision of the children placed in their counties. This is possible because it is now the practice to confer with them relative to such cases, and to inform them of the location of the children. If there is apparent any ill-treatment of a placed-out ward, information is carried by neighbors to the local association, and the association in turn informs the State agency. Quite recently word came from an association in the Southern part of the State that a family was preparing to move to the far West and take the child with it. This was not in itself particularly objectionable; but

the further information was added that the child was not being treated properly and did not herself wish to go with the family. This enabled the agency to checkmate the family's plans.

(3) Perhaps the greatest benefit from this cooperation is that it opens up the whole State to each agency, and makes it possible to place the children at a distance from their old environment. Some children may be successfully placed in the environment where they originally became dependent; others need to be taken far away, in order that they may be relieved of the importunities and influence of relatives and former acquaintances. Formerly the association was practically, if not theoretically, confined to its own county in placing its children. Now it has the whole State at its command. There is also a statutory provision that an association may keep secret the location of such of its wards as it has placed in family-homes. The object of this is, of course, to prevent parents or relatives from interfering with the management of the children — a thing that would be most likely to occur if they knew where to find the child. Formerly it was thought necessary to take a child to a distant State in order to avoid interference. It is now possible to place within the State a sufficient distance between the child's new home and his original surroundings. In addition to the prevention of interference, there is another advantage accruing to the children themselves by their being placed in unfamiliar surroundings, namely, that of a complete change in their manner of life. Old habits need to be broken up, and new and healthful mental, moral, and physical life must replace the old. This can be best accomplished in an entirely new environment and among strangers. There is frequently in the care of an association a child with such a peculiar temperament that if a proper home is not found the child's future will be grievously marred. By this cooperative plan such a child can be readily fitted into the proper family.

To make State supervision of the highest possible value, an adequate system of accurate records must be kept. It must include not only information, both family and personal, relative to the children to be cared for, but must represent a sort of a secret-service bureau, containing confidential information about applicants. Such records are a matter of slow but constant growth. Those relating to the children are made up from monthly reports from the asylums, including reports of visits to children, reports from guardians, and reports from the State's agents. For recording this information a card system is used, a numbered card being assigned to each child under State care. The number refers to a filing envelope in which all reports and other important papers touching that

child's case are kept. On the card is recorded in brief all information relative to the child — his characteristics, his family history, and his history while a public ward. The full particulars are given by the papers in the filing envelope. These cards are arranged alphabetically. In addition, to facilitate the work, there is a card registration showing the location of the wards arranged according to the names of the guardians; also one arranged by the post-offices of the counties in which the guardians live.

The card system is also used for recording information relative to applicants for children. Whenever an application is received it is numbered; and on a card of the same number are recorded the names of the applicant and his wife, together with the post-office address and such other brief information as may be of use later. When the agent has made the investigation further brief information is added to the card, together with a note of the date of the investigation. All papers relating to the said application are numbered according to the application and placed in a numerical file. When a letter of inquiry is received, reference is made to these cards, and it is frequently found that full information relative to the applicant is already at hand. Recently one of the agents visited a ward, and found that the guardian had sold his farm and bought a saloon. His card now makes record as follows: "10-1901. Sold farm and gone into saloon business. Child removed." A constant record is thus kept of each applicant; new information being added to his card as it reaches the office.

In this brief recital of the experience of Indiana, no attempt has been made to enunciate any new principles on child-saving, but illustrations have been given to show the value of State supervision. If the system did nothing but superintend the work of the various agencies, by visiting the children, aiding in the transfer of misfits, and rescuing ill-treated wards, it would be well worth its cost to the State. But it does more than this. It is also charged with the duty of seeking out suitable family homes for the children in the various asylums. Since its organization it has received about 1,400 applications, and has a record of nearly 1,200 that it has investigated. It has placed and replaced 973 children, of whom 649 are still in the care of private individuals. In addition to its other work, the agency is now placing on an average about one child a day. The cost of supporting a child in an asylum for a year is, in round numbers, \$100. On the basis of a gain of but 200 a year removed from dependence on public support, the agency is saving to the State, annually, \$20,000 for each \$6,000 expended. A child

ceases to be a public ward at the age of eighteen. The average period that elapses after a child is removed from dependence on public support until he reaches the age of eighteen, is about eight years. Hence, the actual saving to the State for each \$6,000 expended is approximately \$160,000. The sum of \$6,000 is mentioned because that is the amount appropriated at present for the support of the State agency. It has to pay the salaries and travelling expenses of its three workers, as well as the office expenses of the department.

These figures are based upon actual experience, but they by no means represent the full extent of the agency's capacity. Nor do they take into consideration the large number of children taken out of the asylums by parents and relatives, when they know that the State agent may come at any time and remove their children to distant parts of the State. In one county, where forty-four children had been the average population of the asylum for several years, the State agent selected ten to go into families. Nine others were immediately taken out by relatives, some of whom, strange as it may seem, had arranged with the associations to let them know when homes were offered for the children, so that they might then take them themselves. In another home there were seven children, representing two families. The State agent notified the association that he could place one from each family at once. Relatives took the whole seven as soon as they heard of what was proposed.

The law makes it the duty of the associations to require, from parents allowing their children to become public wards, an absolute release of the children to the association. The Board of State Charities has insisted that the associations shall live up to the letter of that law, with the result that hundreds of children have been retained in the hands of their natural guardians, instead of becoming public wards. When such parents found that placing their children in the asylum meant that they could not have them at will, they decided that they could care for their own. Before the passage of this law, it was quite usual for shiftless parents to put their children in an orphan asylum, where they would be cared for at the public expense, while they themselves, relieved of this burden, would go off for indefinite periods, secure in the knowledge that their children were all right, and that whenever they chose to return they could get them back.

The careful and frequent inspection of orphan asylums has produced good results in their administration. No longer are Dotheboys Halls to be found in the State. A corresponding inspection of almshouses keeps them free of children.

WILLIAM B. STREETER.

ERRORS TOUCHING THE SCHLEY COURT OF INQUIRY.

THE Court of Inquiry, of which Admiral George Dewey was president, and which sat recently in the city of Washington for the purpose of investigating the conduct of Rear-Admiral Winfield Scott Schley during the war with Spain, was the most illustrious and important military tribunal ever assembled in this country. The personnel of the court, the prominence of "the applicant," and the gravity and far-reaching effect of the cause submitted to it for adjudication united to bestow upon this particular tribunal an importance which may be likened only to that of the court which tried and, under compulsion of the law, condemned Admiral Byng, of the British navy, to death.

The Navy Department and the court itself seemed in the earlier days of the inquiry to be duly appreciative of this importance. The members were selected with an especial view to their freedom from partiality and prejudice, and, confessedly, with the idea of winning in advance the confidence of the public in the justice and righteousness of the report which, after painstaking research and mature deliberation, was to be submitted to the convening authority. The original membership of the court exemplified this. There could not have been found three men more entirely free from bias than Admiral Dewey and Rear-Admirals Benham and Kimberly, retired. Public confidence in the impartial purpose of the Navy Department received a shock through the revelation of Rear-Admiral Howison's prejudice, a revelation following fast upon his appointment to succeed Admiral Kimberly, who asked to be relieved of service; but the court, mindful of its high position, instantly retrieved the error by excusing Admiral Howison from duty, and the Department's selection of Rear-Admiral F. M. Ramsay, retired, was generally applauded.

Thus constituted, the court enjoyed the public confidence as a body composed of men of judicial temperament, exemplary fairness, unsullied record, and adequate experience. An unhesitating trust was reposed in its impartiality, a trust it did not fail to augment in the first days of the public inquiry by its rulings upon mooted points. During the forty

days of this inquiry nothing occurred to shake this confidence. The court proceeded about its work deliberately and intelligently, never for a moment showing the slightest inclination either toward "the applicant" or away from him. Its sense of its dignity and importance was always apparent; its sessions were notable for their solemnity; and it labored incessantly with no revealed purpose other than an ever-present desire to get at "the facts." Some there were who disputed its wisdom and justice in limiting the inquiry so as not to touch upon the conduct of any officer other than "the applicant"; but surely that was a matter lying wholly within its discretion as an investigating body, and in its decision in this respect "the applicant," by counsel, cheerfully acquiesced. This acquiescence was due to the fact that Rear-Admiral Schley sought neither to impugn the motives nor to criticise the conduct of any other officer; his sole purpose being to elicit all the facts touching his own conduct, and to have them passed upon by his brothers in arms, in whom he had full and unreserved confidence.

So it was that the court was created, and so it labored. When at the end of the public inquiry it retired behind closed doors to deliberate, interest in the court did not abate. When the doors were once more opened and there issued the report agreed upon by the court, there followed immediately an almost unparalleled outburst of popular indignation. The report was contrary to what the people expected and what they believed the testimony to warrant; and merciless revilings and unstinted criticisms have been the court's reward. Two of its members especially have received visitations of the public wrath; the reaction consequent upon so unexpected a finding leading to the oft-repeated charge that, from the beginning, those two members were prejudiced against "the applicant" and hostile to him.

But while having nothing to do with such an accusation against the two officers referred to, Rear-Admiral Schley and his attorneys absolutely decline to accept either the court's finding of fact or its majority opinion as being in consonance with the evidence adduced during the public investigation, or the solemn duty entrusted to the court.

This plain statement calls, naturally and necessarily, for explanation, and prompts the query: To what, then, do "the applicant" and his counsel attribute the findings of the court? The answer is ready. The action of the court was based upon premises that were fundamentally false. This answer explains the refusal of Rear-Admiral Schley to accept quietly the judgment which has been rendered against him. The falsity referred to is traceable directly to the fact, now apparent, that

both the Navy Department and the Court of Inquiry confounded the nature of the latter with that of a court-martial, and failed to differentiate between the extraordinary character of this particular court and the character of an ordinary court of inquiry. Let us look at the facts.

Courts of inquiry are authorized by act of Congress. With the act of Congress as a foundation, the Navy Department has, from time to time, promulgated regulations prescribing the character, methods of procedure, and powers of courts of inquiry, until at the present time the official volume of "Regulations for the Government of the Navy of the United States" contains a formidable chapter devoted to this subject. These regulations amplify the act of Congress. They thus correspond to the statute as to the identity of the convening authority, as well as the number of members and the general powers of courts of inquiry. But as departmental rules for the guidance of bodies authorized by law, the regulations alone define the conditions and circumstances under which courts of inquiry may be convened. It is under these rules, and according to the ends to which they have uniformly been put, that the naval service has come to interpret the nature and province of courts of inquiry. The statutes and their original contemplation of the character of such bodies have been almost, if not entirely, lost sight of. This is clearly evidenced by the very first regulation dealing with courts of inquiry. It is therein declared that, where the facts are numerous and complicated, or where there is reason to suspect criminality, a court of inquiry affords the easiest and best method for determining the facts and elucidating the situation for the better guidance and fuller information of the Department.

How ancient this regulation may be I am not prepared to say; but its effect is apparent to the most casual student of such matters. Under the regulation, courts of inquiry have come to be regarded by the service as mere advisory boards to the Department or to other executive officers of the naval establishment. The authorities, under a long line of precedents, agree that such courts are powerless to utter judgments, inflict penalties, express opinions, or pass sentences; that, in short, they are incapable of finally determining any mooted question. This limitation upon their power, in our military jurisprudence, unquestionably springs from the fact that, under the statutes, courts of inquiry, unless expressly authorized by their convening authority so to do, are inhibited from expressing opinions; their duty being restricted to the discovery and collation of facts. Considered jointly, this regulation and the statute have had the effect of making courts of inquiry almost uniformly preliminary to

courts-martial. In other words, the court of inquiry corresponds in ordinary American military practice to the grand jury in our judicial system.

Being essentially an inquisitorial body, whose duty it is to sift fact from fancy and report what is established as true, it follows that, ordinarily, the action of a court of inquiry is in no wise determinate. It labors solely for the information and guidance of a higher authority. According as it presents an array of facts justifying punitive measures against the officer under investigation, or exonerates him, the higher authority is enabled to act more intelligently in the premises. It rests, however, with such higher authority to take or refrain from taking further action; the report of the court of inquiry being in no way binding upon him. A notable instance of this analogy between courts of inquiry and grand juries is of recent occurrence. Charges having been preferred against a colonel of the Marine Corps, a court of inquiry was ordered to determine the facts (truth or falsity) of such charges. The court labored and brought forth a report upon which the Secretary of the Navy prepared a precept (indictment) for the guidance of a court-martial convened to try the accused officer. Here the procedure was almost identical with that in criminal jurisprudence, where the grand jury investigates, the state's attorney indicts upon the facts found by the grand jury, and a competent court tries the accused under and according to the indictment. The almost constant use of courts of inquiry for purposes very similar to, or identical with, its use in the case mentioned has impregnated every officer in the service with this conception of an order for duty on such a court. He goes forth to inquire, not to determine finally.

But in the case of the Schley Court of Inquiry a wholly different procedure was followed; and, consequently, the nature and province of the court were radically different from those of such a body in ordinary cases. It was because this dissimilarity was not impressed upon the court by the convening authority that the fundamental error with which it is chargeable was committed. Conscious of the statutory inhibition of the trial of an accused by court-martial when more than two years have elapsed since the commission of the offence with which he is charged, the Navy Department well knew that, in this instance, further proceedings were impossible, no matter what facts the court might find. Neither upon his own request nor upon the election of the Department could Rear-Admiral Schley be arraigned before a court-martial. The Department, therefore, abandoned entirely the ordinary usage and ac-

ceptionation of courts of inquiry. Availing itself of the latitude allowed by statute to the convening authority to direct a court of inquiry to report its opinion upon the facts found, it so constructed the Schley Court of Inquiry as to make it, in reality, a court-martial.

The most cursory examination of the authority under which this court sat proves the foregoing proposition as to its extraordinary nature. This authority was conferred by a duly issued precept, the same, in substance, as governs in the case of courts-martial. This grant of authority had two separate and distinct phases. Unlike precepts governing ordinary courts of inquiry, it did not direct the court to discover and collate the facts with respect to certain formal charges. The duty it imposed upon the court was to "inquire into the conduct of the said Schley, commodore in the navy during the recent war with Spain, and in connection with the events thereof." And when the court had conducted and concluded such inquiry, it was directed to "report . . . a full and detailed statement of all the pertinent facts which it may deem to be established, together with its opinions and recommendations in the premises." Bearing in mind the statutory interdiction, in this particular case, of any further proceedings which might follow an ordinary court of inquiry, we readily see the extraordinary nature of the Schley Court of Inquiry.

The court was endowed with most unusual powers. Instead of advising the convening authority by a clear and logical exposition of fact, its action had, perforce, to be final and determinate. The recommendation called for by the precept could, under the statute, be none other than one for the discontinuance of proceedings in the premises. This of itself was sufficient to foreordain the required opinion of the court as a solemn judgment upon the conduct of "the applicant," a judgment pronounced by experts in the light of established facts. Barred from passing any sentence of degradation or corporal punishment, the court might, if it so determined, place a mark against the record of "the applicant," thereby inflicting a keener punishment, and one more difficult to bear, than any which does not touch a man's honor. Such a judgment lies only within the province of a court-martial to utter; hence, when it was required of this court the requirement transformed it into a court-martial in all but name. If any doubt obtains as to the extraordinary character of this court, it is only necessary to look for a moment at the Department's letter of August 1, 1901, amending the fifth specification of the precept. Admiral Schley objected to the Department's unqualified assumption of his guilt under the charge that he had disobeyed orders, and asked that

the court be left free to determine the question of guilt. In reply, the Department conferred upon the court plenary powers to render an opinion which should be final and conclusive.

The other phase of this precept, regarded by counsel for Admiral Schley as most remarkable, even more strongly emphasizes the court-martial-like character of this celebrated court of inquiry. After directing an inquiry into the conduct of "the applicant" during a given period, a direction sweeping enough to include his every act during that period, the precept goes infinitely farther. Ten specifications, each one covering a specific act or series of actions, were incorporated in the document. No better explanation of the nature of these specifications can be presented than that given in the Department's letter of August 1, previously referred to. This letter says:

. . . . the precept treats certain matters as established, such, for instance, as the arrival of the "Flying Squadron" off Cienfuegos and off Santiago; the retrograde movement westward; the turn of the *Brooklyn* on July 8, 1898, and the fact that you disobeyed orders, etc.

This explanation permits of but one construction. The precept was, in reality, a reverse indictment. The Department, acting upon its own initiative and without the usual intervention of a court of inquiry to determine the facts, selected ten "matters" which it characterized and defined to the court "as established" facts. Under such a precept the court was required not to determine these facts, but to accept them "as established," and to impose upon "the applicant" the burden of disproving them, or exculpating himself of any charge made under them. Does doubt still linger as to whether this particular body was a court of inquiry, or, by whatever name called, a court-martial in point of reality? There is little room for doubt as to its actual character when we contemplate the spectacle of its endowment with final jurisdiction, its authorization to pass a final judgment of expert opinion, and its operation under a grant of power more general than was ever communicated to a court-martial — a grant which, contrary to the ordinary rules of evidence, placed the burden of proof upon the defendant instead of upon the Government. The creation of a court so extraordinary in its nature, power, and methods constitutes one of the chief errors touching the Schley Court of Inquiry.

But the original fundamental error, and the first wholly false premise, is discovered in the first action of the Department in the matter. The Department had an undeniable right to convene a court of inquiry to ascertain the facts and report its opinions. But did it possess the right,

without self-stultification and a distortion of judicial methods and procedure, to convene a court after the manner by which this particular court was convened? The facts are simple.

Winfield Scott Schley served in the navy during the war with Spain as a commodore. In April, 1899, the year following that war, he was proposed for promotion to the grade of rear-admiral. At the time this additional honor was proposed for him, all the facts relating to his conduct during the time he had held the rank of commodore were public property and matters of official record. In February, 1899, the Secretary of the Navy addressed a letter to the President of the Senate of the United States, in which the attention of that body was called to certain grave instances of dereliction of duty and disobedience to orders alleged to have been committed by Commodore Schley during the war with Spain. This letter, in so far as it related to that officer, closed with the pronouncement of the Secretary's opinion that during the war Commodore Schley's conduct had been characterized by "unsteadiness in purpose and in push, and failure to obey orders." It embodied also an approval of the charge of "reprehensible conduct" made by another against the Commodore.

Now, preliminary to his nomination to be a rear-admiral, Commodore Schley was required by law to undergo an examination in order that his "moral, mental, and professional fitness" for the higher and more important rank might be determined. The law and the regulations relative to this procedure are explicit and mandatory. The board which examined Commodore Schley was presided over by the late Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard, who, by reason of having served, during the war with Spain, as a member of the Naval War Board, popularly known as the Board of Strategy, was especially familiar with the conduct of Commodore Schley. To this examining board the Navy Department was compelled to submit every scrap of information it possessed touching the "moral, mental, and professional fitness" of the candidate for promotion. By the regulations of the navy the onus of establishing professional fitness falls upon the candidate; and any member of the examining board who, after a full and complete investigation, may entertain any doubt as to such professional fitness is forbidden to sign a report recommending that the promotion be made.

At the time when this examining board sat, Commodore Schley's conduct during the war with Spain was known, in its minutest details, to the Navy Department; and, in view of the letter written two months previously, it must have been fresh in the mind of the Secretary. All those "matters" which the precept under which the Schley Court of

Inquiry sat treats "as established" were of official record in the Department, with the single exception of the Hodgson affair, which had not then transpired. These "established matters" had, under the law, to be considered by the examining board in determining the professional fitness of the candidate for promotion; and they were undoubtedly as firmly established in April, 1899, as they were in July, 1901. Further, the power of the examining board to inquire into and apply such "established matters" was infinitely greater than that of any court of inquiry; for whereas the latter may only determine facts, the former may make an application of any facts it may determine against the officer under investigation to the extent of forbidding his promotion.

It is a matter of official record that the board which examined Commodore Schley for promotion did inquire into all the facts characterized in the first nine specifications of the precept as "established matters"; and, after carefully weighing them, they pronounced him professionally fit, and recommended him, for promotion. The Secretary of the Navy accepted and approved this report and recommendation, thereby reversing his own judgment as to Commodore Schley's dereliction of duty, disobedience of orders, unsteadiness in push and in purpose, and reprehensible conduct. That the Secretary did work such a reversal of himself is demonstrated by the fact that, after the examining board reported, Commodore Schley was recommended by him to the President for promotion; was nominated to the Senate by the President; and was confirmed by the Senate to be a rear-admiral in the navy, with the relative rank, under the Personnel Bill, of a major-general in the army.

Yet, in the face of the fact that this entire matter of Commodore Schley's conduct was finally and legally determined in April, 1899, the Navy Department, in July, 1901, formulated a reverse indictment against him, in which eight distinct phases of his conduct during the war with Spain, embracing the whole range of alleged shortcomings specified by the Secretary of the Navy in his letter of February 6, 1899, to the President of the Senate, are characterized as "established matters." Was the action of the Department in transmitting such a grant of authority to the court of inquiry legal? Without desiring to discuss any farther this detail of a case already grown most intricate, we leave it with these general observations:

(1) The determination by the examining board in April, 1899, of any one of the eight distinct phases of Commodore Schley's conduct, as defined in the precept as "established matters," in a decision adverse to

him would have necessitated his arraignment before a court-martial, and then, had they been substantiated, the verdict could easily have been for his dismissal from the service. In one instance, an adverse determination would have meant the infliction of the death penalty.

(2) That none of these phases of his conduct during the war with Spain was determined adversely to him by the examining board is the best possible proof that in April, 1899, they were not only not "established matters," but were deemed by a board of competent jurisdiction to have no existence, since if they had existed Commodore Schley's promotion to higher and more important rank could not have been accomplished.

(3) Thoughtful men will be disposed to consider that the approval given by the Secretary of the Navy in 1899 to the report of the examining board worked an estoppel against the revival in 1901 of the charges embraced in his letter to the Senate.

(4) If the so-called "established matters" had any actual existence in 1901, they must have existed in 1899; and it, therefore, became at that time the duty of the Secretary of the Navy to substantiate them before the examining board. If they were actually in existence and were permitted to pass unsubstantiated, or if the examining board knowing of their existence failed to give them due consideration, then by the connivance of the Secretary of the Navy, the examining board, the President of the United States, and the Senate, "the applicant" before the recent court of inquiry has for nearly three years illegally enjoyed the rank, privileges, and emoluments of a rear-admiral in our navy; for, be it understood, a determination of any one of these charges adversely to Commodore Schley would have made an affirmative declaration of his professional fitness, without which he could not have been promoted, impossible and wholly illegal.

In the light of these facts, the original fundamental error in this case, an error chargeable to the Navy Department, makes itself manifest. Its action in creating and convening a pseudo-court-martial for the purpose of inquiring into certain "established matters" which had previously, it is to be presumed, been inquired into by a competent authority and found to have no actual existence was unquestionably arguable on the ground of illegality, if it was not *ultra vires*. With this original and fundamental error made apparent, it is debatable if the entire proceedings and findings of the court might not be annulled if any one interested were disposed to proceed upon this hypothesis. But even without an attack of the kind indicated being made, the Department's original error will

stand as the fundamental and irremediable weakness of the judgment given by the court.

The errors and false premises in the original action of the Navy Department in creating the court and devising its grant of authority having been thus shown, we come now to the errors, gravest of all, which must be charged against the court itself. These have nothing to do with the public inquiry. In that part of this lamentable affair the action of the court was such that no exception may be taken to it. Having what it was bound to assume to be a lawful grant of power, for no contrary suggestion had been advanced, it proceeded intelligently, regularly, and decorously in its search for facts. In form and substance that portion of its work stands above criticism.

The public inquiry, however, has been almost entirely forgotten in the light of the official statement of facts found and opinions determined upon. These things, constituting the conclusions of the court, overtop in importance everything else. Of all its work they alone will stand in history as guides for future generations; and it is in relation to them that the court has erred so egregiously. The error is of sufficient magnitude to cause it to permeate almost every line of a somewhat voluminous document. Its very size forbids the thought that it was wilfully committed.

The customary service conception of the nature and province of courts of inquiry has been already explained. To that explanation only a few words need be added. This conception is securely engrafted upon the service until it has now come to be regarded as one of its tenets. It is, therefore, not strange that men of long experience should fail to grasp readily another idea of a body which is officially styled a court of inquiry. To enable them to do so, it is necessary, in extraordinary cases, that they be firmly impressed with the extraordinary character of such a court; and this impression must be kept constantly in mind by the members, else they are likely to come to regard their duty as identical with what it would be in connection with a common court. It is patent that either the members were not properly impressed with the extraordinary nature of the Schley Court of Inquiry, or that they unwittingly lapsed into the customary conception of such bodies. This is attested by the report of facts and opinions, for therein the court reveals its error in this manner: it has found the facts as would a court of inquiry, and has given the judgment of a court-martial.

The effect of this confusion in the minds of the members as to the exact character of their duties cannot be, and is not, concealed. The court has failed to garb its findings in the robes of finality. This failure

is so extensive that in not a single instance did the court render a determinate judgment, securely buttressed against the walls of reason and logic, as a court-martial would have done under similar circumstances. In other words, the court submitted a report which, while stating certain opinions, shows upon its face that little or no attention was paid to what in law is known as "the preponderance of proof."

The method of the court's action may be easily analyzed. The precept required it to report the pertinent facts which it might deem to be established. When it came to formulate this statement of facts, it sat as a common court of inquiry. It did not — and we must judge by the report itself — deem it necessary to incorporate in the statement a single one of the many facts favorable to Rear-Admiral Schley, facts which were established by an overwhelming weight of testimony, in numerous instances by uncontradicted testimony. The statement contains only facts adverse to "the applicant." In this it is the report of an ordinary court of inquiry which seeks not to elicit all the facts, but only such as are sufficient to inform its convening authority whether cause for action by court-martial lies against the officer under investigation. We have here, then, the first error of the court.

This error would not have been committed if the court, remembering its extraordinary nature, had gone about this portion of its work after the style and manner of a court-martial. In that event the evidence would have been weighed pro and con; the pertinent facts established in Rear Admiral Schley's favor would have been placed against those adverse to him; and a balance would have been taken according to the principle of "the preponderance of proof." Such a balance would have shown clearly the cause of any opinion which the court, sitting in final judgment, might have agreed upon. In such circumstances, the judgment would, necessarily, have been final and conclusive upon all the points reviewed. But where the judgment shows so plainly that the facts on one side only had been considered, it must be deemed contestable. Against it stands the entire array of facts established in Rear-Admiral Schley's favor.

The second error of the court was committed as innocently and naturally as the first. As the opinions required by the precept were agreed upon subsequently to the formulation of the statement of facts, they were, in the regular order of things, governed by that statement. Therefore, when the court came to record its positive judgment, it arrived at its conclusions through the false premise of considering only the facts adverse to "the applicant." The judgment is, in consequence, that of

a court-martial, while the logic is that of a court of inquiry, which latter labors only for the purpose of showing reasonable cause for further action. As if the confusion were not sufficiently confounded by the failure of the court to differentiate between the complex phases of its nature, it is rendered more so by the individual opinion of its President.

In that opinion Admiral Dewey, who agreed to the finding of facts, specifically dissents from certain opinions expressed by Rear-Admirals Benham and Ramsay. Here is a most anomalous situation. The facts set forth by the court are all adverse to Rear-Admiral Schley. If they were the only facts established during the public investigation, the majority judgment is wholly justifiable under them. But Admiral Dewey, while acting in this connection according to the common service understanding of a court of inquiry, undoubtedly remembered, when, as a member of a pseudo-court-martial, he came to pass a final judgment, the facts established favorably to Rear-Admiral Schley. He weighed these facts, and decided according to the weight of the evidence. That the entire court did not follow his example constitutes the error which is responsible for a judgment whose component parts are perverted, and which does not harmonize with the testimony publicly taken.

The error is, therefore, one of fatal misconception, or, rather, confusion of duty. If the court had acted throughout its secret deliberations as a court-martial, which it was in reality, instead of acting in one instance as a court of inquiry and in the other as a body empowered with final jurisdiction, its judgment would never have been disputed. It was this confusion which prompted the bill of exceptions filed by Rear-Admiral Schley against the judgment. That bill was framed for the purpose of specifically calling the attention of the convening authority to the instances in which the court had failed, by reason of this confusion, to surround its work with those elements of finality which always go hand in hand with reason, logic, and the preponderance of proof. It is because this confusion clouded the work of the court that the cause which it was hoped it might finally adjudicate will remain open.

Under a final judgment properly arrived at, none interested would have raised any objections. Rear-Admiral Schley entrusted his interests to the court in the full knowledge of the force of the saying that "the warrior who makes no mistakes makes no war." But neither the present generation nor posterity will accept a judgment which decrees that an exceptionally successful warrior made only mistakes in an exceptionally successful war in which he played a most conspicuous part.

MERRILL A. TRAGUE.

WRITERS IN THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

REPRESENTATIVE HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL was born in Boston, Mass., in 1856. Was taken west by his parents in 1863. Graduated from Northwestern University in 1874 and from Harvard in 1876. In 1877 received the degree of A.M. from Harvard for post-graduate studies in International Law and Constitutional History. Was admitted to the Illinois bar, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1879. Has since practised in Chicago. Was elected a member of the 55th Congress as a Republican from the North Side District of Chicago, and was reelected to the 56th and the 57th Congresses. His article in this number of THE FORUM is supplementary to that which appeared in the issue of October last.

MR. JOHN T. BUCHANAN, a Virginian by birth, moved west when young, and there attended college and law school. Became principal of one of the high schools of Kansas City, Mo., and held that position for many years. In 1897 was selected, with two others, to organize high schools for New York City, and was later put in charge of the DeWitt Clinton High School, in the latter city, which position he now holds.

MR. TRUMAN A. DE WEESE, born near Troy, O., in 1860, received his education in the Dayton High School, supplemented by special university courses in political economy and the sciences. On leaving school he immediately embarked in journalism. Was for a time on the staff of the "Indianapolis Journal," under Major Elijah Halford, afterward private secretary to President Harrison. In order to familiarize himself with public-school methods, became principal of schools in the southern suburb of Indianapolis. His connection with the daily press in Indiana and Illinois gave him wide familiarity with politics; and it was while conducting a daily paper at Aurora that his work in behalf of the "McKinley Movement" in the west secured for him the offer of an editorial position on the "Chicago Times-Herald," now the "Chicago Record-Herald," which he accepted and still retains.

MR. MARK BOOTHBY DUNNELL was born at Buxton, Me., in 1864. Was educated at Pillsbury Academy, Owatonna, Minn., and at the University of Rochester, graduating in 1886. Was appointed the same year principal of the Faribault High School, Minn. Was admitted to the Minnesota bar in 1888. From 1889 to 1892 was Deputy Consul-General at Shanghai. Has frequently written on Chinese questions for the leading reviews.

PRES. FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES was born in New York in 1869. Graduated from Columbia University. Is also Ph.D. of Boston University, Litt.D. of Heidelberg University, and LL.D. of Hanover College. Was for a time Instructor in Greek at the Drisler School, New York, and at Columbia University. Was afterward Professor of Classical Philology at Tufts College, Massachusetts. Became President of the University of Wyoming, and later of the University of Washington. Is the author of several books on subjects connected with classical study.

PROF. KELLY MILLER was born of negro parents in Fairfield county, South Carolina, in 1863. Graduated from Howard University, 1886. For two years, 1887-1889, pursued post-graduate studies in mathematics and physics at Johns Hopkins Uni-

versity. Taught mathematics in the Washington High School, and was appointed to the chair of mathematics at Howard University in 1890. Has written and lectured widely upon educational and sociological questions, and has made an exhaustive study of the educational problems of the negro race, upon which he is regarded as an authority. Is President of The Graduate Club, an organization of colored graduates of American colleges residing at the national capital, whose aim is the study of practical problems in social science.

MAJOR JOHN H. PARKER, Captain 28th Infantry, was born in Missouri 35 years ago. Graduated from West Point in 1892. Was admitted to the bar in the State of Missouri in 1896, and served with credit at various frontier forts before the War with Spain. Went with General Shafter's expedition to Cuba in command of machine guns. The employment he made of the latter was original, and is said by Ridpath to have been the decisive factor at the critical time of the engagement of July 1, 1898. Has been recommended by General Shafter for the Congressional Medal of Honor for "distinguished conduct" in that battle; and Pres. Roosevelt says, in his History of the Rough Riders, "Indeed I think that Parker deserves rather more credit, on the whole, than any other officer in the whole campaign." Was appointed Major of Volunteers in August, 1899. Went to the Philippines the same year, and has but lately returned. While in the Islands he organized civil government in seven, and administered it in six, municipalities. Was also Assistant to the Chief Judge Advocate of the Philippines.

REV. GILBERT REID, D.D., was born on Long Island in 1857. Graduated in 1879 from Hamilton College, and in 1882 from Union Theological Seminary. Commenced missionary work in China the same year in connection with the Presbyterian Church. In 1894 withdrew from the Presbyterian Board, and undertook a new mission among the higher classes, from which has grown the International Institute of China. During the China-Japan war acted as correspondent for the London "Times," and during the recent war as correspondent for the London "Morning Post." For ten months was interpreter to the British forces, most of the time in administration of Peking. Dr. Reid is author of "Glances at China," "Reunion of Christendom," and other works.

MR. WILLIAM BEMENT STREETER was born in 1857 near Quincy, Mich. Attended district school and Coldwater, Mich., High School. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1882. From 1882 to 1887 was principal of Lapeer, Mich., High School. From 1887 to 1891 held the office of State Agent of Michigan State Public School for Dependent, Neglected, and Ill-treated Children. Has been State Agent of the Board of State Charities of Indiana since 1897.

MR. MERRILL A. TEAGUE was born in Indiana in 1872. Studied law, and qualified for admission to the bar when too young to be admitted to practice. At the age of eighteen entered newspaper work at Pendleton, Ind. In 1896 removed to Baltimore. In 1897 was elected Chief Clerk of the Second Branch of the City Council of Baltimore. In 1898 was made political editor of "The Baltimore American," which position he now occupies. In July, 1901, reviewed Mr. Edgar S. Maclay's "History of Our Navy" in an article which directed public attention to the charges made therein against Admiral Schley, and which resulted in reviving the controversy. When the Court of Inquiry was appointed he was selected to assist Admiral Schley's counsel in preparing for the trial. Upon the death of ex-Judge J. M. Wilson was chosen by Hon. Isidor Rayner, who succeeded to the position of Admiral Schley's chief counsel, as his assistant, and since that time has figured prominently in the management of the case on behalf of Admiral Schley.

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